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The
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THE BATTLE OF MARIANNA

By MARK F. BOYD

Historian, Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials

Subsequent to the military operations about Pensacola in the first year of the Civil War, most of West Florida remained remote from the struggle. Its main contribution to the Confederacy was salt produced from numerous evaporating establishments along the coast, which were frequently demolished by raiding parties from vessels of the Federal blockading squadron. It was also an important source of agricultural produce. The scarcity of good agricultural lands and distance from markets had restricted plantation farming to limited areas of Jackson, Washington and Walton counties. Although sparsely inhabited, the widely separated communities contributed heavily to the man-power of the Southern armies. On the other hand, the very wildness of much of the region afforded harborage both to deserters from the Confederate army and evaders of conscription, who, from their lawless conduct, occasioned much disorder, in which they were encouraged by Federal authorities in Fort Barrancas on Pensacola Bay. From such contacts, the latter were led to believe that considerable Union sentiment prevailed throughout that area.

As late as 1864 the authority of the Federal Military District of West Florida was not exerted much beyond the vicinity of Pensacola. After October 8, 1863 the district was in command of Brigadier-General Alexander Asboth, a Hungarian and former follower of Kossuth, who as a refugee, had been a resident of Chicago before the war. His headquarters were at Barrancas. As early as March 1864, stimulated by reports of successful encircling opera-

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tions of the Federal armies to the north and west, Asboth asked his chief in the Department of the Gulf, Brigadier-General Charles P. Stone, for permission to engage in active operations within the limits of his district (Rec. II-5) *. Although apparently refused, Asboth's enthusiasm was unquenched, as in the following July he proposed a raid on Columbus, Georgia, via Marianna and Montgomery (Rec. II-165), which was also vetoed. The tempo of Federal operations along the Gulf meanwhile intensified; and, in August, Farragut's fleet forced a passage into Mobile Bay, and the forts at its mouth soon capitulated. Asboth appears to have fallen into the swing of these developments, and, apparently acting on his own initiative, reported on September 12th, that as a consequence of information received on the previous day, he would set out on a cavalry raid into the northeastern portion of West Florida, as far as Marianna and vicinity, with the object of capturing the rebel forces in Washington and Jackson counties, liberating Federal prisoners confined at Marianna, collecting white and colored recruits, and securing horses and mules (Rec. II-285).

At that time Marianna, a village of 500 inhabitants, was then (as now), the county seat of Jackson County and trading point for a planting community, remote from the nearest rail-head at Quincy, and about twenty miles from the waterway of the Apalachicola River. It was the headquarters of the Confederate military organization in West Florida, in command of Colonel A. B. Montgomery, C. S. A., a reputed graduate of West Point, who had left the U. S. Army for a career in civil life. His force consisted of several detached militia companies of the Fifth Florida Battalion of Cavalry (Colonel George W. Scott), whose primary function was to repulse raids on the salt works and apprehend deserters. We cannot authoritatively learn that this command comprised more than the following units: Company E, Captain William A. Jeter, stationed at Hickory Hill, 20 miles west of Marianna; Company G, Captain William H. Milton, sta-

*See appendix: *War of the Rebellion. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Series I. vol. xxxv. Part II. p. 5.

tioned 25 miles south of the town; and Company 1, Captain Robert Chisholm, reported to have been stationed in the town itself (*Soldiers of Florida*). These stations were likely bases for patrol operations. Two further companies under Captains Poe and Jones are mentioned by Asboth, the former being also referred to by Brevard (see appendix). Since neither are listed under the Fifth Battalion in *Soldiers of Florida*, it is likely that both were infantry. The former appears to have been Company C, 1st Florida Reserves, the latter may have been Company I of the same regiment (*Soldiers of Florida*). According to Miss Brevard, Captain Poe's company was stationed somewhere south of Marianna. It is not likely that any had more than 75 men enrolled, and it may be expected that all were characterized more by ardor than discipline. A Confederate hospital was maintained in the old Marianna school house, in charge of Assistant Surgeon Henry Robinson, C.S.A. (Merritt). There was also a government stable. Intelligence received at Federal headquarters led General Asboth to believe that several hundred Federal military prisoners were also detained at Marianna (Rec. II-263), although this report appears unfounded.

General Asboth (Rec. 11-283) was also led to believe that in Montgomery's district were 300 infantry (militia) and 100 cavalry, Captain Poe, in Marianna; one small cavalry company, Captain Chissen (sic), at Chipola Spring; one at Hickory Hill, Captain Gida (sic); one at Vernon, Captain Jones; and another at Sweetwater on the Saint Andrews road, Captain William H. Milton,, with an average strength of 80 men. From the corruption of these names, Asboth would appear to have had difficulty in understanding the speech of his informants. The companies commanded by Captains Poe and Jones, as previously mentioned, cannot be identified with certainty. The others are those previously listed.

After some delay, Asboth, in development of his project, transported a force of 700 mounted men from Bar-

rancas to Navy Cove, Live Oak plantation, across Pensacola Bay on the 18th of September. This force comprised three battalions of the Second Maine Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. Spurling ; one battalion First Florida Cavalry (disaffected West Floridians), Major A. Ruttsiag; and two companies mounted infantry selected from the Eighty-sixth and Eighty-second Regiments, U. S. Colored Infantry (Louisiana negroes) commanded by Colonel L. L. Zulavszky (Rec. I-445). Both of the latter were nephews of Eossuth, and like Asboth, Hungarian refugees. Asboth immediately proceeded 50 miles along the old Military or Jackson road to Roger's Gap, opposite to the narrows of Santa Rosa Island (sic: Sound?), 6 miles west of East Pass. This so-called Jackson road was never traversed by General Jackson, but was that laid out by Captain Burch in 1824, and constructed by soldiers of the Pensacola garrison. His force was accompanied down Santa Rosa Sound by the Quartermaster Steamer *Lizzie Davis*, from which, at Roger's Gap, he supplied his force with provisions (Rec. I-443).

On the 20th Asboth turned north on the Ridge Road, penetrating as far as the site of De Funiak Springs by the 22nd (McKinnon). Doubling back, his force surprised the village of Euchee Anna on the morning of the 23rd. Asboth occupied the home of Giles Bowers. During their day's halt at this place, several squads were busily occupied in raiding plantations within a radius of several miles. The negroes were ordered to hitch up the teams which were found and get ready to leave. All white males encountered were seized and crowded into the tiny jail. From these were selected 15, who as military or political prisoners, were on the next day sent down to Four-Mile Landing (La Grange, Freeport), to be placed on board the Steamer *Lizzie Davis*, under escort of two companies of the First Florida Cavalry. Among the military prisoners were Colonel W. H. Terrence or Torrance, and Lieut. Francis M. Gordon ; and among the political, William Cawthon and Allen Hart. There were also sent down 28

stand of captured arms and 16 colored recruits and other negroes (contrabands). Before leaving Euclaw Anna, a further raiding party destroyed Douglas Ferry and small boats on the Choctawhatchee River, while another was sent to round-up beef cattle on Shoal River.

Asboth, with the main command, left on the 24th for Huett's Bluff and Cerro Gordo on the west bank of the Choctawhatchee River, then county seat of Holmes County, where, on the 25th, the river was crossed in a small scow. The command pushed on rapidly to Marianna, *via* Campbellton, reaching the vicinity of the former about noon on the 27th. Asboth stated that from the Choctawhatchee to the Chipola River, and later down to the head of Choctawhatchee Bay, rebel troops were constantly in close vicinity to his column, frequently skirmishing with his vanguard, but giving battle only at Marianna. According to Brevard, Captain Chisholm's company on scouting duty east of the Choctawhatchee River, encountered Asboth's column on the 25th, and most of the men were captured. It is strange that such an encounter is not mentioned in Asboth's report (Rec. I-444) of the 1st of October, which describes his operations east of the river.

The preparation of a narrative of the action at Marianna 86 years after the event is, from the scarcity and meagerness of the available accounts, particularly difficult. The only Federal account to be found is Asboth's report (Rec. I-444), which, though sketchy, was written four days after the battle. The only contemporaneous Confederate description extant appeared in the *West Florida News Extra* of October 3, 1864, which Stanley attributes to the publisher, Edward J. Judah. No surviving copies of this issue of this paper have been discovered by the writer, although the text is reproduced by Carter, and also in the *Marianna Times-Courier* of October 27, 1921. The accounts of Dr. Henry Robinson (in Carter, and Dickinson), and the letter of Dr. C. C. Burke, both participants, were written long after the

event. The lack of an official Confederate report is understandable when the extemporaneous character of the defense is appreciated, while Colonel Montgomery was silenced by his capture.

Although the citizenry of Marianna were not unused to alarms, which heretofore had proven unfounded, in the case of Asboth's raid they were essentially surprised. The account in the *West Florida News Extra* relates that on the 23rd news had been received of the capture of a portion of Captain Chisholm's company at Euchee Anna, and that the enemy was advancing toward Marianna. The correctness of this date, which was that of Asboth's occupation of Euchee Anna, may be questioned, as it is unlikely that a mounted courier, the only available means of communication from the west, could have brought the news to Marianna the same day. Colonel Montgomery was reliably informed on the 26th that an enemy force had penetrated to the eastward of the Choctawhatchee, and might approach Marianna either via Vernon in Washington County, or Campbellton, 18 miles distant in northwest Jackson County. The bearers of this news may have been the few members of Chisholm's company who escaped capture and returned to Marianna. If this assumption is correct, only the date given in the *News* is erroneous. Mrs. D. L. Mackinnon, in her reminiscences of the battle, says that news of the Federal approach was brought to Marianna by Arthur Lewis, a boy scout (sic), direct from Walton County, on an unspecified date. Although in Dickinson's summary of Robinson's account it is stated that a personal reconnaissance by Colonel Montgomery on the 25th verified the report; Robinson himself (in Carter), does not repeat this statement, and gives the 26th as the day of the alarm. Further word received on the 26th established the presence of the enemy near Campbellton, and two unidentified cavalry companies were sent to intercept the enemy.

On verification of the news, Montgomery sent couriers to his scattered companies, with orders to report post-

haste in Marianna. From Marianna the news was spread over the countryside, and in the town itself the church bells summoned all citizens to a mass meeting in the 'Court House. While not a few persons in attendance were known Union sympathizers, all at the meeting resolved to resist the invaders. A company of Jackson Home Guards had been organized in 1861, but the company, probably from inaction, was evidently defunct. However the names of nine on its roll are found on the appended list of the new organization. Hence at the meeting a new company of youths under 16 and of old men over 50 was immediately organized, which was facetiously designated as the "*Cradle and Grave Company.*" The number enrolled is uncertain. In one account Dr. Robinson (in Dickinson) states it to have been about 200, in another (in Carter) "not exceeding 100 in all;" while Judah says "numbering about fifty" (*W. Fla. News Extra*). Available data make the second figure most plausible. They were miscellaneously self-armed with shot guns, old flint-locks, and pistols. Jesse J. Norwood, a prominent Unionist, was elected as captain, despite his lack of military training or experience. They were reinforced by the Club Company of Home Guards from Greenwood, of which a Henry J. Robinson was captain, a few more home guards from Campbellton, and six or eight regular Confederate soldiers home on sick leave. No statement which would identify any company of the Fifth Florida Battalion as participants has been encountered, although three men of Captain Chisholm's company are listed as captured.

Lafayette Street in Marianna, which is followed by U. S. Highway 90 through the city, was, at its then western end, terminated by the divergence of a road to the southwest leading to Vernon and Saint Andrews, from another to the northwest, leading to Campbellton; Two long blocks eastward of the junction, St. Luke's Episcopal Church and burial ground still stand on a corner lot on the north side of the street. The edifice, a frame struc-

ture, was the second church on this site, and had been erected in 1861. The present brick church, the fourth, was constructed between 1942 and 1947. Lafayette Street passes to the north of the Court House, and extends eastward to the bridge over the Chipola River. From the Campbellton road, a side road diverged to the eastward, by which the town could be entered from the north.

Montgomery had the Home Guards, presumably on the morning of the 27th, construct a barricade of old wagons and logs across Lafayette Street, presumably near the Ely corner, just east of the junction. This appears to have been done with the idea of serving as an abatis to impede a cavalry charge rather than as a shelter for marksmen. After this detail was completed, many members of the guards roamed the streets expressing their belligerency.

According to the account in the News, the two mounted companies which had been sent out on the previous day, fell back into town about 11 A. M., having ascertained the presence of a superior enemy. Montgomery immediately assembled his force, those afoot scattered on either side of the street, those mounted forming a screen in front. The hoped for reinforcement by the detached companies of the Fifth Florida cavalry had not materialized, and, presumably through oversight, the side road to the north of the town was left unguarded.

Asboth's advance force, consisting of a battalion of the Second Maine cavalry, reached the edge of town about 12 o'clock. They attempted to charge down the narrow street, but meeting with a hot fire, retreated in disorder with two casualties to await the arrival of the main command. On the arrival of Asboth, a flanking force was sent into the town by the side road to the north, and after a lapse sufficient to have permitted this to reach the Confederate rear, he himself led a charge. Evidently deciding that his force was hopelessly outnumbered, Montgomery ordered a retreat to the Chipola River. If this order was communicated to the dismounted Home Guards, it was

disregarded. The flanking Federal force had meanwhile gained the Court House square, and the fleeing mounted Confederates were obliged to fight their way through. About 30 of these, including Dr. Robinson, reached the bridge and tore up the planking. Colonel Montgomery, in trying to escape, was unhorsed, stunned, and taken prisoner.

The foregoing description appears to be the most plausible connected account which can be pieced together from the contradictory reports of General Asboth, Dr. Robinson, Dr. Burke and the *West Florida News*. It is likely that Asboth, despite the unsatisfactory brevity of his report, was in a better position to secure an overall picture of the affair than were the Confederate narrators, none of whom occupied a position of general responsibility, and could only accurately describe the limited phases of the melee which actually came under their personal observation. The principal point in question is the period of the action in which Montgomery ordered the retreat which was only executed by the mounted men. Burke states that Montgomery with his staff reconnoitered the Campbellton road, and after coming up with the Federals, beat a hasty retreat, never stopping until the bridge was crossed. This does not appear to be the reconnoitering force of the two unidentified companies mentioned by the *News* as returning at 11 A. M. with news of the enemy. The *News* declares that on receiving this information, Montgomery ordered the available force to meet the enemy, who appeared about noon. Asboth states that the first charge, made by his vanguard, "found the rebel cavalry formed in line of battle and the militia sharpshooters concentrated in the grave-yard, church and other buildings on the left flank of the narrow path through which we had to pass." This, to the chagrin of Asboth, was repulsed. There must have been an appreciable intermission between the first and second charges, not only to permit the arrival of the main Federal body, but to allow the flankers to gain the rear of the Confed-

erates. The second charge, led by Asboth in person, was not likely undertaken until he had received assurance that the flankers had reached the rear of the Home Guards. It is presumed that Montgomery's retreat began during this intermission, but that if he expected to effect withdrawal without enemy opposition, he was disappointed, as Dr. Robinson, who was with this group, describes how they had to fight their way through a body of Federal troops at the Court House, indicating that the flankers had already gotten to the rear of the position of the Home Guards. Consequently it is concluded that Montgomery did not order the retreat until he was convinced that he was faced by a vastly superior force. It furthermore is clear that the number of men at his disposal would not have sufficed to spare a detachment to cover the northern approach by which the flankers entered; Withdrawal after a delaying action, such as was the initial repulse, is sound tactics. It was unfortunate that this was not undertaken immediately following the repulse, and that the Home Guards were not then withdrawn under cavalry cover. Their gallant and heroic attempt to defend the town was, considering the size of the Federal force they faced, hopeless after the first repulse. Be this as it may, Montgomery's retreat produced scathing criticism, expressed by the News as "too disgraceful for us to dwell upon."

While the barricade may have helped check the first Federal charge, Captain Norwood, finding that his men faced an overwhelming enemy and were unsupported, ordered them to fall back toward town. This would indicate he was unaware of the flankers in his rear. Positions were taken behind fences, shrubbery and trees, between the Ely corner (Hotel Marianne, or Runnymede Hotel) and the Episcopal Church, mainly on the south side of the street. At the second charge they poured a hot raking fire at close range on the advancing Federals, who came charging down the street two and three deep. Those of the Guards who reached the church yard were met by a

galling fire from the rear. The Home Guards, now encircled and always outnumbered, fought with desperation. After a half hour of intense fighting, and after the wounding of General Asboth, the church and adjacent houses (of Dr. W. I. Saunders, the rector, and of Mrs. Hunter) were ordered set afire. Beset by lead and flames, several managed to escape, but most survivors were finally compelled to surrender. After surrender, it is related that many were butchered, beaten to death or driven into the burning church by the negro troops. Others who surrendered were spared this fate by the intercession on the part of deserters (evidently of the First Florida Cavalry) who were formerly acquainted with them. The town was now in complete possession of the Federal force.

The News relates that the Confederate losses were nine killed, sixteen wounded and 54 captured. The prisoners were assembled in the Court House, their numbers increased by the inclusion of non-combatant civilians. Some, however, were paroled and set at liberty. Members of families were permitted, to visit with them. From the News list and that of Judge Liddon (Carter), it would appear that ten of the Home Guards were either killed or died shortly of their wounds. Of these, four were represented by charred bodies discovered in the ruins of the church. The enumerated wounded coincide with the figure given by the News, all of whom were prisoners. The number captured appears to slightly exceed the figure given by the News.

Asboth's only available report does not give his casualties, but a contemporary Northern newspaper placed his losses at thirty two. However he did relate that among those of his force-killed, were Captain M. M. Young, 7th Vermont, his assistant adjutant-general, and Lieutenant Ayer, 2nd Maine. The former was killed at the first fire of the Home Guards. Among the wounded were Majors Hutchinson and Cutler, Captain Stanley, and Lieuts. Adams and Moody of the 2nd Maine, and Lieut. Rowley of the First Florida. General Asboth himself was severely

wounded, once on the face, and once in the left arm, producing a fracture. The News estimated the Federal loss at about 15 killed and 40 wounded. All of the Federal 'wounded, with the exception of six, were evacuated on departure of the force. With the exception of two officers, these were cared for in the Confederate military hospital. The officers, Major Cutler and Lieut. Adams, were cared for in the residence of Thos. M. White.

It is reported that after the battle, an order was given to burn the town, but through the intercession of a Mr. Moore, it was countermanded. Although spared from burning, the town underwent thorough pillage, all available horses, wagons and carts, negroes, provisions, household goods, bedding, and even some furniture, being removed. Asboth is reported to have forbidden the pillage of any house where the occupants were at home, but the order was of little service, as owing to the intense excitement, few people remained at home. Mrs. D. L. Mackinnon relates how the presence of her mother and grandparents so over-awed rowdy raiders and negroes that the Tillinghast home was not despoiled.

The Federal officers held council and decided that in 'consequence of General Asboth's wounded condition, a quick return would be made. After midnight on the 28th, Asboth was placed in a carriage, and the 'whole force departed for Point Washington via Vernon. The march was evidently forced, as the Point was reached that day. The spoils acquired are reported as including 95 stand of arms, 200 horses and mules, 400 head of cattle, 17 wagons, with quantities of commissary and quartermaster stores. He also brought away 81 prisoners of war. Five teen-age boys among their number were liberated at Vernon. The only resident of Marianna who voluntarily left with Asboth was the telegraph operator, who had furnished Asboth with copies of the messages which had been sent to Tallahassee.

It has been mentioned that a small number of disorganized mounted men, complying with Montgomery's

order to retreat, succeeded in forcing their way through town and crossed the river. Some attempt at reformation was made by Captain Miller, the quartermaster, and Dr. Robinson, whose efforts, held the men together. News of the plight of Marianna was wired to Tallahassee, and reinforcements requested. These men were joined about sundown on the 27th by Captain W. H. Milton with his company G, and at sunrise on the 28th, Captain Jeter with company E arrived. The bridge was repaired. Scouts sent into town reported its evacuation, and although some favored immediate pursuit, cooler councils prevailed. Colonel Scott with the remainder of the Fifth Florida Battalion, arrived after a forced march on the 28th, and left in pursuit that night. Although this was carried to Point Washington, it was fruitless, as with his head start, Asboth had already departed from Point Washington several hours before his pursuers arrived.

It is not clear whether any prisoners, other than the six wounded mentioned, fell into Confederate hands. Brevard states that Captain Poe, on his way to Marianna during the progress of the battle, came upon a detail of Federal soldiers a short distance south of town guarding some prisoners. The guards were captured and the prisoners released. The new captives were detained in the woods until the Federal withdrawal, and thereupon brought into town. Asboth does not reveal whether he either liberated or brought away any of the Federal prisoners he believed to have been confined at Marianna.

On reaching Point Washington, Asboth had the wounded (including himself) and prisoners embarked on the *Lizzie Davis* for Barrancas. He turned the command over to Col. L. L. Zulavszky, with directions to move the troops down the peninsula and Santa Rosa Island to Fort Pickens, where they were expected to arrive on October 4th. Asboth himself arrived at Barrancas on the 1st, and, owing to the severity of his wounds, relinquished his post and proceeded to New Orleans for treatment, where, it was presumed, an amputation would be performed.

Some if not all of Asboth's captives were sent to Northern prisons, Elmira, N. Y., and Fort Delaware. Five are known to have died during imprisonment, and eight are recorded as having returned to their homes at the close of the war. It is presumed most of the others also returned, although greatly enfeebled.

The Federal dead were left for the townspeople to bury. After a temporary burial, the remains were transferred to the old town graveyard, and finally, it is said, were removed to the National Cemetery at Andersonville.

A cherished possession of the vestry of St. Luke's Church is the Bible which once graced the lectern of the edifice which burned on the tragic 27th. The Venerable Valentine Lowry, the present rector, relates the local tradition that when the order was given to burn the church, Major Nathan Cutler, U.S.A., succeeded in delaying its execution sufficiently to afford him time to enter the church and secure the Bible, which he later delivered into the hands of the Reverend William T. Saunders, the then rector. The circumstance that he was unmolested while on this errand, does not support a belief that the interior of the church was then occupied by active combatants. In later years Major Cutler told John H. Carter that he had no recollection of the episode, and further said that the burning of the church and dwellings were acts of pure vandalism, executed by the negro troops. However Mrs. Mackinnon states that she was told by the major himself that when he saw unruly negro troops bent on burning the church, he entered the edifice, secured the Bible from the lectern, and carried it outside.

Further clemency displayed by Major Cutler caused him to be held in esteem by the people of Marianna. It is related that while seated on his horse shortly after the time the church was set afire (according to Mrs. Mackinnon while he was carrying the Bible to the Rev. Mr. Saunders), he was attacked by two boys, who "literally peppered" him with shot, from a position so close that he could have cut them down with his saber while in the act

of shooting. Impressed by their youth and bravery, he refrained from defending himself, so that he was actually shot from off his saddle. One of these boys was Franklin Baltzell, then not yet 14 years of age. After Major Cutler recovered from his wounds, in about two months' time, he was sent to Andersonville prison, and later paroled at Jacksonville in April, 1865. During the Reconstruction period, he was in command of the Federal force stationed in Jackson County (Carter). The other Northern prisoners were also sent to Andersonville.

In later years, a successful negro lawyer, A. Purdee, narrated to Captain W. H. Milton, how as a child of eight on the Waddell plantation, 11 miles west of Marianna, he had been enticed to mount behind one of Asboth's soldiers, and was carried to Marianna, where he witnessed the application of combustibles to the church and their ignition, from a seat behind a mounted soldier. He was carried to Point Washington and on to Fort Pickens with the returning raiders. His father later recovered him from the latter place and brought him back to Jackson County.

The memory of the spontaneous heroic and futile defense of Marianna on the tragic 27th of September, 1864, will long be cherished in Jackson County. A shaft was jointly erected in 1921 in the center of the city by the William Henry Milton Chapter of the Florida Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the citizens of Marianna, and the State Legislature, hearing the following inscription :

BATTLE OF MARIANNA
 SEPT. 27, 1864
 WHERE OVERWHELMING
 FEDERAL FORCES WERE
 STUBBORNLY RESISTED
 BY A HOME GUARD OF
 OLD MEN AND BOYS
 AND A FEW SICK AND
 WOUNDED CONFEDERATES
 ON FURLOUGH
 1860-1865
 CONFEDERATE HEROES

The following roll of the Home Guard may be incomplete and probably contains inaccuracies. It is a combination of the list of killed, wounded and prisoners published in the *West Florida News Extra* with the list of Judge Liddon (both in Carter's pamphlet). The figures following the names have the following significance:

1. From the list in the *West Florida News Extra*
2. From Judge Liddon's list
3. Killed in battle
4. Wounded, dying of wounds
5. Wounded
6. Prisoner
7. Prisoner paroled.
8. Prisoner dying in Northern. prison
9. Prisoner returning from prison at close of war
10. Prisoner escaped
11. Name on September 26, 1861 roll of *Jackson Home Guards*.

MARIANNA HOME GUARDS

1. Abercrombie, P	1,6	21. Chason, John	1,5,6
2. Alderman, B. G.	1,2,7	22. Dunn, T. W.	1,7
3. Anderson, Isaac	1,7	23. Davis, Ellis	1,6
4. Anderson, Wm. E.	1,6	24. Davis, Sr., Capt. Jno.	1,2,5,11
(By Asboth called Brig. Gen. of militia ; by Robinson an aged non- combatant)		25. Dykes, Jacob	1,10
		(C.S.A., 15th Cav.)	
5. Armistead, L. T.	2,6	26. Farley, F. M.	1,6
6. Armistead, Robt. (15)	1,2,6	27. Farley, Wm.	1,10,11
(released at Vernon)		28. Gammon, Samuel B.	1,2,6
7. Ball, George W.	2	29. Gautier, J. W. (T.N.)	1,2,10
8. Baltzell, F. (14)	2,5,6	30. Gwin, Peyton	1,5,6
(released at Vernon)		31. Hartsfield, J. W.	1,6
9. Baltzell, R. (15)	2,6	32. Hentz, Dr. T. W.	1,2,5,6,9
(released at Vernon)		33. Hinson (Huson) W. H.	1,6
10. Baltzell, Thos. W.	1,5,6	34. Justiss, J. B.	1,6
11. Barnes, Thos.	2	(Capt., Veteran Revo- lutionary and 1812 Wars)	
12. Bassett, Capt. H. O.	1,2,3	35. Kincey, W. J.	1,6
(C.S.A. 6th Fla.)		36. Lamb	2
13. Blount, (Dr.) Lt. A.F.	1,2,5	37. Lawrence, Rev. R.C.B.	1,2,5
14. Bowles, J. R.	2	38. Lewis, Sr., Arthur	1,2,4
15. Brett, Lt. Jas. H.	1,2,4,11	39. Long, Felix H. G.	1,2,9
16. Burke, Dr. C. C.	2	40. Long (Dr.) Nicholas A	1,2,9
17. Bush, Allen H.	1,2,9,11	41. McKinley, W. L.	2
18. Bush, Albert G.	1,2,9,11	42. McNealy, A d a m	1,2,5
19. Bush, Rev. Richard	1,7,11	(wounded after surrender)	
20. Carter, John (C.S.A., body in church)	1,2,3	43. Mathews. Wm.	2,5,8
		44. Merritt, Alex S.	1,2,9

- | | | | |
|--|----------|--|--------|
| 45. Montgomery, Colonel
A.B., C.S.A., Comman-
dant | 1,6 | 61. Robinson, Dr. Henry 2
(Ass't Surgeon, C.S.A.) | |
| 46. Moore, C. R. | 1,10 | 62. Roulhac, Jas. B. | 1,2,8 |
| 47. Mooring, E. W. | 1,2,9 | 63. Rouse, John | 2 |
| 48. Morgan, Nicholas | 2 | 64. Scott? Andrew | 2 |
| 49. Mosely, Milton
(Wilton) | 2 | 65. Sewell, H. | 2 |
| 50. Myrick, Sr., J. T. | 1,2,7 | 66. Shiver (Shriver), W. | 1,5,6 |
| 51. Myrick, Jr., J. T. | 1,2,6 | 67. Sims, Miles | 1,6 |
| 52. Myrick, Littleton | 1,2,3 | 68. Spencer, Lamb (C.S.A.) | 1,2,6 |
| 53. Nickels, Chas. (14)
(released at Vernon j) | 1,2,6 | 69. Stevens, Henry (15)
(released at Vernon) | 2,6 |
| 54. Nickels, Wm. | 2,7,11 | 70. Staley, Lt. C. J. | 1,6,11 |
| 55. Nickels,
Woodbury (17)
(Killed after surrender,
body in church) | 1,2,3 | 71. Sullivan, Solomon | 1,2,4 |
| 56. Norton, Rev. E. B. | 2 | 72. Taylor, Peter | 2 |
| 57. Norwood, Jesse J.
(Captain Home Guards) | 1,2,6 | 73. Tucker, Charles
(Quincy) | 1,2,6 |
| 58. O'Neal, Jas. | 1,6 | 74. Tucker, Charles
(Jackson County) | 1,7 |
| 59. Pittman, Frederic R. | 1,2,9,11 | 75. Watson, Hinson
(Hinton) J. | 1,2,6 |
| 60. Quinn, Peter | 2,5,6 | 76. Watson, O. M. | 2 |
| | | 77. Whitehurst, J. B. | 1,2,8 |
| | | 78. Wilson, Dr. W. S. | 2 |
| | | 79. Wynn, W. A. | 2 |
| | | 80. Wynn, W. B. | 1,8 |

GREENWOOD HOME GUARDS

- | | | | |
|---|-------|--|-------|
| 81. Allen, Rev. Frank
(Body in church) | 1,2,3 | 86. Gray, Davis
(reported to have wounded
Gen. Asboth) | 2 |
| 82. Baker, James Smith | 2 | 87. Kimball, W. H. | 1,5,6 |
| 83. Butler, Dr. M. A.
(killed after surrender) | 1,2,3 | 88. Newsome, T. D. | 1 |
| 84. Dickson, J. J. | 1,5,6 | 89. Robinson,
Capt. Henry J. | 2 |
| 85. Dickson,
Marmaduke N. | 1,2,4 | 90. Sorey, Robert | 1,7 |

CAMPBELLTON HOME GUARDS
(Capt. A. R. Godwin's Cavalry Co.)

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|--|-----|
| 91. Abercrombie, W. | 1,6 | 95. Haywood
(Haygood) F. P. | 1,6 |
| 92. Bosworth, Sm'l (GSA) | 1,8,5 | 96. King, Isaac
(C.S.A., 15th Cav.) | 1,5 |
| 93. Daniel, Wm. | 1,6 | | |
| 94. Elmore, Mark (72) | | | |

COMPANY G, FIFTH FLORIDA BATTALION CAVALRY

97. McPherson, Lt. Wm. 1,2,5
(Post Adjutant)

COMPANY I, FIFTH FLORIDA BATTALION CAVALRY

- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | (Capt. Chisholm) | | |
| 98. Fordham, Benj | 1,6 | 100. Sheats, C. N. | 1,5,6 |
| 99. Pittman, N | 1,6 | | |

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CODE DUELLO IN FLORIDA

By HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

In young America, the common method by which a gentleman cleansed his honor of insult was to resort to arms under the *code duello*. The great majority of prominent men in the early days of the republic resorted to this adjustment at one time or another. Whether the insult were justified or not made no difference to the offended individual. If he were victorious in combat, either the righteousness of his cause was considered upheld or the greater need for discretion in questioning his integrity was emphasized.

Although by the 1830's and 1840's in the older, settled regions of the country duelling was being recognized as an adolescent solution for personal disputes, it was still the prevalent custom on the frontier. Florida was one of the frontier regions-until about the time of Reconstruction. There, duelling was common practice, though illegal, until the eve of the Civil War. Political disputes were productive of a large number of these personal encounters.

Why duelling held on so long on the frontier, as an accepted method of settlement of disputes is a question which may stimulate interesting discussion. Frontier life was characterized by obvious decentralization and simplification in the social and economic organization of the people; The tendency was towards ethical crudity and ruthlessness.¹ Life on the frontier was relatively isolated and man was more dependent on his own resources for all his needs, from food to recreation, than in more developed areas.

We might conclude that a frontiersman would almost necessarily be an ego centered person. Markedly ego-centered persons are not usually highly mature in their responsibility linkages.² It would not be unusual if that

1. Pierson, Geo. W., "The Frontier and American Institutions," *New England Quarterly*, June 1942.

2. Overstreet, H. A., *The Mature Mind* (New York: 1949), p. 73.

were the case that a society of such persons, or a society accepting a philosophy of glorification of the individual *vs.* the group, would accept personal combat as the most effective solution of personal disputes, while a more urbane, socio-centered society would view that custom as barbarous, childish, and immature.

Writing seriously, one woman who was raised in frontier Florida said, "Duelling . . . as a social regulator . . . has a very wholesome effect, as there is nothing that has so restraining an influence upon the passions of men, who understand that they will be held personally accountable for unwonted and libellous conduct."³

Yet there were those in the Florida of that day who spoke out against the custom which was so deep-rooted among the "gentlemen." Some of the clergy used their efforts to overcome adherence to the practice. The Rev. Francis P. Lee of St. John's Church in Tallahassee spoke from the pulpit against duelling and circulated handbills setting forth his views. The Rev. Mr. Lee declared that while duelling was defended as affording protection to life, property, and character, it in reality had the opposite effect. It actually proved nothing except that one man was a better shot than the other. He believed that the real motivating reasons for a duel were anger and 'revenge.'

From an early date, duelling was technically against the law in Florida, yet there was, little visible diminution of the number of duels being fought. In 1832, the Legislative Council passed a law making duelling punishable by one year's imprisonment or a five hundred dollar fine. This applied to all persons connected with the duel and, in addition, any person who accepted or sent a challenge. Murder charges could later be brought against the victor if his opponent died.⁵

Some authorities claim that the Council at this time

3. Long, Ellen Call, MS. in Call collection, Florida Historical Society Library.

4. Lee, F. P., *A Tract for the Times* (Tallahassee: 1839).

5. *Acts of the Legislative Council, 1832*, pp. 63-64.

proclaimed any man who would not accept a challenge to be a coward.⁶ While this makes a good story, it does not adhere to the facts as recorded in legislative journals and as correctly reported by Caroline Mays-Brevard. Actually, the Council made it an offense to brand a man a coward for not accepting a challenge.?

Despite the law many high Florida officials and citizens of note continued to give vent to their anger in personal combat. There are records of duels in Florida as far back as the Spanish occupation. There is also some evidence that members of the U. S. Army in Georgia often crossed over into Florida to fight in the days before it was United States territory. T. Frederick Davis tells an interesting tale concerning a Spanish governor of Florida. This official, Sebastian Kindelan, became so incensed over the "Patriot Wars" (1812-1816) that he prepared a challenge for President James Madison. The consent of the Captain-General of Cuba was necessary, however, and it was apparently squelched by him.⁸

Duels sometimes arose from disputes initiated in the editorial or "Communications" columns of the newspapers. One such challenge was issued by Alexander Scott of Pensacola in 1824. Scott had written letters to the *Washington Republican* and to a Mobile paper in which he took issue with the treatment accorded to a Major Steele as a result of certain court proceedings. Steele had been imprisoned for contempt of court and Scott felt that the proceedings had been high handed. He was highly critical of the judge, the marshal, and the quarters in which Steele had been confined.

A defense of the court was made in the columns of the *Pensacola Gazette* by a correspondent who signed himself "Spectator."⁹ This writer, who was William Sebree, characterized Scott's letters as seditious, falsified, eva-

6. Martin, S. W. in *Florida During the Territorial Days*, p. 106; and Cash, W. T. in *Florida Becomes a State*, p. 19, quoting from Martin.

7. *Acts of the Legislative Council*, 1832, p. 69.

8. Davis, T. I., *Florida Events of History*, MS. book, 1942, p. 3.

9. *Pensacola Gazette*, July 24, 1824.

sive, and misrepresentations of fact. This provoked the following reply from Scott.

By a note received from Mr. Hunt [editor of the Gazette] I am informed that you are the Author of a communication signed *Spectator*. This communication reflecting upon my character and in which my veracity is impeached authorizes me in demanding of you personal redress.¹⁰

This challenge seems to be in the classic style which usually marked the language of such. It was usually a very brief note in the most courteous language, which at a glance might be mistaken for a card of thanks or an invitation to a social function.

There is no record that this duel was ever fought. If it was, neither of the principals were killed, for both lived for a good many years after. The challenge was found in the papers of Judge Benjamin D. Wright.

Florida's first governor, Andrew Jackson, was himself a noted believer in the social usefulness of duelling, although he apparently modified his views somewhat in later years. Although Jackson engaged in no duel while governor, it is said that James D. Westcott won his appointment as Secretary of the Territory by taking a challenge for Jackson, Westcott is also known to have fought Thomas Baltzell at one time.¹¹

During his governorship, Jackson allowed two young officers, identified as Hull and Randall, to duel in Pensacola. Dr. John Bronough, prominent in politics, was the attending physician at the encounter in which Hull was killed.¹² In 1829, Col. George Walton, a Secretary of the Territory, fought a Dr. McMahan of Pensacola because of criticism of the official conduct of the former.

Probably the most publicized duel in early Florida was

10. Alexander Scott to William Sebree, July 24, 1824. Letter in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

Alexander Scott was a Custom's Official. William Sebree was later an alderman of Pensacola.

11. Rerick, R. H., *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta: 1902), p. 162.

12. Brevard, C. M., *History of Florida* (DeLand: 1924), Vol. 1, p. 199.

the Alston-Read affair in which Leigh Read killed Augustus Alston. This was one of the many disputes arising from political differences. The fight gave rise to a family versus family dispute which was carried on for years and resulted in the murder of Read and several others. Col. John S. Beard, many years later, recalled that it was widely believed that Alston's family cut the bullets out of his body, molded them into new ones, and sent them to a brother in New Orleans to use against Read.¹³

Joseph M. White-Richard K. Call

One of the bitterest disputes, which never resulted in a duel between the principals, was that which raged for years between Joseph M. White and Richard K. Call. Both were prominent political figures, and in opposite camps. Call was an Andrew Jackson man, while White was a supporter of John Quincy Adams. Their differences gave rise to frequent denunciations of each other.

Call charged, in 1825, that White's friends were inventing and circulating reports reflecting upon Call's character. White replied that had he injured Call, he held himself responsible to "give him satisfaction." He accused Call of making "not only a rude but groundless charge, that had an existence only in his imagination."¹⁴

The result of this exchange was the following note from Call to White:

Sir :

Your return to this Country affords me the opportunity I have long anxiously awaited, to demand from you, reparation for the injury and insult, received by me, in consequence of your publication in the Pensacola Gazette of the 4th of June 1825 which appeared long after your departure from this Territory.

My friend Capt. R. [Ramage] of the Navy, will

13. Statement of Col. John S. Beard dictated at Pensacola, Fla., Aug. 8, 1924. Transcript in Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

14. *Pensacola Gazette*, June 4, 1825.

deliver you this letter and he is fully authorized by me to make any arrangements which may be agreed upon.

R.K. CALL.

There were efforts to reconcile White and Call. Daniel Burch wrote to Call suggesting that a settlement should be made. He reported, "Colo. Tattnall has written to Colo. Clinch asking if it is not possible to effect a reconciliation . . . You know that Tattnall is warmly your friend and would advise nothing that in all respects should not be honorable."¹⁵

Call, however, was not to be deterred. His go-between, J. W. Ramage, was a firm believer in the *code duello*. Ramage wrote from Pensacola in 1826 that his mission was a common subject for tavern gossip.¹⁶ He made arrangements to meet White at Quincy in October, 1826, to arrange the details of the duel. After meeting White, Ramage wrote excitedly from Quincy a letter marked "Private and Confidential" in which he related,

I arrived here at 10 this morning-W. one hour previously. I have just returned from a conversation with him in the woods . . . the result of which is as follows. He will not enter Tallahassee at *present*— . . . but no language of mine can express the surprise I felt when he informed me, "he was unprovided with a friend and knew not where to get one here" I alluded to the admonition I gave him on this subject at Pensacola., and told him that it would be necessary to provide himself, and that too im'my., for too much time had already elapsed, and the affair must now be settled one way or the other.-he replied, he had lately received a letter from the Brother of McC. which assured him he would be here. But that not being the case, he knew not who to apply to, and if I would act for both he was perfectly willing. A shake of the head was all the answer he received— he spoke of a friend in Augusta in Georgia, but did

¹⁵ Daniel Burch to Call, April 19, 1826, Call Collection.

¹⁶ Ramage to Call, Aug. 3, 1826, Call Collection.

not wish to take you that far. I replied . . . that he had already appointed Tallahassee, and T. was here. Finding his unwillingness to choose a friend in this quarter, I determined to mention the name of *one*—he anticipated however my object, and asked me if Burch was in Tallahassee. I told him he was at Belamy 's. He said he did not like to ask him for he knew he was a friend of yours . . . I replied that I had the assurance of B. that if he could not find a friend, he would act and see *fair* play, which were in fact Burch's words . . . This, my dear fellow is about the substance of our recent talk—much other matter was mentioned . . ., but the whole impressed me with ideas, not proper to commit to paper . . . I shall give him one hour when I shall ask him if he has dispatched a messenger to B.¹⁷

The meeting of White and Ramage in Quincy was not long kept a secret. Two days later Ramage wrote to Call,

It is impossible for me to state the agitation of the country about this affair. I think your friends are too warm—but we cannot controul Tavern Talk. I am as well known here, as you know me in this affair—and it has been with no little address on my part, that I, have been able to parry the many attacks of Religion, masonry, friends, etc. which have been levelled against me.¹⁸

Here the *Call* collection leaves a tantalizing gap in our knowledge of this dispute. A temporary settlement was made, presumably by Ramage and White or his representatives. There are no letters concerning the terms of the settlement, although there are later letters from Ramage which indicate that the settlement was looked upon as less than favorable from the point of view of White's friends. Ramage stated that in Pensacola Burch, who had represented White in the negotiations, was accused of

17. Ramage to Call, Oct. 16, 1826, Call collection.

18. Ramage to Call, Oct. 18, 1826, Call collection.

betraying his principal and of exceeding his instructions. Ramage published a handbill which, according to him, smote the followers of White with dismay. This leaflet presumably gave Call's side and showed White's cause in as dark colors as possible. Full details of the matter were communicated to Tattnall and Andrew Jackson by Ramage.¹⁹

Jackson took a great deal of interest in Call, who had been one of his junior officers, and replied to Ramage, "I rejoice much that this affair has thus been honorably adjusted-and I am clearly of opinion and thus. have wrote Gen. Call, some time since, that he ought to be perfectly silent on the subject, as tho' no dispute had ever existed between them. I know Call to be a high minded honorable man, and am happy to be informed by you, that Colo. White acquitted himself so well."²⁰

The settlement came in for criticism from the friends of White which became so strong that a renewal of the dispute was feared, Ramage inquired of Burch if, that were the purpose of the criticism and received the "strongest assurances, there was no such intention, nor should anything farther be said or *written* . . . on the subject."²¹ Ramage observed that after this assurance had been given objectionable items had appeared in the *Pensacola Gazette* and had been repeated by White's friends. Apparently this underground method of denunciation and counter denunciation went on for a number of years. At any rate in 1833 White wrote to Call as follows :

Tallahassee, April 12, 1833

Sir :

It has beeg intimated to me that your friends and yourself impute to me certain articles in the newspapers in this Territory, & in your publication of this day, some reference may be made to me.

I have not since this canvass, & do not intend to

19. Ramage to Call, Nov. 29, 1826. Call collection.

20. Ramage to Call, April 25, 1827, Call collection.

21. *Idem*.

write one line derogatory to your character, and any reference to me under that idea is misplaced & ill directed. Should I be under the necessity of writing anything in relation to you it will be over the signature of your

observant

Jos. M. White

Although the threatened duel between Call and White failed to materialize, Rerick reports that a challenge passed between two of their relatives, Leigh Read and Oscar White, who fought on account of their distinguished kinsmen. According to his account a crowd gathered for the spectacle and saw the combatants empty several pistols at each other, and then close with dirks.²²

An incident which well illustrates the adolescent vigor with which some gentlemen prosecuted their arguments is the description given by Col. John S. Beard of a duel between George T. Ward and Augustus Alston. This duel was fought to avenge the death of Ward's younger brother. The younger Ward was a West Point cadet who had served as a voluntary aide to Alston in a skirmish with the Indians. Young Ward was serving on a temporary basis while home on leave. His actions were those of a green recruit under fire for the first time and Alston became so enraged at his activities that he killed him in a fit of anger.

The duel between George Ward and Alston took place outside Tallahassee. Achille Murat was Ward's second and Dr. Randolph of Tallahassee was the attending physician. Both Ward and Alston appeared in their shirt-sleeves wearing silk scarfs around their waists. The scarfs were stuffed chock full of single barrel duelling pistols which fired bullets about the size of a man's thumb. It was agreed that after each shot each one was to advance one step, continuing firing until one or both were dead.

Alston hit Ward first, breaking his leg. Ward fell

²². Rerick, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

while Alston advanced, still shooting. One of these shots broke Ward's arm. When he got directly over Ward, Alston had no shots left while Ward still had one. Alston then folded his arms and declared, "I believe he will kill me after all." Ward fired his last shot and it missed. In a rage he demanded more guns and insisted that his second prop him up that the contest might continue. Fortunately Ward fainted before his instructions could be carried out.

It was later agreed to continue the duel. Before Ward recovered sufficiently to fight, however, Alston was killed in the duel with Read.²³

Achille Murat, who served as Ward's second, also had occasion to resort to personal combat. He fought Judge David B. McComb because of a dispute arising from the theft of McComb's hogs by Murat's slaves. The climax of the dispute came in a political campaign in which Murat called McComb a "damned, infernal, liar." In the fight Murat lost half the little finger on his right hand. While he did not wound McComb, one of his bullets "went through his shirt and scared out the lice." At this point the conflict abruptly terminated.²⁴

While the institution of duelling is today regarded in most societies as a barbarous practice, even duelling, with its rules of conduct, was preferable to the shooting on sight in public places which characterized some disputes in the frontier regions. After Florida became a state and the proprieties of civilization began to filter in, duelling became less and less frequent, Juries came to take a less tolerant view of those who engaged in duels, and the St. Joseph Constitution prohibited duelists from holding state office. As society became more mature, so its immature aspects vanished. Yet even in 1862, aged Richard K. Call, a staunch Unionist, threatened to "give satisfaction" to any who should question his loyalty to the South.

23. Statement referred to previously by John S. Beard.

24. Hanna, A. J., *A Prince in Their Midst* (Norman, Okla., 1946), pp. 152, 153.

FORT TONYN AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1778

By RIPLEY P. BULLEN

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and Historic Memorials*

Fort Tonyn, a small British fort during the American Revolution, is believed by some to have been located on Amelia Island at the site now occupied by Fort Clinch. The probable reason for this tradition is the fact that it is so located on a map prepared by W. G. F. Wallace, Esq., and included by Burton Barrs in his *East Florida in the American Revolution*.¹ No substantiating evidence for this location is given by Barrs and it may be stated categorically that Wallace's map is incorrect in this respect.

Named for the last British governor of East Florida, Fort Tonyn was, apparently, never recognized as a fort by the British. At least I have been unable to find such a designation in any of the original British sources. It appears to have been a name applied by Americans to a British outpost.

While the exact location of Fort-Tonyn cannot be determined at this time, evidence can be marshalled to demonstrate it to have been about 25 miles up the St. Marys River. To do this it is necessary to trace, as well as can be done, the route of General Robert Howe's campaign of 1778 to attack East Florida. The accompanying map shows the location of the Kings Road in Florida and my interpretation of the route taken by the main part of Howe's forces which, in general, seem to have followed the Kings Road in Georgia.

British preparation for the expected invasion is summed up in the following quotation from Brig. Gen. Augustine Prevost's letter of June 5, 1778 written from St. Augustine to Gen. Sir William Howe (British).

"Men who were coming to invade this Province have halted on the other side of the Altamaha River, the preparations with the Augumentation of our Forces, I sup-

¹ Barrs, 1932 (See Appendix) pp. 18-19.

pose has deterred them from proceeding in their operations, intentions was to let them advance as far as St. Mary and by no means save them any trouble, there we should have begun to oppose them and disputed our ground every step. Governor Tonyn's Rangers was to have opposed their passage over that river and were to be supported by about. two hundred and fifty loyal Carolinians, part of them Light Horse Men, * * * the retreat of this body was secured by a small Fortification on the northside of the river St. John, and that post by an armed Vessel ; on the southside of this river, I have erected Batteries at such places as it was probable and practicable for them to cross the river, supported by two detachments of Regulars, and ten miles behind them, I proposed taking post with all the -Men from the Garrison, leaving only the number to garrison the fort. *** as what is between St. Mary and St. John was abandoned before I came here. '2

There is no indication in this quotation of Fort Tonyn nor of any other fortification north of the St. Johns River. There exist, however, many references to Florida Rangers at the St. Marys River. No doubt they had a fortified dwelling or other establishment which the Americans dignified by calling a fort.

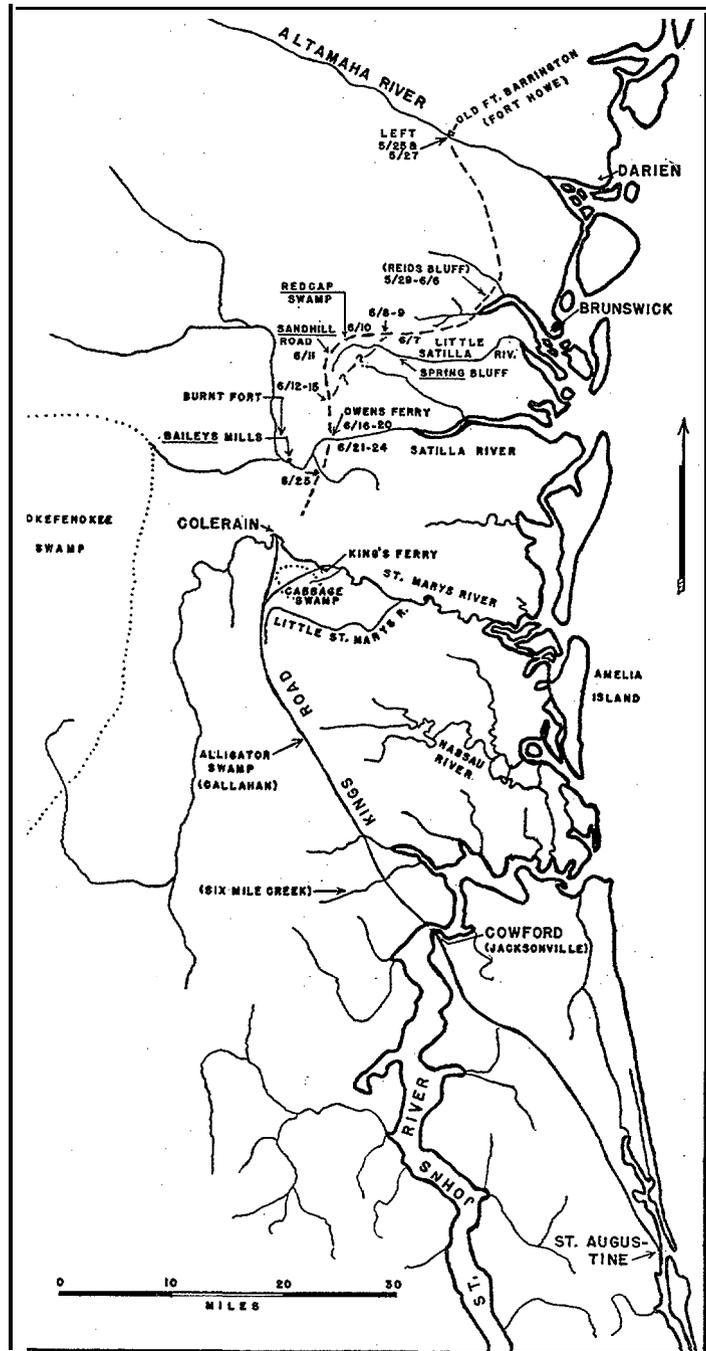
The American view, given by Col. Pinckney's letter to Gen. Moultrie, written May 24, 1778 from Fort Howe? does not consider Fort Tonyn a formidable post. Parts of this letter follow:

"We shall proceed with all possible expedition for St. Mary's where we shall have some amusement by the attack on Fort Tonyn. ***By intelligence from St. Augustine the enemy's force is as follows: 300 regulars at Fort Tonyn, on St. Mary's; 60 at St. Johns, 320 at St. Augustine, 80 to the southwest of St. Augustine.'3

Before taking up the route of the American forces a few comments about the accompanying map are in order.

2. Hist. Manus. Comm., 1904, pp. 260-261.

3. Jones, 1833, p. 292.



In tracing this route I have followed the order book of Col. Samuel Elbert, commander of part of Howe's troops. Modern terms, as found on topographic maps of the U. S. Geological Survey, which seem to be cognates of places mentioned by Elbert, are underlined. The Kings Road from St. Augustine to Colerain follows Tanner's 1839 map⁴ and a photostat of a map belonging to the Florida Historical Society and marked in pencil "De La Cruz, 1821." The fork in this road to King's Ferry is shown on the latter map. Various maps show the King's Road from Colerain to bend to the east, to cross the Satilla and Little Satilla Rivers, and to end at Fort Barrington.

From Elbert's order book⁵ we find that early in April, 1778, troops were ordered south from Savannah and supplies sent on flat boats up the Altamaha River. By the 14th these forces had arrived at Fort Howe on the Altamaha River which I assume, following Barrs, to be the same as Fort Barrington.⁶ Reinforcements arrived and preparations were made for the campaign. By May 24th everything was ready and 100 men started for Reids Bluff on the 25th, followed on the 27th by the main army.

I have been unable to locate Reids Bluff but as there are numerous references to boats at that place and it appears to have taken Elbert two days to get there, I believe it to be somewhere at the head of the short river or inlet to the west of Brunswick. Elbert's order book continues.

June 6—Reids Bluff; general marching orders.

June 7—Camp Spring Branch.

June 8 and 9—Camp at Werts Old Cowpen.

June 10—Camp at Red Cap Branch.

June 11—Camp at Sand Hill Branch.

June 12 to 15—Camp within three miles of Old Town.

June 16 to 20—Camp at the Cowford ; men sent across the river to protect the engineer and his workmen.

June 21—Camp, Satilla River.

4. American Atlas.

5. Coll. Geo. Hist. Soc., Vol. V, No. 2.

6. Barrs, 1932, p. 27.

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June 22 to 24—Camp at South Side of Satilla; the army to leave camp at 5 :00 to-morrow morning.

June 25—Camp, Bayley 's Branch ; the army marches to-morrow at sunrise.

June 29—Camp at Fort Tonyn.

June 30—Camp at Fort Tonyn ; “he (the engineer) is also to survey the fort and report to the Genl. whether it can be repaired, and what additional work may be necessary.”

July 1 to 14—Camp at Fort Tonyn; “the Genl. leaves the army to-day (the 14th) ” and the army started to return northward.

Comparing the above itinerary with the map shows certain modern names, Spring Bluff, Redcap Swamp, Sand Hill Road, Satilla River, and Baileys Mills, which occur in the same order, from northeast to southwest, as Spring Branch, Red Cap Branch, Sand Hill Branch, Satilla River, and Bayley's Branch, listed by Elbert. These similarities are sufficient to indicate Howe's line of march within certain limits.

As Sand Hill Road extends easterly across the upper part of the Little Satilla River and as maps show the Kings Road crossing this river, it is likely the army crossed the Little Satilla at Werts Old Cowpen where they were for two nights. This name has not survived to appear on modern maps.

Where the army crossed the Satilla River is not certain. Elbert's Old Town may refer to Burnt Fort (Fort McIntosh, previously destroyed by men from Florida). Three miles from that point, as indicated by Elbert's book, would place the army on the road to Owens Ferry which I believe is Elbert 's Cowford. Bayley 's Branch may be either of the tributaries of the Satilla River shown to the east and to the west of Baileys Mills. The more eastern branch is preferable as it produces a shorter line of march and agrees more nearly with where the Kings Road is supposed to have gone. If the army went further to the west, Burnt Fort would be Elbert's Cowford.

While this interpretation is less likely it produces the same result as far as Fort Tonym is concerned, both place the army south of Baileys Mills on June 26th.

Elbert's order book is silent concerning the three day period, June 26th to 28th, during which the army marched to Fort Tonym. To judge from their previous rate of travel it would have taken this length of time for them to reach the St. Marys River from Bayley's Branch. It is reasonable, therefore, to believe Fort Tonym to have been located on the St. Marys River south of Baileys Mills.

There are three possibilities for this location; King's Ferry, Orange Bluff, or one of the landings south or southwest of Colerain. Orange Bluff, between King's Ferry and Colerain, may, I believe, be eliminated because of the swampy terrain and because the 1821 map shows the King's Road going to Camp Pinckney (near White Sand Landing) and King's Ferry but not to Orange Bluff.

The arrival of Howe's army forced the Florida Rangers to withdraw into Cabbage Swamp.' If Fort Tonym had been at King's Ferry it would seem these Rangers would have retreated along the eastern fork of the Kings Road. However, if the fort were opposite Colerain, an attack, with cavalry sent a short distance to the south along the road, would quite likely have forced the Rangers into Cabbage Swamp and have prevented their egress by road. This seems to be what occurred, as Gen. Prevost (British) subsequently wrote Sir Henry Clinton under date of July 11, 1778 from the Cowford (Jacksonville), St. Johns River:

"After the Rebels had advanced to this side of the St. Mary's River, Major Prevost was directed to advance towards St. Mary as near as he could prudently venture in order to favor the retreat of Governor Tonym's Rangers, to cover a few inhabitants on the Branches of Nassau in bringing off their effects, and if a favorable oppor-

7. Mowat, 1943, p. 122.

tunity offered to check or cut off any partys the Enemy might push forward. ' 8

This action succeeded in extraditing the Rangers but they were attached by American cavalry at Alligator Bridge (Alligator Swamp near Callahan) as they were joining Prevost's main party. Repulse of the Americans here was communicated by Col. Brown of the Rangers to Gov. Tonyn on June 30th from Alligator Creek Bridge.⁹

Gen. Prevost's letter continues :

"The principal object for which Major Prevost was advanced being effected as far as circumstances would permit, and finding it difficult to maintain a proper communication with him at the distance of Twenty-three miles, from the Smallness of our Number, he was directed to fall back to a strong Situation within Six Miles of this place. ' 10

Twenty-three miles from the Cowford (Jacksonville) is very close to the actual distance from the latter place to Alligator Swamp at Callahan.

Gen. Howe (American) also refers to this skirmish in his letter of July 5, 1778, written from Fort Tonyn to Gen. Moultrie :

"The enemy were 2 or 3 days since at Alligator Creek, about 14 miles from this place. ' 11

Fort Tonyn then was about 14 miles north of Alligator Swamp which would agree with the location suggested earlier, between King's Ferry and Colerain. That the fort was on the south side of the river is evident from a note in Elbert's order book. The entry for July 8th at Fort Tonyn includes the following:

"He (the Quartermaster General) is also to go with the engineer this afternoon to mark out a road from the landing opposite Fort Tonyn to the road cutting by the militia pioneers towards Saint Illas (Satilla River). ' 12

8. Hist. Manus. Comm., 1904, pp. 271-2.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-3.

11. Jones, 1883, p. 296.

12. Coll. Geo. Hist. Soc., Vol. V, No. 2.

Anyone who follows Elbert's list of dates and camps is immediately surprised by the slow progress of Howe's army. Five miles seems to have been a good days march. No doubt they had to improve or even make a road as they proceeded. Their artillery, consisting of "three brass field pieces, two iron two pounders & two swivel cohorns"¹³ also may have delayed their progress substantially.

Fort Tonym was located on the south side of the St. Marys River near Cabbage Swamp. Probably it was on the high land southwest of Colerain. From Colerain a road extends northeasterly to cross the Satilla River at Owens Ferry. This road is marked "Old National Highway" on the Boulogne Quardrangle, U. S. Geological Survey map. It was probably along this road that the Americans approached Fort Tonym.

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LETTERS FROM FLORIDA IN 1851

Edited by OLIN NORWOOD

Clement Claiborne Clay, 1816-1886, was a son of Governor Clement Comer Clay of Alabama. He was a lawyer by profession, and in 1851 was a county judge. Two years later he was elected to the U. S. Senate, where he served until the outbreak of the Civil War. He declined to be the first Confederate Secretary of War, but was a Confederate senator from 1861 until 1863. In 1864 he undertook a highly secret mission to Canada on behalf of the Confederacy, the results of which are still not completely known. He was accused of participating in the conspiracy to assassinate Lincoln, and spent over a year in solitary confinement at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Through the efforts of his wife, Virginia Caroline (Tunstall) Clay, he was released by President Johnson in 1866. After his release from prison he retired from public life.

In 1851, Clay went to Florida in company with Dr. John Young Bassett, both from Huntsville, Alabama: They went seeking to regain their health, for they both were suffering from some bronchial condition. The trip seems to have been of little aid to Dr. Young, however, for he died soon after returning home.

While they were in Florida, Clay wrote several letters and Young wrote one letter to Clay, which give an uncommon and interesting picture of the Florida scene in 1851. The letters follow.

(Clement Claiborne Clay to Clement Comer Clay)

Jacksonville, E. Florida., Sunday, February 16, 1851.

My Dear Father: On Tuesday the 11th inst., we left Savannah in the steamer *Gaston*, & reached here on Wednesday afternoon. We stopped at St. Marys awhile, & I went into the town to see brother L[awton]'s¹ friend, Capt.

¹The Quarterly and its readers express their appreciation of the interest and value of these letters, and their thanks for permission to publish them, to Duke University Library, where they were found and transcribed by Mr. Norwood, a native of Florida and a member of the staff of that Library. They are in the Clement Claiborne Clay Papers of the Library.

1. Hugh Lawton Clay.

Clarke, but he was at Waynesville. I sealed the introductory letter I bore from brother L[awton] and left it in the care of a merchant for him. Our course was thru inlets & sounds & across creeks & rivers, wh[ich] are not named on the maps, & sometimes, out at sea, but in sight of the coast. The sea was quite rough, especially in crossing the bars off the mouths of the St. Marys & St. Johns rivers; insomuch, that all the ladies & many of the men aboard were very seasick. Dr. B[asset]² & others who had travelled on seas frequently were obliged to take to their births [*sic*] to escape sickness.-Tho' we had no storm, the wind was high, & the waves rolled like hills, sometimes striking the sides of the vessel so heavily as to throw us out of our chairs. I spent most of the time on the upper deck holding fast to the wheel-house or a beam, ineffectually courting seasickness & unconscious of danger, while the ladies & some men were crying or moaning in the cabins, in agonizing dread of being wrecked. Dr. B [assett] told me the spectacle in the cabins was truly painful to him-the more so, I suspect, because of his own apprehensions of his personal danger.-But, thank God, we reached here unhurt, & found a very comfortable hotel & a pleasant room.-The weather would have been very pleasant, but for slight rains on Thursday & today, which have kept us in the house; the thermometer never falling below 65°, nor rising above 75°. We are assured, however, that there has been more rain & cold weather here this winter, than has been known since 1835, when most of their orange trees were killed.-The house has been pleasant enough without fire, &, indeed, except when exposed to the north-easterly wind, I have found the air warm enough out of doors.-But, we are not far enough inland, to escape the raw air that comes from the sea, & are determined to leave here today or tomorrow for St. Augustine, where, for the same reasons, we shall only remain a few days, & then shall turn our faces towards Tampa Bay, stopping awhile at Orange Springs,

2. Dr. John Young Bassett, 1805-1851.

wh[ich] are [sic] near the middle of the State.-This place, & particularly this hotel, is filled with invalids-a spectral assemblage of bronchial & consumptive patients, some of whom will be buried here very soon.-The pale, gaunt & bloodless figures that I meet in my walks might alarm me, if my mirror & all who see me did not assure me that I exhibit none of their indications of disease.-Like all the fondly hoping victims of that flattering destroyer, not one will admit that his lungs are seriously implicated, altho' he is now ripe for the grave & his colorless, feeble & emaciated frame might be mistaken for a corpse, but for the heaving of his chest while he labors to inspire the vital air.-The grave yard, like the hotel, is filled with strangers.—I am truly glad I have come here ere my disease has assumed an alarming aspect.-I feel very confident that I shall be greatly benefitted, if not cured. I have formed, among other pleasant acquaintances, that of a Dr. Holland, who bears a very high reputation here, & who, at Dr. B[asset]t's request, examined my throat & chest very carefully. He says my lungs are as sound as anyone's & my cough proceeds entirely from the inflammation of the' epi-glottis ; wh [ich] he thinks looks like it was improving. Dr. B[asset]t says it looks 50 pr. ct. better than it did before I left home. I think I cough less & feel as well as I ever did.-If care & prudence & exercise & energy will avail, I shall get well.—I sent my umbrella home by Jno. Patton, because it was in my way & I don't intend to need it,-for I will not go out of doors in rainy or damp weather,-Dr. B[asset]t thinks he is doing very well & I trust he is not deceived.-I am obliged to Mr. Cruse for his letter to Mr. Locke.-He was very agreeable & attentive, & gave us a very kind letter introductory to Capt. Casey, U.S.A.,³ commanding post at Tampa Bay.—We found Mr. Sadler (Mr. Shanklin's father-in-law) on board the *Gaston*, & gave him the letter Mr. Shanklin gave us at Macon. He was very kind & invited us to spend a day with him, but as we would have

3. Capt. John C. Casey, U. S. Army.

to cross the St. Johns, wh[ich] is very broad here, we will not visit him.—I have met in this hotel, Mrs. Downing (widow of the member of congress)“, aunt of Mrs. Bierne, who offered me letters to her friends at several points,—Col. Hackett,” a member of Congress from the Rome dist. of Ga. (who tells me, when he left Washington in Dec. last, Jeremiah Clemons⁶ had become so puffed up that his clothes could hardly hold him & that he swallows not less than a quart of liquor daily & is growing as contemptible in public opinion as he deserves to be), & many yankees from all parts of the north.—The sand here is thirty feet deep,—the country level & covered with evergreens & flowers,—scarce a deciduous tree or plant being found—& the water is pure free stone.—The common growth is the pine, liveoak, the magnolia, the palmetto, & a species of evergreen tree called the water oak.—The aloe, acacia, japonica, hydrangea, & numberless other rare hot-house flowers with us, are seen in the gardens of this place.

[*Jacksonville*]

—Jacksonville is badly built of framed houses, has many churches,—Episcopalian, Methodist, Babtist, [*sic*] Presbyterian, & Roman Catholic—& contains about 1200 inhabitants. *Owing* to the convenient way by water of getting to & from it & its better hotels than are found in most, other places in Florida, it is more frequented by invalids than, perhaps, any other point.—It is a busy & thriving place, of a good deal of trade, & accessible to ships of the 2nd class. The St. Johns is a broad, sluggish stream, frequently widening into lakes, & navigated in large steamboats as high up as Monroe Lake, wh[ich] is 200 miles south of this.—Altho' there are orange trees in every quarter of the town, they do not mature the fruit: they were cut down in '35 by the frost & for 11 years past have

4. Charles Downing. ?—1845, a St. Augustine lawyer, and territorial delegate to U. S. Congress, 1837-1841.

5. Thomas C. Hackett, ?-1851, U. S. Congressman from Georgia, 1849-1851.

6. Jeremiah Clemens, 1814-1865, U. S. Senator from Alabama.

been ravaged by an insect.-The oranges here were grown about Lake Monroe.-We have not purchased horses, because we have found them very high; little marsh ponies, that are in form something between the alligator and the hog called *landshark*, commanding from 50 to 100 dollars,-We shall defer buying till we get where they are lower in price.-[mutilated] o'clock p. m. It ceased raining about noon & has turned quite cool,-the thermometer having fallen to 54°,-16° since morning.-We shall probably get off at 9 a. m. tomorrow, &, as the boat wh[ich] carries us up will, on its return, carry the first mail from here to Savannah, I shall stop here, & conclude tomorrow.

Monday Morning, Feby 17.—We will be off on a boat for Enterprise, on Lake Monroe, in one hour. We have concluded to go there before visiting St. Augustine, as it is 100 miles further South, & the thermometer is down to 46" this morning. Too cold for us & we'll go 2" farther South. No letter yet from home-& scarcely expect any, as the mails are uncertain here. Write to Orange Springs, Fla. Love to all-take care of my boy-send this over to Virginia when read-& believe me your affect. Son. C. C. Clay, Jr.

P. S. Tell Va. to read this to Mrs. & Miss Bassett.-I'll write again in a week.

(Clement *Claiborne* Clay to *Hugh* Lawson. Clay)

Tampa, Fla., Saturday, March 15, /51

My Dear Brother: I reached here today at noon,—having left Lake Monroe on Wednesday at 12 meridian. I overtook the postman & rode with him,—& felt myself fortunate in having a guide.-We followed the Indian trail, wh[ich] was sometimes entirely hidden from my eyes by the high palmetto shrub, wh[ich] had spread its broad leaves across it. For the first thirty odd miles we traversed an unvaried plain, covered with a sparse pine growth & stunted palmetto shrub, & with but two settlements upon it separated by twenty miles.-Then we encountered the sand hills, wh[ich] run almost due north &

south thro the middle of the state, & wh[ich] are about 25 miles in breadth, & are covered with a stunted growth of pine & oak & deep white sand.—They are low & of very gentle inclinations, & look very like potato hills.—I tho't I could almost see over them from my horse's back.—After descending from the hills, we again found the singularly level land wh [ich] prevails in this state.—

[“*Lakeland*” in 1851]

Throughout the trip I saw little lakes of clear & pure water at short distances apart,—many of them united by a little stream of water. And I have never seen or believed there was a country in wh[ich] there was so many lakes—it might be called “Lake-land” with as much reason as “Flower-land.”—I was not, I believe, out of sight of a lake for a mile's length during the trip. For 65 miles of the distance I saw no human habitation, & no sign of man save a single foot-print, wh[ich] I fancied might be that of an Indian. Of course, I had to bivouac in the woods, wh[ich] I found very pleasant & attended with no bad effects. I did not cough more than in the house or take any cold. The postman, being accustomed to camping, was *au fait* at the business.—We kindled a fire against a pine log, convenient to water, hobbled our horses & let them graze, gathered some palmetto leaves, on wh[ich] we spread our saddle blankets, & stretching ourselves with our feet to the fire slept with our clothes on (& I enveloped in your Mexican blanket) very soundly & comfortably. On rising just before day we heard the wild turkeys gobbling in the thick woods on the water's edge near us, in concert with the whooping of the red-head cranes & the hooting of the owls.—Looking around us we could not discover either of our horses, &, notwithstanding the assurance of Mr. Lowry that he had hobbled them securely & that they could not travel far with their legs tied, I felt very uncomfortable, or, as Jack Downing⁷ would say, *all overish*.—In the midst of the

7. *Jack Downing*, pseudonym of Seba Smith, 1792-1862, American satirist.

wilderness, thirty-two miles from any human dwelling, with my saddle-bags & saddle to carry or leave behind me & my horse gone, I was *fixed* for slow *travelling*.—But Mr. L[owry] (the postman) found them in twenty minutes at the distance of about 250 yards, feeding together on a *new-burn*; that is the young grass that had lately sprung up in a spot that he had burnt the old grass off of a short time before when camping there; & after cooking & eating our breakfast & feeding the horses, we mounted them & pursued our journey thro' the forest. We passed many deer & turkeys, some within pistol shot,--& innumerable partridges & various water birds, & many wolf & panther tracks. I find the panther universally called tiger here.

[*The Scrub*]

Our trip was between the head waters of the rivers that run into the Gulf of Mexico & Lake Okechubee [sic] thro' the most open woods & over the most arid & sterile ground in the world. The novelty of the trip, the strange wild scenery & the numerous wild birds & beasts, kept me constantly excited & looking ahead, & made me ample compensation for the dullness of my ignorant, tho' good natured fellow traveller.—I am not at all surprised at the exceedingly tedious, expensive & unsuccessful war with the Seminoles, when I consider the face of the country & the character of its growth & lands. It is generally exceedingly poor & covered with a very sparse pine woods, so open that you may see a man or deer for half a mile; but studded all over with lakes & hammocks of live oak & bogs of miry land, wh[ich] obstruct your progress almost every mile in any direct line; while the hammocks & the undergrowth about the lakes are frequently so thick as to hide a man securely, tho' you should pass in 10 feet of him. An Indian who knew the country well might escape from 10,000 whites who were not as familiar with it. Then, besides the game with wh[ich] the waters & wood abound, the wild potato & arrowroot

& orange & other vegetables & fruits, wh[ich] grow spontaneously, furnish subsistence in almost any part of the state to the savage who knows where to find them.

[Tampa , 1851]

Sunday 16. March. I am comfortably fixed at a Mr. Carter's boarding house, where I found an invalid from Green Co., Ala., named Meadows.-There are some twenty invalids sojourning here till warm weather begins at home, besides many who are making this their homes on account of their diseased lungs. Tampa is a little village of about two hundred inhabitants, exclusive of the soldiers in the barracks, is the county seat of Hillsboro' county, & situated on the mouth of the river of that name, wh[ich] empties into Tampa Bay.-It is badly improved & scattered over a white sand plain & would be intolerably hot if it was not almost constantly fanned by the balmy & soft Gulf breeze.-The oysters caught in the bay of Tampa are larger & finer than any I ever saw; & of choice- fish there is a great variety.-I have seen but little fruit there, because of the idleness & ignorance of the people who have done less for themselves than a Yankee would do in six months-I have not been inspired by the muse or reminded of any of the poetic associations so beautifully portrayed in Mr. Wilde's^s poem, by anything seen on Tampa's sandy.-The most interesting place here is the old barracks, established in 1822 [?] wh[ich] stretch along the shore of the river & near one end of wh[ich] rises on Indian mound, the summit of wh[ich] is crowned with a summer house, wh[ich] serves as a cool retreat & an observatory for the officers. I was introduced yesterday evening to Capt. Casey of the U. S. Army, commanding this post & acting as Indian Agent for the government, & delivered to him the letter which Mr. J. L. Locke of Savannah was so kind as to give me. I was very politely treated by him, & he called on me this morning & invited me to dine with him today

S. Perhaps Richard Henry Wilde, 1789-1847, Georgia poet and U. S. Congressman.

at his own house & lives, I am told, better than anyone else in Tampa. He entertained me with recitals of his talks with Sam Jones & Bully Bowlegs, the Seminole Chiefs, who refuse to emigrate & defy the gov't.-The Capt. rides a black Mexican pony, wh[ich] he had bro't over last year, & wh[ich] I fancied might be your *Pet*. -I wrote to brother W. from Enterprize, on the 11th & 12th insts.-explaining how & happened to mention to a Mr. Starke my desire to visit this place on horseback, & his sending me a horse, wh[ich] he said a negro boy of his, that I would find here, would ride back.-The boy had left on foot & by another route than the one I travelled, when I reached here, & there is no chance for me to get the horse back save by the post-rider, who objects to leading her, as the trail is narrow & only allows of single file travelling.—As I can purchase the mare I rode for 80\$ & she is the cheapest horse I have found in Fla., I think I shall keep her.-Dr. B[assett] is now at Orange Springs, 125 miles from here,-whither I shall go & join him in about a week. My face will then be turned homeward & I expect I shall keep moving in that direction.-I expected to receive a letter here, but am disappointed.-I wrote from St. Augustine to my beloved wife to address me here; but she did not get my letter or her answer has miscarried; for I know she has not neglected me.-I recd. her first letter to me, dated 8th Febry, just before I left Enterprize-that is the only intelligence I have had from home since I left there.-I trust in God you are all well, but I should like to know it.—I have written 4 letters to my dear wife, 1 to father, 1 to mother, 1 to brother W. & this to you makes my 8th letter home. I mention this that you may know that I write at least once a week, & it is the fault of the mails if you don't hear from me that often.—My throat is certainly getting well, for my cough has almost ceased.-I weigh 139 lbs., without my coat & am as hearty as a plowman-I hope you did your & my talking in all of our cases in Madison & Marshall & succeeded well; but no matter how badly you may have failed don't

give it up,-' 'cut & come again," & you'll succeed after a while. You & brother W. must take more exercise & sit up & read less at night, or you'll *soon* break down your health. If you would rise & walk before breakfast & ride on horseback every evening you might save yourself much suffering & loss of time. Write me to Pensacola immediately on rect. of this & let me know all about result of our cares,-my cotton—the news generally etc. I shall write in a few days to my dear Jeanie.—I hope you & she-ride on horseback together daily & that she is getting quite fat. Pa's boy I fear is imposed on in my absence.—Give my love to all & believe me most affectionally your brother, C. C. Clay, Jr. Dr. B[assett] is greatly improved, I think.-Let his family know it.

(*Clement Claiborne Clay to Dr. John Young Bassett*)

Tampa, E. Fla., Sunday, March 16/51

Dear Doctor: I address you by the first mail after my arrival here according to promise ; &, as I am assured this will reach Orange Springs on Tuesday morning, I shall send it to that place,-hoping it will meet you there, as I suppose you will not have left at that time.—I arrived here on yesterday at one o'clock, improved I think by my trip. Altho' my route was an Indian trail, thro' a wilderness, whose solitude was such as Zimmerman' might have envied & whose "boundless contiguity of shade" might have afforded a "lodge" for Thompson,¹⁰ yet it was interesting & exciting to one accustomed only to the busy haunts of men.-My rides were somewhat fatiguing, but they secured me two of the greatest comforts of life, a keen appetite & sound sleep. The Epicure never enjoyed a feast with as much relish as I did my potatoes, water crackers & dried beef; & the Sybarite¹¹

9. Probably Johann Georg Von Zimmerman, 1728-1795, Swiss Philosopher.

10. Probably David Thompson, 1770-1857. Canadian explorer and writer.

11. An inhabitant of the Greek city of Sybaris in Southern Italy noted for luxury and pleasure.

never reposed so well on swan's down & roses as I did on my blanket & mother earth. But more of this anon.—Tampa is a poor little village, without any object of interest save the Indian mounds & old barracks.—The air is soft & balmy & freshened by an almost perpetual sea-breeze.—Capt. Casey is very intelligent & sociable,—has been very polite & attentive—I dined with him today.—The oysters here are the largest & finest I ever ate.—The mare I got of Mr. Starke did not perform very well, yet I find horses so high here, that I think I shall keep her, as his boy had left here on foot for Beresford, via Palatka, when I arrived, & the postman tho't he could not get her back until the next trip.—I shall probably stay till Sunday next, 25 inst. & reach Orange Springs by the 25th or 26th—&, if I do not find you there, go on in a day or two to Newnansville, & if you are not there, thence to Tallahassee.—If you receive this, drop a line in reply to this point forthwith & get it mailed & I'll receive it on Saturday night next.—I'll send a duplicate of this to Newnansville &, perhaps, a triplicate to Tallahassee,—if you get this let those alone.

Hoping yr. health is improving & that we may meet soon, I am

Faithfully, yr. friend,

C. C. Clay, Jr.

Send my letter at Orange for me to this place, if you mail it for return mail.

*(Clement Claiborne Clay to Virginia Caroline
[Tunstall] Clay)*

Tampa, E. Fla., Wednesday, March 19, 1851

My Dear Wife: I wrote to brother L[awson] Sunday 16th, giving an account of my novel & interesting trip across the peninsular & of the appearance of things there. Nothing has occurred of much interest since Sunday, but I can not let the mail of tonight go without a short talk with my much beloved. Here I am seated alone in a little parlor about 10 by 14 feet, whose floor is covered by a

single ply Yankee carpet & wh[ich] is furnished with a round pine centre table, ½ doz. wicker-bottom chairs, a rocking chair & home made lounge, covered with calico, a steel engraving of James K. Polk, & a few large sea shells.-It is one of the best furnished houses I have seen in Fla.-Its owner, Mr. Carter & wife & three children, a Mr. Meadows, from Ala. (Greene co.), a Mr. Coleman, from Louisiana, & myself, constitute the household. My room & bed are comfortable & "mine host" very polite & obliging, but his wife is ignorant of the culinary art & our fare is just tolerable,-saving the stale light bread wh[ich] comes from a baker's & is always good. The family cow only comes up to be milked occasionally, so that I have to drink water,-as I will not use tea or coffee.—Tampa is the common resort of invalids from Ala., Miss., & La., & there are several from our state here; none of my acquaintance. I found living a few miles from here Parson Rowe, of Monte-sano, corn-crushing & other machine memories, & in this town a Mr. Wilson, a school teacher, formerly of North Tuscaloosa.--He & his wife, (who was a Miss Cunningham,-a Tartar [?] stock) quarrelled the other day & separated,-she crossing the Hillsboro' river, so as to make him take water if he followed her, I suppose.-They have no church in this benighted town; whoever chooses may preach in the court house, where I'm told they have service twice a month. The sand here is nearly pure silex, & clean & abundant enough to supply all the stationers on earth to the end of time.-It is painful to my eyes to look on it after sunrise, it is so white & glistening.-Save the fish & oysters in the bay, wh[ich] are very abundant, & the deer in the woods wh[ich] are quite numerous, there is no thing, that I have discovered, to induce one to settle here.-The oysters are the largest & finest I ever saw & in exhaustless banks. The lands for miles around are as arid & sterile as Arabian deserts, & the Hillsboro' river, at whose mouth Tampa is situated, is a little narrow & short stream, navigable only ten miles up, & only used to trans-

port timber for foreign markets.-The only amusements of the town are 10 pins, hunting, fishing & sailing; of wh[ich] I am surprised to find sailing most popular.-I have heard of some invalids here who spent more than half their days on little sail boats & never reached home after one excursion on the water without being wet to their waists from the spray or from wading to push their boats off of bars.-Yet I am told they returned home greatly improved-despite of the water I suppose.-I am satisfied that there is wonderful virtue in this climate.—I find men here apparently with sufficient flesh & good health, who tell me they came here a few months or years since, mere skeletons, with hectic fever & with frequent hemorrhages.-The most interesting & agreeable man I have met in Fla. is Capt. Jno. C. Casey, of the U.S.A. & Indian Agent, for this State, who, tho' looking quite well, tells me he is breathing with but one lung; that when landed here three years ago he was carried in the arms of his servant, greatly emaciated from hectic fever & profuse hemorrhages, & not expected to live a month.—He says that many cases of as remarkable recuperation, have come under his observation here, & thinks all attributable to the sanatory influence of the climate.-The bay of Tampa is a broad & beautiful sheet of water, having an excellent harbor & capable of floating all the navies of the world; but Hillsboro' bay (on wh[ich] the town of Tampa is situated) is small, shallow & of difficult navigation. I can't imagine why the garrison & town were located here instead of at the head of Tampa bay, on which is a high bluff, commanding an extensive view, & where there are some fertile lands.-On the invitation of Capt. Casey I accompanied a party yesterday on board the Government Steamer, *Col. Clay*, wh[ich] started on a pleasure trip to the head of Tampa bay, but as the wind was blowing hard from the north & we had sixty miles to go, the Capt. halted in about twenty five miles of our destination, &, after stopping long enough to catch two barrels of oysters, we turned back & reached the wharf just

before dark. So I was disappointed in not seeing the head bluffs of old Tampa & the orange groves of Mons. Philippi, a Frenchman & native of St. Domingo, about the color of Alfred,¹²—who was anxious to extend to us his hospitality. We had a good dinner & agreeable company, composed of Gen. Childs,¹³ Capt. Casey, Lieuts., Everett & Potter¹⁴, Drs. Sloan & Mickle, etc. etc., & Mrs. Sloan, Mrs. Duke & Miss Wilson, formerly of Tuscaloosa, & very much like Sallie Learne.—I was the honored guest of the day &, as such, placed between Genl. & Capt.—These army officers are generous, open-handed fellows, who spare no pains or expense in making yr. time pass pleasantly, if they take a liking to you.—I am looking anxiously for a letter to night, & shall be greatly disappointed if I don't get one. I shall wait here till the 23rd or 24th & then set out for Orange Springs to join Dr. Bassett.—Thence we will go, via Newnansville, to Tallahassee, Quincey [sic] & Pensacola. I shall be in the saddle almost daily from the 24th till I reach home,—wh[ich] will require from 20 to 30 days travelling.—I shall thus prove the virtue of horseback exercise, if, indeed, I do not find myself entirely well before I get out of Fla., wh[ich], I trust, will take me home, if there be any trust in the saying, "the gray mare's the better horse." She walks & canters delightfully & will just suit for your pleasure rides.—It is said that the last three or four months in Fla. have been unusually wet & cold : yet I have only kept within doors two days by rain & then it was a mere sprinkling wh [ich] would not have stopped any well man, & the thermometer has been generally at 80° at noon. The nights I have always found cool as to require one or more blankets.—I found most of our garden vegetables ripe when I reached Fla., more than a month since,—such as peas, cabbage, irish potatoes, etc.,—& some that we do not grow, such as cauliflower, broccoli, etc.—The peo-

12. C. C. Clay, Jr.'s house slave.

13. Brigadier-General Thomas Childs, a veteran of the Seminole and Mexican wars.

14. Joseph Hayden Potter, later, Brigadier-General, U. S. A.

ple of this "flowerland" are like the butterflies that flit from blossom to blossom,-they evince no foretho't or providence.-They are indolent & inert, & do little for themselves. A more worthless & ignorant & artless population cannot be found in the Union. . . . I trust you continue our habit of early rising, bathing & walking, & avoid exposure at night. We never appreciate health properly till we are sick.—I know its value & wish you & my brothers esteemed it as I do ;-I think you would not soon lose it.-They sit up & read too late at night & exercise too little.—I fear they will not hold out long, unless they ride & walk more & go to bed earlier. I trust you will impress good habits on *pa's* boy,-especially teach him the importance of sleeping in dry sheets, of wh [ich] you were kind enough to forewarn me in your letter of the 8th inst.-Speaking of the ignorance of these *cowdrivers* (as the frontier settlers are called, because of their habit of hunting & driving cattle, wh[ich] constitute their fortune & are as much their currency as tobacco used to be in Revolutionary days in old Va.) reminds of my guide, the post-man, asking me what a "Pressbattery" was, saying that Parson Bright come over the word a *heap* of times in a sermon he preached at Limmon's hammock, & that Mr. Rowe (who was a mechanic) & Mr. Clarke (a school master) had a dispute about its meaning,-Mr. Rowe contending it was a machine for *grinding* sugar & Mr. C[larke] that it was a machine for *killing Injans*.—I explained to him that the pious preacher miscalled the word,-that it was *Presbytery*, an assembly of Elders of the Presbyterian church, to make rules for church govt. etc.-He was not so much surprized at the meaning of the word, as at the mistake of the schoolmaster, of whom the neighborhood, like that described by Goldsmith, wondered, "that one small head could hold all that he knew."—This is a fact-brother W. [John Withers Clay, editor] may put, it in *The Democrat* on my authority.-You must have cold weather-for the wind has been blowing from the north since yesterday

morning & it is quite cool here,-thermometer 51" before sunrise. My love to all-kisses for children.-God grant we may soon meet in health, my dear, darling wife. Yrs. till death, C. C. Clay, Jr. _____

(*John Young Bassett to Clement Claiborne Clay*)

Newnansville 23d March 1851

C. C. Clay Jr. Esq.

Dr. Sir:

Yours from Tampa of 11th inst. is before me and I am before the postoffice in the buggy of a friend, and why should I not write from a 'buggy if Stern [sic]¹⁵ wrote from a diligence?¹⁶ Besides it gives me an opportunity of being as classic as yourself.

If you come to Ocala in the stage you³ will find a man named Gieger who will porte you in a hurry to this place for \$5-1 met with him at Orange Springs going home empty I was induced to leave much sooner than I desired on acct. of this chance of getting through more comfortably than by public stage & found it so.

I am staying here in the country with Mr. Piles & Mrs. Dell & here learned the death of Sister from Mrs. D. which took place about 10th inst. This was somewhat unexpected to me I had hoped she would survive until my return, it has been ordered otherwise; I am anxious to get to Tallahassee for letters but am waiting here until the last of this week, say about Thursday when I will go to Aligator¹⁷ thence to the lower Suwanney [sic] Springs 8 miles, thence to the Upper Springs on same river about 20 miles where you will overtake me-My health is improving Certainly, at Ocala you will stop at Pains-at Micanopy—Stoughtons at Newnansville, Galphin 's *no t at Mrs. Stanley's* as, you will be directed-here Dr. Dell will inform you whether I have left with Mr. Piles or not.

I am Dr Sir respectfully

John Y. Bassett

15. Perhaps Lawrence Sterne, 1713-1768, British author. Wrote "Tristram Shandy."

16. Eighteenth century stagecoach.

17. Lake City.

(*Clement Claiborne Clay to Virginia C.
[Tuns tall] Clay*)

Lake Lindsay, (Col. Pearson's) Fla.

Thursday, March 27th, 1851

My Dear Wife:-Not a word from home, since your first of 8th Febry.,—altho' I have been absent nearly two months!-I still trust it is the fault of Govt. agents, yet I am getting uneasy & shall, probably, turn my face homeward tomorrow, in hopes of meeting letters at Orange Springs or Tallahassee.-We have had a week of the coolest weather I have felt in Fla.,-the mercury at 40" in the morning.-I have not improved so much in consequence of the change of air, but I trust am getting no worse.-If I would only hear from you & learn that all are well, I am sure I would feel better for a week. I fear my letters too, miscarry, & that you are troubled about me.-Hence, I repeat that I have written to father once, mother once, & to my brothers each once, & to my darling wife six times.-So, if you get this, you'll know that you are not neglected.-At Tampa, (wh[ich] is 45 miles south of this) I met with Col. Byrd M. Pearson, (of Nashville Convention & the Episcopal Fair memory) who invited me to accompany him home.-Accordingly I left Tampa on the 23rd inst. & rode up here in his buggy,-his servant riding my horse. We reached here on the 24th inst., & found the Col.'s wife & 4 children & their teacher, (Mrs. Marlow) looking out for us & keeping the dinner table waiting. At the distance of a mile from the dwelling we commenced ascending a hill, wh[ich] rises like a sugar loaf from the flat lands below & whose summit is crowned with orange, lemon & fig trees, wh[ich] quite conceal the comfortable log cabins.—From this hill I command the finest prospect to be seen in Fla.-At the foot of the hill on the northwestern side, is Lake Lindsey (called after Col. Lindsey, who died at Mr. Lewis' & who, in command of the Alabama volunteers & some U. S. dragoons, encamped near it for some weeks in 1836—Mr. Camp & his father were here), while at the distance of several miles

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is the Weethlokkoochee [sic] river (whose banks were so fiercely contested with Gen. Gaines & Gen. Clinch in 1836 by Oseeola & his savage warriors), the Homossassa (or pepper ground) & other lesser streams, may be marked by the growth of trees on their banks; on the west extends of the Nutkaliga & on the south the Chuckachatee hammocks (the finest lands I ever saw) & on the east the Charlieoppa lake,-a large & beautiful sheet of water.-It is one of the most beautiful spots in Fla. or the world, & commands a more extensive view than I had tho't was to be found in this state.-The Col. grows sugar & tobacco in great perfection, & has every facility for agricultural productions that a rich soil & genial climate afford.-It is however cut off from good society &, hence,, very irksome.-They have been very kind & attentive to me & have given me the best bed & table I have found in my travels.-Col. P[earson] speaks in terms of great admiration of you and brother, & Mrs. P[earson] regrets that you are not here, as she feels well acquainted with you from the frequent mention made of you by Col. P[earson] & me. I shall regret leaving them & would remain longer, as I am pressed to do, if I could hear from h o m e .

I hope to overtake Dr. Bassett at Newnansville.¹⁸—I have not heard from him since we parted two weeks since.

I am in great haste for the mail, & have not time to add more to this straggling & ill-constructed epistle.-It is the only short letter I have written home-& must, therefore, be excused for not being more communicative & interesting. Col. P[earson] & a client have been talking in the room, so that I have had my tho'ts constantly diverted. If you have recd. my other letters, the poverty of this will be pardoned. My love to all & believe me, as ever since we met as man & woman, constant & devoted love-& for eight years kind husband, also— C. C. Clay, Jr.
Mrs. Virginia C. Clay.

N. B. I shall try to write from Ocala in a few days &

18. Near Alachua.

will try 'to be more interesting. Kiss my darling niece & nephew & pa's boy.—I think I must write him shortly about the pretty birds & flowers & an "old wolf" that barked at pa, & many other interesting events too tedious to mention now. I shall not forget uncle's daughter, . . . her heart & bright eyes. God bless & protect you my jewel.

C. C. C. Jr.

(*Clement Claiborne Clay, to his wife
Virginia Carol&e [Tunstall] Clay*)

Suwannee Springs,¹⁹ E. Fla., April 6/51.

My Darling wife : I am now at the spot recommended to me for a winter's sojourn by Thos. Butler King, last fall on our way home,—as you may remember. It is a beautiful place, on the Suwannee River, in Columbia Co. 90 miles east of Tallahassee & 90 ms. west of Jacksonville.—The water is sulphur, rises from a natural basin or well in the rock, immediately on the bank of the river, & rises rapidly over a scalloped place or sort of mouth on one side of the stone basin into the Suwannee.—It is a singular & rather wonderful spring of water, so clear & limpid that you could see a pin at the bottom, altho it is more than 20 feet deep.—The houses are comfortable & capable of accommodating about 100 visitors.—The table is the best I have sat down to in Fla., excepting Mrs. Pierson's [sic] (whence I last addressed you a hurried letter),—wh[ich] was one of the best I ever feasted at.—I wish I could have *mailed* you some of her buckwheat cakes and jelly [?] as hot on the table, Mrs. Bevine and Cruse could not beat them. And then her gopher gumbo made me think of your appetizing accounts of that luxury of the planters & their negroes in So. Ala.—She & the Col. & Mrs. Marlow (their governess -for the children) were so kind & attentive to me that I left there with great, reluctance, &, but for my anxiety to hear from home & to overtake Dr. B[asset] should probably have accepted their pressing invitation to remain a week longer under'

19. White Springs.

their roof. I left there on Monday last, the 31st ult., in company with a Mr. Henry G. Gignilliat, [?] of Bethel, Glynn co., Ga., who travelled in a sulky. We exchanged, occasionally, during our two days travel together, wh[ic]h was mutually agreeable. We reached Ocala, Marion Co., 52 miles above Lake Lindsey & 152 above Tampa, on Tuesday 1st ins. to dinner. Thence I wrote to father. -1 met there a letter from Dr. B[asset] written from Newnansville, in Alachua Co., advising me that he would come on here and await my arrival.—On Wednesday I left Ocala & Mr. Gignilliat [?] & came to Orange Lake, to the house of Mr. Paul McCormick, to whom I bore a letter of introduction from Capt. D. Provencé, of Ocala, to whom (as well as to Col. C.A.M. Mitchell, the author of the “Legend of Silver Spring” who knew sister Mary when here) I was introduced by letter from Col. Pierson [sic]. At Mr. McC’s I spent a pleasant night in company with the old gentleman and his only daughter, his wife having left him a widower last fall. I spent an hour in the orange grove on the banks of the lake, indulging my appetite ad *libitum* on the delicious fruit, & wishing I could throw every one I plucked into my dear wife’s lap. I was pressed to remain longer, but left on Thursday morning & reached Newnansville that night. There I saw Dr. J. Gadsden Dell (Sophy Lane’s cousin whom you may remember) who invited me to his house, told me Dr. Bassett had improved very much, that Mrs. Francis Dell was at her brother-in-law’s, Mr. Sam’l Piles’, about 3 miles out of my way to this place, & pressed me to go there & take dinner. I left there Friday morning & reached Alligator, in Columbia Co. that night. There I called to see Mr. Jas. Lane (brother of Genl. B. M. Lane) but he was in the woods cattle hunting. I wished to learn of him whether I would find the Dr. here, as he had brought him hither in his buggy. I left Alligator yesterday morning & reached here yesterday afternoon. The Dr. had left on Friday morning for Tallahassee in the stage. Today being Sunday I shall rest & renew my pursuit of him -tomorrow, but

as I may stop awhile at Judge McGehee's²⁰ or Mr. Van Randal's (to whom I bear letters from Col. Pierson & Mrs. Pierson [sic] I begin to doubt whether I shall overhaul the little man this side of Huntsville. I omitted to say that I missed the way to Mr. Pile's & only found it out when 3 miles this side of his house, & hence failed to see Mrs. Dell, wh[ic]h I wish you would request Miss' Sophy Lane to mention to her in her next, letter, as I told Dr. Dell I should go by and see her-particularly as I wished to leave something from home. Only think of my anxiety to get a letter or some newspaper or other "intelligence" from there, after an absence of 2 months during which time I have heard but once, thro[ugh] yrs of 8th Febr'y ! I wonder what has become of all the letters written to me, to Augustine, Orange Springs, Tampa, etc. Is it not enough to weary the patience of Job arid extort bitter imprecations on the postmasters and post riders of this benighted land, to think that by their carelessness or corruption I am isolated for months. from the dearest objects of my life! Surely this is a terra *incognita* an *ultima thule* that no letters or newspapers from my home can reach it. I feel now, as I did when I slept in the road between Lake Monroe and Tampa,-that "I lodge in some vast wilderness, some boundless continuity of shade," which Thompson fancied and desired-that I enjoy a solitude that Zimmerman might have envied. Yet, even in the midst of the strange faces by wh[ic]h I am surrounded, I feel like a solitary man, for I am uncheered by a single voice or face I love, or even by the slightest intelligence from the home of my heart. I can fully appreciate the misery of a solitary [. . .?]& shall oppose the system of solitary confinement hereafter as inquisitional, barbarous and inhuman. But a truce to repining and querulous talk or I shall get -into a phrenzy [sic].—I am now as far North as I shall get, save at Quincy, till I leave this state. I shall go hence tomorrow morning to Madisonville,²¹

20. John C. McGehee, president of Florida secession Convention.

21. Madison.

Madison Co., thence to Tallahassee, in Leon Co., where I shall write home again. My course will be almost due west till I reach Mobile-at which point I hope I shall hear from you, if not at Tallahassee or Pensacola. If I receive no letter at either of those places, I shall hasten home as fast as possible, for I shall be persuaded that some calamity has visited the family, wh[ich] in ill-judged kindness is withheld from my knowledge. God grant that I may hear that all are well, when I arrive in Tallahassee. You can say to Mr. Levert that Dr. Dell paid me the bal. of his a/c to McDonnell & Levert,—\$13.10—on presentment.—As I have nothing that will tickle my wife better, I will copy one of Col. P[earson]'s letters introductory:

“My dear Sir: Allow me to present to y[ou]r acquaintance my friend Judge C. C. Clay, Jr. of Ala.—a son of Ex Gov. C[lay], whose professional & political career has added a public reputation to the social rank w[hich] he enjoys.—He has sought our mild climate in search of health & is now on his way homeward. He is a gentleman every way entitled to your entire consideration & esteem—who you will be pleased to meet & . . . to part with. I need scarce commend my friend to the attentions of one whose hospitalities are even more widely known than his house. Very truly yrs., B. M. Pearson.”

J. C. McGehee, Esq., Madison Co., Fla.

Well said, if not appropriately, is it not? I feel, indeed, that it is *multum in parvo*—I need not translate for a Latin scholar.—Then here is Mrs. P[earson]'s letter to her cousin, Mr. Vans Randall.

“Lindsey Hall, March 29th, 1851

My dear Vans: You cannot fail to be pleased with Judge Clement C. Clay—a friend of Col. P[earson]'s from Ala. & son of ex Gov. Clay, of yr. profession—whom I take pleasure in introducing to you. The search for health has bro't him here, & we have found much pleasure in his company & part with him

with regret. In commending him to yr. attention, be assured you will meet a gentleman of the most pleasing manners, & one who has won for himself by his talents & attainments, a marked position in society. -I shall be pleased at any civility shown him.—I regretted not meeting you at Greenville last summer & invite you & Julia to visit us on this high. hill. My kind regards to Julia & with a goodly share for yourself, my dear cousin, yr. attached relative.

E. Leget Pearson.”

Too flattering, of course, but it will please my wife to know that I am so highly appreciated by my new friends. -Capt. Casey was exceedingly attentive to me at Tampa, —for wh[ich] I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Locke (to whom Mr. Cruse introduced me)-who in his letter said,

“I have only made Judge C[lay]’s acquaintance to-day, yet I commend him to yr. attention as I am sure you will find him, as I have done, a very agreeable & intelligent gentleman. Amin Bey, whom I met at Constantinople, sups with me tonight, in company with his dragoman (that is interpreter., C. Jr.), Mr. Brown.—I know but one word of Turkish, & that is *chack*, wh[ich] means *much*. It is fortunate when one knows little of a language, that that little should mean *much*.”

Very facetious, is it not ?-My vanity [?] will sustain me no longer.-Owing to the wet weather for several days past I have [not] felt altogether as well as usual, till today, when it is clear.-My cough is very slight & does not trouble me at all.—I look as well as you ever saw me. My love to all & kisses for the dear little ones from yr. most ardent lover, and ever-devoted husband.
C. C. Clay, Jr.

BOOK REVIEWS

Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat, by Samuel Proctor. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1950. vii, 400 pp.. Notes, bibliography, index, illustrations.

Napoleon Bonaparte Broward was one of Florida's most colorful figures as well as one of her ablest governors. He impressed himself so forcefully on his day that it was called thereafter the Broward Era. He has long merited, a biographer and Samuel Proctor has filled that role with ability and thoroughness. One ventures to predict that it will be many a year before a second historian attempts the same task.

As the jacket of the volume affirms, Broward lived "in a lusty age." Indeed after reading of its political turmoil the reader develops a healthy scepticism of the tranquility with which a nostalgic present endows the proverbial good old days. Broward could fight with the best and the worst of his opponents with equal aplomb. Usually he came out on top. Both nature and environment contributed to his prowess. His courage and ingenuity were toughened by the financial debacle of his family at the end of the Civil War; his self-reliance matured through the death of both parents. Broward arose from the people levelled down by events which followed 1865. When he entered politics and especially when he ran for governor, the simplicity of his forebears and the hardships of his youth were somewhat enhanced for popular consumption, a process which outraged his relatives as the author points out.

As part of the river life along the St. Johns, Broward made his first impression on Floridians in the 1880's. The St. Johns was a great artery of commerce and tourism with Jacksonville the one large city along its course. Captain Broward in his capacity as pilot and steamboatman acquired a reputation for reliability and integrity as well as popularity. During these days, he learned again of tragedy through the death of his first wife and infant, and of happiness through his second marriage.

Broward entered politics via his devotion to liberal principles and his love of a good fight. Throughout the Nation a strong movement had set in to restrain the monopolies and exploitations of great corporations. Florida, backward and poor, all but handed over her heritage to land pirates, lumber barons and railroad interests before an aroused public called a halt. Broward was one of the leaders of this aroused public from the time he first became sheriff of Duval County in 1891 until his death. In telling of these tense and frequently violent struggles Mr. Proctor does his best. Like Broward, he, too, must love a good fight, and the extended research which underlies his narrative does not at all detract from the excitement of the story. The controversies are told with a rich quantity of quotations from Florida newspapers and the selection of such quotes is a happy one. Color, vitality and wit are contained in them as well as historical events and public sentiment.

Prior to the Spanish American War Broward used *The Three Friends*, a tug boat of which he was one of three owners, to run arms, and ammunition and volunteers to the Cuban insurrectionists. The boat made numerous trips, and her adventures resembled, those of the old dime novels. She and her captain were not the only filibusterers in Florida, but no craft or person was more popular all over the state. That Captain Broward rarely saw eye to eye with the United States laws and policies, in no way dimmed the favor which he enjoyed, since most of his compatriots felt the same way. The episode provided enviable publicity when he chose to run for governor in 1904.

Broward as governor and initiator of the Broward Era is carefully and sympathetically treated. His activities in behalf of educational reform, the draining of the Everglades, and his race for the Senate in 1908 are given the most attention.

The fight over the initiation of the Everglades Drainage Project is apparently regarded as the great contro-

versy of the Broward Administration and in: this, the author is-undoubtedly correct. It raged all over the state. Opposing the drainage project were the railroads, frustrated over the land they -claimed and were not going to receive, and the land companies outraged at the proposed drainage taxes. Broward's determination to start the drainage project with a paucity of both money and knowledge of the problem mounted as his opponents multiplied. He determined to give "an ocular demonstration" by starting operations at once and took refuge in the cliché "water will run -down hill." To supplement his finances he smiled upon land speculators; and one, Richard J. Bolles, he went out of his way to interest. As a result of this policy, Florida experienced one of her most sensational land scandals. Although the storm broke after Broward's death, the questionable land sales began at once. In 1909 Broward, himself, took employment in one of Bolles's companies. There have always been questions concerning Broward and Bolles. Mr. Proctor does nothing to resolve them;

Broward acquired a national reputation as a drainage expert (p. 264) ; it was not merited. He really knew tragically little about drainage problems, as events in the Everglades were to reveal. One cannot but wonder whether this essential ignorance of the task he had undertaken made him, a person of integrity, unaware of the fraudulence of Bolles's operations. Or, possibly Broward's determination to start his drainage enterprise was so whetted by opposition, that he clutched at any financial opportunity to carry it out. It is disappointing that the author does not discuss these aspects of his life and character.

Florida's Fighting Democrat ran a second time for the United States Senate in 1910. It was a battle royal, second to none of his career. When the votes were counted, he had won but fate kept him from the national service to Florida. In October, 1910, he died. It is comforting philosophically to remember that Broward's last

fight was a successful one, a fitting end to his great services to Florida.

The University of Florida Press may be complimented for having published a good book in a good format. There is a more than adequate bibliography which shows the depth of Mr. Proctor's work. An innovation in the printing of footnotes has been worked out, one which the reader will find convenient.

KATHERYN ABBEY HANNA.

Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions. By Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin. (Gainesville : University of Florida Press, 1951. Pp. xx, 189. Maps, illustrations, appendix, plates, bibliography. \$3.75).

Here They Once Stood is a work of collaboration. The Foreword is written by a clergyman, Rev. Charles H. Spellman. Its most lengthy section consists of selected early Spanish documents translated and edited by Mark F. Boyd, a physician-historian. Some aid in translation was supplied by two linguist-historians, Duvon C. Corbitt and his wife. Boyd also prepared an Introduction to his documents. Other sections are contributed by two archaeologist-anthropologists, Hale G. Smith and John W. Griffin. To some extent the book rests on pioneer historical research conducted by Caroline Brevard and Professor Venila Lovina Shores.

Boyd's documents cut across the years 1693 to 1708, and for the most part are concerned with Spain's temporary loss of control of two of her Florida provinces, Apalachee and Timucua. More particularly the documents relate to Apalachee; which was located mainly between the Suwannee and Apalachicola rivers. Smith's contribution concerns excavations of a Spanish mission site in Jefferson county, about twenty-three miles southeast of Tallahassee. Tentatively the place is identified as San Francisco de Oeonee. Griffin discusses his excavations of the mission of San Luis, two miles west of Tallahassee.

The book is thus an historical-archaeological case study of two Spanish missions and of the area now comprising Leon and Jefferson counties. The authors reaffirm the fact that missions in the region were destroyed in the early 1700's and that they were not largely revived thereafter; and they properly conclude, it seems, that their documents and excavations furnish information on the missions during their heyday.

More than a score of Florida missions were spread out westward from St. Augustine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their existence depended on Spanish military control of the area. When Spain and England became involved in a war, 1702 to 1713, Florida was soon attacked by Englishmen from the Carolinas and their Indian allies. To the Apalachee province went Colonel James Moore in command of about fifty British soldiers and approximately thirteen hundred Creek warriors. With this force he laid waste to the area. His intent, as in all such wars, was to conquer the region and destroy resistance. Chief points of attack were the Spanish missions since they comprised centers of population. Being located on the outskirts of Spanish possessions in the Americas, Florida was exceedingly vulnerable. Apalachee officials forwarded many frantic appeals to their governor, viceroy, and king, but without desired results. St. Augustine was protected by concentrating on the defense of that place, but Spain lost effective control of much of Florida. Apalachee Indians in 1704 demonstrated an almost complete lack of loyalty to their Spanish rulers. Their refusal to fight for Spain, plus Spain's own inept military defense of the Apalachee province, best explains Colonel Moore's successes. When his campaign was completed, Spanish missions in Apalachee were largely destroyed and the Indian population which had clustered around them was permanently scattered. San Luis, for example, became an "abandoned village." It should be emphasized, moreover, that England thereafter continued her interest in Florida. As is well known, Georgia was established in

1732 partially to block Spain in North America and England later maintained a short regime (1763-1783) in Florida. In this overall viewpoint, English forays into Florida described by Boyd's documents take on a broad significance. Since the documents are of Spanish origin, they are naturally biased in content, but they represent an important contribution to Florida and American colonial history.

The missions of San Luis and San Francisco de Oconee are described by Smith and Griffin as places of crude buildings, poverty, and economic inefficiency. The latter place was merely a mission; thus its remains are not as great as those at San Luis. About two hundred families lived at San Luis in 1704; it was the largest settlement between St. Augustine and Pensacola; and it was both the seat of government and the main fort of a Province which supported about eight thousand people, mainly Indians. Artifacts and other remains uncovered at the two excavations indicate an existence influenced by both Indian and Spanish cultures. Among the articles discovered and described are nails, a chest handle, musket barrels, brass fragments, glass, animal bones, a rosary, and a crucifix. Hundreds of pottery shreds, some even from Spain and Mexico, have been identified. It is concluded that most Apalachee inhabitants practiced an agricultural economy, including cattle raising, and that one of their chief activities was to furnish a large portion of the foodstuffs required by St. Augustine settlers. The Smith-Griffin excavations supply extensive information on village life in the Apalachee area. Their tentative conclusions are based on close study and scientific observation. It is hoped that their announced intention to continue their work will be realized, for thereby they will add more light to one of the most interesting phases of Florida's long history.

WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN.

Florida State University

REGIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE ST. PETERSBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY

While this issue of the *Quarterly* is in -press the St. Petersburg Historical Society is a cordial and generous host to the Florida Historical Society for our annual meeting, March 30, 31.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

TEQUESTA

The tenth issue of *Tequesta*, *The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1950*, appeared while the last issue of our *Quarterly* was in press. This is an annual, the last five issues of which have been under the editorship of Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Head of the Department of History, University of Miami, and President of the Florida Historical Society for the past two years.

The contents of this number as usual is limited to the history and period description of South Florida. Through these successive issues of *Tequesta* the history of that region is being written and published year by year with the aim of a well-rounded whole. The articles in this issue add much to that mosaic, and the editor and the Association which supports *Tequesta* should be gratified with this volume and the continued success of the project.

The five articles in this number relate to periods and subjects from the aboriginal Indians to a brief biography of the late Dr. John C. Gifford, conservationist and Professor of Tropical Forestry in the University of Miami.

The first of these is:

A Tour of Tropical Florida

Soon after the War for Southern Independence, Col. George F. Thompson made an official survey of conditions over much of South Florida for the Freedmen's Bureau in order to learn the products of the soil, the employments of the people, the economic opportunities, and the needs of the Negroes. He visited the counties of Hillsborough,

Manatee, Monroe, Dade, Brevard, Polk, Orange, and Volusia. His reports to Assistant Commissioner Thomas W. Osborn were published in the Tallahassee *Sentinel* during April and May 1867. They are of especial interest because descriptions of the region at that time are few. Prof. George R. Bentley of the University of Florida; who has made a study of this period in Florida, has brought together in this article the important points in these reports. In Tampa and elsewhere Col. Thompson noted that "the Negroes were doing well . . ., they did not want for food or clothing, and that they found plenty of labor at fair wages." At the end of his tour he asserted that, "So far as hostility of the people to Northern men is concerned, I would as soon live in any part of Southern Florida as in the city of Washington or Boston."

Indians of the Matecumbe Region

"At the beginning of Spanish occupation in Florida there were two dominant Indian groups in the southern part of the country. The most important were the Calusa who centered on the lower Gulf coast. On the east coast the Tekesta, located on Biscayne Bay, were the most powerful," says Dr. John M. Goggin, the author of the next article. "Both of these groups were political confederacies rather than tribes."

There are descriptions of the men and the women, of their scant clothing, of their food, which was largely from the sea; also their weapons, transportation, disposal of the dead, the priests and their ceremonies, and whatever else is known of the *ethnology* of the Indians of the Keys.

Of the *history* of these Indians there is much more material available, and the author recounts the important features of the series of contacts and of events from Menéndez who visited the tribes and established missions as far south as Biscayne Bay, Bishop Calderón's visit in 1675, and the sojourn of five Franciscans in 1697.

The author says, "The modern occupation of the Keys apparently began . . . around 1750 . . . The forerunners were men from the Bahama Islands who came for turtles

and mahogany . . . and had frequent brushes with the Indians."

Later came "wrecking," to be followed by Dr. Perrine with his horticultural importations and experiments. Then there was nothing noteworthy on Matecumbe until Flagler came along with his Key West railroad.

An Army Surgeon on the Lower East Coast, 1838

During the Seminole War Jacob Rhett Motte, an Army surgeon, "faithfully kept a journal in which he recorded, in a 'fascinating style, his travels, experiences, activities, observations and impressions.'" In 1838 he accompanied an expedition of fifty picked dragoons, under the command of Col. William S. Harney, from Fort. Jupiter southwards along the coast "to find Sam Jones and his band of resolute and vindictive Mickasukie Indians."

Establishing his camp south of Fort. Dallas, they embarked in fifteen canoes and skirted the coast in the open sea. Motte describes the impenetrable coast and the other difficulties encountered. At length; coming upon a trail which led to the Indian camp, they followed it and surprised the Indians. Resistance was spirited for a time, but finally the Indians gave ground and fled after a charge by the regulars, being able to remove virtually none of their belongings, which included bows and arrows, cooking utensils, with large quantities of coontie or arrow root, fresh venison, skins of deer, bear, and alligators, and also a bag of gun powder. There was little loss of men on either side, and as pursuit was impracticable the force returned to their boats.

Motte's entire journal has been edited with notes for early publication by James F. Sunderman who has selected this portion on South Florida for inclusion in *Tequesta* and added an introduction with many of his notes for clarification.

Across South Florida in 1882

This is an extended account of an expedition sent out by a newspaper of New Orleans, the *Times-Democrat*,

to investigate the Everglades, as noted in an editorial, "The 'country generally is very anxious just now to get information about this new territory which will soon be thrown open to settlement and cultivation."

The "*Times-Democrat* 'exploring party" left Kissimmee in two sailboats with supplies for thirty days. They followed the Kissimmee to Lake Okeechobee from which their boats were dragged overland to the canal then being dredged by the Atlantic, Guif Coast and Okeechobee Land: Company between Okeechobee and Lake Hicpochee and the Caloosahatchee river, from whence they followed the river to Fort Myers, having travelled 500 miles in about *two* weeks. The *Times-Democrat* then announced proudly that they were "the first white men who ever succeeded in making the journey."

The party continued up the coast to Charlotte Harbor, Tampa, and Cedar Keys.

The first portion of the journal of the expedition is printed entire in this number of *Tequesta* and the remainder will appear in the next issue. An introduction is included written by Morgan D. Peoples and Edwin A. Davis.

The feature of the thirty-seventh Program Meeting of the Association held on January 31 last, was a paper on newspapers of the lower East Coast, "Newspapers of America's Last Frontier," by Jeanne Bellamy, herself a newspaper writer of the present area which was that frontier. Miss Bellamy twice received awards in her school days for essays on Florida's history. The origin and history of the papers from West Palm Beach to Homestead made an interesting narrative.

A series of colored slides of historic sites in Florida furnished by Mrs. L. G. Lewis, Chairman of the Dade County Committee of the Colonial Dames of America, was shown. They were described by Mr. Oliver Griswold.

Other Program Meetings are planned for the remainder of the season.

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Quarterly Program Meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society on March 7 was featured by an address of Mr. Charles Jackson Williams on "Practicable Aspects of History." Several items of Floridiana recently discovered in the Jacksonville area were exhibited.

MANATEE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Manatee County Historical Society, which is cooperating with the Florida Historical Society, meets every month this winter, and is featuring in its papers experiences and events of the early part of the twentieth century.

For the November meeting Mrs. E. C. Balis gave the history of the founding and developing of the Episcopal Church in Bradenton.

In December Miss Alice Fry recounted her experience teaching in a one-room school of twelve pupils from five to nineteen years of age at Rye Bridge, a tiny settlement.

In January Miss Ruth Abel spoke of the early days of Terra Ceia Island, once known only for its Indian mounds, now for its extensive gladioli farms.

These reports are being typed and filed, and will afford valuable material to researchers in future years.

THE OSCEOLA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the meeting of the Osceola County Historical Society on February 16, Mr. Warren Wilkinson spoke on the early history of the area.

The more than life-size statue of Osceola which was presented to the Society by the Florida Historical Society has been placed in the Osceola County Court House.

The museum planned as a memorial to Mrs. Elizabeth Aultman Cantrell was told of in the last issue of the *Quarterly*.

YELLOW BLUFF 1861-1865

Duval county chapters of The United Daughters of the

Confederacy have erected a marker on the site of a fortification of the War for Southern Independence, near New Berlin in Duval county. This is inscribed:

Dedicated to the Memory of the Confederate Soldiers who defended Jacksonville, 1861-1869.

DELAND IS SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD

The history of DeLand was shown in several pageants during a Diamond Jubilee Celebration, March 5-10. One reenacted a gathering in 1876 at which Henry A. DeLand offered to donate a site and one-half the cost of erecting a building for a school which would be used for divine worship on Sundays. It was voted to name the town DeLand "in perpetuation of the name of its liberal founder."

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JOHN G. MCKAY
1886-1951

John Graham McKay, former president of the Florida Historical Society, died in Miami, his home, on January 24th last. He was born January 16, 1886 in Franklinville, N. Y.

A graduate of Indiana Law School (1909) he practiced law in Indianapolis and moved to Miami in 1925, where in addition to his general practice he was counsel for several commissions and district organizations. He was president of Embry-Riddle-Aviation School, and was awarded the King's Medal by the British Government for service to the cause of freedom.

Our Society met in Miami in March, 1941, and Mr. McKay was elected president. His term extended until the annual meeting the following year, during which the Society was active and many members were added to the roll especially in South Florida.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

We are holding our Annual Meeting in St. Petersburg on March 30 and 31 as guests of the St. Petersburg Historical Society while this issue of the Quarterly is in press. A full account of the meeting with the program, and the Minutes and reports of the business session, will be included in the next number.

DONATIONS TO OUR LIBRARY

Gift of Watt P. Marchman:

Gold. *The Rack*. 1931.

Exchange :

Stevens. A General History of Georgia., 1847.

Gift of Miss Dena Snodgrass:

Gorrie. Improved Process for the Artificial Production of Ice. United States Patent Office. 1851.

Gift of The New Jersey Historical Society:

New Jersey Archives, Abstracts of Wills, 1814-1817.

Gift of the Author:

Tales of the Seminole War, by James M. Halbe. 19.50.

- Gift of The Rev. Wm. F. Moses, Sec.:
Diocese of *South Florida*, 28th *Annual Convention*. 1950.
- Gift of the Author:
French Intrusion. Into Spain's La Florida. 2nd issue, by R. R. Otis. 1950
- Gift of Prof. C. H. Laub, -University of Tampa :
Original letter, H. M. Flagler to Western Reserve University, St. Augustine, 1893.
- Gift of St. Augustine Historical Society:
Cemetery list of St. Augustine and St. Johns County.
- Gift of the Association:
Jacksonville Bar Association. 1950.
- Gifts of Mrs. George C. Harman :
Willson. *The Least Known Wilderness of America*. 1917.
Senate Doc. *Survey of the Seminole Indians*. 1931.
Williams: *The Huguenot Colonization of Fort. Caroline*.
Program for unveiling of the Ribaut Monument. 1924.
Ronciere. *What the French Have Done in America*, from the Discovery to the Opening of the Isthmus of Panama. 1915.
The Southern Club Woman. Article on the estate of Alfred I. DuPont.
Conferences on the Florida *Everglades Reclamation*, 1927.
Marsden and Sweett. *New Smyrna, Florida, Its History and Antiquities*. 1925.
Powers. *The Dade Massacre and Dade Memorial Park*. n.d.
Koonce. *The Story of the Dade Memorial Park*. n.d.
Cubberly. *The Dade Massacre*. Senate Doc. 1921.
Willson. *Snap Shots from the Everglades; Jungle Life of the Seminoles*. 1917.
Jeffreys. *Indian Legend of the Florida Moss*. n.d.
- Gift of the author:
La Insurreccion De Los Diez Anos. (Cuba) by Dr. Elias Entralgo 1950.
- Gifts of the authors:
The Safety Harbor Site, Pinellas County, by John W. Griffin and Ripley P. Bullen.
Cultural Occupation at Goodland Point. By John M. Goggin, Reprint.
Florida Archeology—1950, by John M. Goggin. Reprint.
An Early Lithic Complex from Central Florida. By John M. Goggin.
- Gifts of Division of State Archives, State Museum, Denver, Colorado:
Columbus Day Proclamation, State of Florida, Francis P. Fleming, October 21, 1892.
- Proclamation by the Governor, Francis P. Fleming, Feb. 15, 1892. For contributions to the relief of famine-stricken Russia.
Arbor Day Proclamation, January 13, 1892, Francis P. Fleming.
Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 30, 1893, Henry L. Mitchell, Governor.
Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 29, 1894, Henry L. Mitchell, Governor.
Arbor Day Proclamation, February 2, 1894, Henry L. Mitchell, Governor.
Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 28, 1895, State Seal, Henry L. Mitchell, Governor.
Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 26, 1896, Henry L. Mitchell, Governor.
Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 25, 1897, State Seal, William D. Bloxham. Governor.

Fourth of July Proclamation, dated June 28, 1898, State Seal, William D. Bloxham, Governor.
Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 24, 1898, State Seal, William D. Bloxham, Governor.

DECEASED MEMBERS

John Hobart Cross, Pensacola
P. B. Crowninshield, Marblehead, Mass. and Boca Grande, Fla.
S. W. Anderson, Quincy
Selden F. Waldo, Gainesville
Mrs. R. W. Simms, Jacksonville
Mrs. Hubert Krantz, Daytona Beach and Brooklyn, N. Y.
W. L. Pedersen, Waverly
Sam C. Collier, Everglades
John G. McKay, Miami
Mrs. Charles Sprague-Smith, Winter Park
Mrs. Elizabeth A. Cantrell, Kissimmee

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

Mark *F. Boyd*, past-president of the Florida Historical Society, is Historian of the Florida State Board of Parks and Historic Memorials.

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. has a Master of Arts degree in history from the University of Florida, and is now an instructor in the University of North Carolina.

Ripley P. Bullen is Assistant Florida State Archeologist, Gainesville.

Olin Norwood, a native of Florida, is an assistant in the Manuscripts Division, Duke University Library.

