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CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1956

THE BACKGROUND OF THE GREEK SETTLERS

IN THE NEW SMYRNA COLONY *E. P. Panagopoulos*

STORIES IN STONE *Lucy Ames Edwards*

MACOMB'S MISSION TO THE SEMINOLES

JOHN T. SPRAGUE'S JOURNAL *Frank F. White, Jr.*

BOOK REVIEWS

SIMPSON, *A Provisional Gazeteer of Florida*

Place-Names of Indian Derivation *John W. Griffin*

DOUGLAS, *Freedom River: Florida 1845* *Agnes Gregory*

NEWS AND NOTES

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THE BACKGROUND OF THE GREEK SETTLERS IN THE NEW SMYRNA COLONY. ¹

by E. P. PANAGOPOULOS

ANDREW TURNBULL, the principal founder of the New Smyrna Colony, was not the first who thought of bringing Greeks to people Florida. Immediately after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which transferred Florida into British hands, William Knox, in a memorial to Whitehall, had already made this suggestion in a very convincing way. Knox, who later was Under-Secretary of State for American Affairs from 1770 to 1782, made, in his memorial, a detailed analysis of conditions and possibilities of the newly acquired Province of Florida. ² Attempting to solve the urgent problem of peopling this area, completely depopulated after the departure of the Spanish, ³ he had formed the opinion that the nature of the soil and climate and the sort of products which were best adapted to both, pointed to a special kind of settlers who ought to be encouraged to establish themselves in Florida.

“These are the Greeks” he elaborated, “or any other of the inhabitants of the Archipelago who profess the Christian Religion. I am well assured that great numbers of these People might be induced to become our Subjects if their Mode of worship was tolerated & the expence of their Transportation defrayed, their Priests who are the proper Persons to employ might be easily brought to persuade them to emigrate & our Island of Minorca would be a convenient Place for them to rendezvous at.” ⁴

Almost at the same time, a Scottish pamphleteer, Archibald Menzies, otherwise unknown, published in October of 1763, a

1. This is a by-product of a major study on the New Smyrna Colony conducted by the author under a grant by the American Philosophical Society.
2. William Knox had some experience as a planter and government official in Georgia, and after his return to England in 1763, he had become Agent in Great Britain for Georgia and East Florida. About his career and controversial character see William P. Courtney, “Knox, William (1732-1810)” in *Dictionary of National Biography*.
3. See Wilbur H. Siebert, “How the Spaniards Evacuated Pensacola in 1763,” in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XI, No. 2 (October 1932), 48-57, and “The Departure of the Spaniards and other Groups from East Florida,” *ibid.*, XIX, No. 2 (October 1940), 145-154.
4. “Hints Respecting the Settlement of Florida,” Knox MSS., IX, 3, in William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

[95]

small pamphlet, in which he expressed the same idea. Menzies had just returned from a trip in the Levant where he had an opportunity "to acquire some knowledge of the characters, the manners, and the present situation of the people" in those areas.⁵ He thought that he had found there the proper kind of settlers for Florida who, because of their religion, would not form connections with the French and Spanish, and who would readily intermarry and mix with the British of the southern colonies.

"The people I mean," he said, "are the Greeks of the Levant, accustomed to a hot climate, and bred to the culture of the vine, olive, cotton, tobacco, madder, &c., &c., as also to the raising of silk; and who could supply our markets with all the commodities which at present we have from Turkey, and other parts. These people are in general sober and industrious; and being reduced, by their severe masters, to the greatest misery, would be easily persuaded to fly from slavery, to the protection of a free government. The Greeks of the islands would be the most useful, and the easiest to bring away, as they are more oppressed than any others, having the same taxes to pay as the Greeks of the Continent; with the addition of an annual visit from the Capitan Pacha, or *Turkish High Admiral*. The sums arising from their exportation of vast quantities of silk, wine, oil, wheat, tobacco, mastick, cotton, hardly suffice to satisfy their greedy tyrants, who fleece them upon all occasions. It may be observed, that they are excellent rowers, and might be of great service in the inland navigation of America."⁶

Menzies suggested further, that Armenians also could be used as settlers; and as if his mercantilistic arguments were not convincing enough on the expediency of bringing Greeks to Florida, he resorted to an even more persuasive argument:

"The *Greek* and *Armenian* women are remarkably handsome. This circumstance would naturally prompt inner-marriages between our people and them, and soon put an end to all distinctions; Most of our merchants in *Turkey* are married to Christian women of that country."⁷

5. Archibald Menzies, *Proposals for Peopling his Majesty's Southern Colonies of the Continent of America* (Megerny Castle, Perthshire, October 23, 1763), 1. An original copy of this small and rare pamphlet is deposited at the John Carter Brown Library. A photostat copy of it can also be found in the Library of the Saint Augustine Historical Society.

6. *Ibid.*, 2

7. *Ibid.*, 3

Menzies, like Knox, suggested the employment of the Greek clergy in order to persuade Greeks to come to America; moreover, having in mind the Greek colony in Port Mahon, Minorca, he thought it expedient to use these Greeks, who lived under British rule, for the same purpose by having them tell their compatriots of the mainland "how happier they would be under his Majesty's government, than under any other whatsoever."⁸

It is not known if Dr. Andrew Turnbull knew of Knox's memorial and Menzies' tract. Perhaps he did, through his friendship with Lord Shelburne, the principal Secretary of State during this time, who could have made these and other proposals concerning the development of Florida available to him. However, what both Knox and Menzies had proposed, was not new to him. He had been in several places of the Levant, especially in Smyrna, where he had served as a British Consul,⁹ and where his son Nicholas was born.¹⁰ He had travelled through the whole area extensively and he knew the Greeks, their industry and skill, and how fit they were for the Florida climate and produce.¹¹ As far as the "remarkably handsome" Greek women were concerned, he probably knew more than Knox and Menzies. He had married one, the elegant Gracia Dura Bin, daughter of a Greek merchant from Smyrna.¹² Thus, when he decided to give up his medical practice in England and establish himself in Florida, he immediately thought of Greeks as the most suitable kind of colonists for his settlement.

Turnbull was a man of volcanic energy, determined to carry

8. *Ibid.*, 4. For the Greek colony of Port Mahon, established in 1745, its life and significance in an era of commercial antagonism between France and England see, Nicholas G. Svoronos, *E. Ellenike Paroikias tes Minorcas* [The Greek Colony of Minorca, A Contribution to the History of the Greek Merchant Marine during the 18th Century], *Melanges* offers a Octave et Melpo Merlier, (Athens, 1953); F. H. Marshall, A Greek Community in Minorca," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XI (1932-1933), 100-107.
9. Edward W. Lawson, "Minorcans of Saint Augustine," paper read before the Saint Augustine Historical Society, on December 14, 1948.
10. Spanish census of Saint Augustine for the year 1783, in East Florida Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Copies of this, as well as other censuses up to 1814, including the one by Father Hassett, in both Spanish and their English translations, can be found in the Archives of the Saint Augustine Historical Society. (Hereafter these censuses will be designated by the letter "c" followed by the year in which they were taken, i.e. "c. 1783"). On Nicholas Turnbull see, also, Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalist in East Florida, 1774 to 1785* (DeLand, Florida, 1929), II, 56, n. 50.

his plans to a successful conclusion, and from the moment he submitted a petition for a land grant in Florida, he was completely possessed by his scheme. In June 18, 1766, he and his co-adventurer Sir William Duncan, a Baronet, had obtained separate Orders from the King in Council granting each of them 20,000 acres.¹³ Soon afterwards, Turnbull and his family sailed for Saint Augustine.

He arrived there in November, 1766¹⁴ and immediately started preparing his settlement. He met his fellow Scotsman, Governor James Grant,¹⁵ to whom he presented the orders from his Majesty in Council for both his and Sir William Duncan's tracts of land. While his family was comfortably established in Saint Augustine, he selected his land with Governor Grant's help, near Mosquito Inlet, about seventy miles south of Saint Augustine,

11. "Narrative of Dr. Turnbull," in *Lansdowne MSS.*, LXXXVIII, 133.
12. Carita (Doggett) Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Florida, 1919), 16 ff. This significant book was the first study to place the almost legendary story of New Smyrna in an historical frame, and to emphasize the significance of the documents at the British Colonial Office in understanding the New Smyrna affair. It has been used since its publication, by competent scholars such as W. H. Siebert, C. L. Mowat and others as the basis of their respective descriptions. The main purpose of this book was to erase the unsavory reputation created for Dr. Turnbull by various authors and oral tradition; and Dr. Corse was the most natural person to undertake this task, being a direct descendant of Dr. Turnbull. During the last thirty-seven years, however, more collections of British documents pertaining to the subject have been studied; the Spanish Archives in Seville, as well as in Havana and Mexico have been better explored; related documents from Minorca, Corsica, Greece, France and Italy have become available, and a wealth of local material has been discovered, all better illuminating the background, life and significance of this colony, which is the interest of the author of this paper. Another very interesting study by Julian Granberry, of the University of Florida, is now in progress approaching the whole subject from a sociological and anthropological point of view.
13. Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Class 5, vol. 548, 23. (These documents will be hereafter designated as "C.O." followed by the number of class and number of volume, i.e. "C.O. 5/548").
14. Governor Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, January 20, 1767, C.O. 5/548, 285.
15. For biographical data on Governor James Grant see Alastair MacPherson Grant, *General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 1720-1806* (London, 1930); Philip C. Tucker, "Notes on the Life of James Grant Prior and Subsequent to his Governorship of East Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, VIII, No. 2 (October 1929), 112-119; and "Journal of Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, Commanding an Expedition against the Cherokee Indians, June-July, 1761," *ibid.*, XII, No. 1 (July, 1933), 25-36; also, Siebert, *op. cit.*, II, 309-310; Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784*, (Berkeley, 1943), 12-13; Henry Manners Chishester, "Grant, James," in *D.N.B.*

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 99

which was immediately surveyed for him.¹⁶ He hired a skillful planter, whom he settled on his estate and he started forming a cotton plantation.¹⁷ He purchased Negro slaves, and ordered a number of cattle to be driven from South Carolina and Georgia and placed under the care of an overseer. He also employed a number of "artificers" and Negro slaves to clear the ground and build houses for about five hundred Greeks whom he planned to bring there.¹⁸

In the meantime, Dr. Turnbull had become acquainted with some of the most distinguished officials and planters of East Florida. They were all impressed with his personality, sweeping ideas and enthusiasm and perhaps, also, with his important connections in London. Governor Grant himself was the most impressed of all. He thought that Turnbull's conduct was "encouraging to every inhabitant of the colony;" that his "publick spirited measures have already been of utility to the country," and that "if all the Gentlemen who have obtained Orders from His Majesty for Land in this Province act with the same Spirit, East Florida will soon become an useful plantation to Great Britain."¹⁹ The result was that within a short time Turnbull had been appointed a member of the Council of East Florida in the capacity of the Secretary of the Council, as well as Clerk of the Crown and Clerk of Common Pleas.²⁰ While he retained the first office, Turnbull thought that he could not carry the duties of the second and resigned it.²¹ Within three months he had accomplished many things and by the end of January, 1767, Turnbull left for Europe to bring back his settlers.

He went first to London where his partnership with Sir William Duncan was enlarged by the addition of a new and important partner, the Prime Minister of England himself, Lord Grenville.²² In this way his company acquired not only greater financial backing and possibilities for territorial enlargement, but also great pres-

16. James Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, January 20, 1767, *op. cit.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. James Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, January 17, 1767, in Landsowne MSS., LII, 294; C.O. 5/563, 229; Privy Council Register, vol. 112, May 13, 1767.

21. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, London, May 1, 1767, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 139.

22. Treasury 77/7, March 9, 1781.

tige. Then Turnbull presented a memorial to the Board of Trade asking not only the five hundred pounds promised by the British Government as a bounty for the year 1767 to the successful planter of cotton, indigo and other produce in East Florida, but also the unapplied fifteen hundred pounds for the previous three years. He wanted this sum of money to defray some of his expenses for carrying his settlers from Greece to Florida. Moreover, he applied for the continuation of the yearly payment of this bounty to be used in the future for making roads and ferries, opening communication with Georgia, West Florida and the southern parts of the province and "the remaining 100 pounds of the annual Bounty should be given as a Salary or stipend to the Pastor and Schoolmaster who accompanys the first 500 Greek Settlers."²³

Turnbull had expressed his intention of applying for the bounty money while in Florida. He had talked to Governor Grant, who immediately wrote to the British government recommending transfer of the money to Turnbull.²⁴ Now, in London (he wrote an extensive letter to his good angel, Lord Shelburne, soliciting his support. To this letter he attached a long report explaining for the first time in writing the background and objectives of his colonial scheme. This is known as the "Narrative of Dr. Turnbull." In it, along the same lines as Knox and Menzies, he stated:

"During my residence in Turkey and in Travelling thro' Greece I observed that the Christian subjects in that Empire were in General disposed to fly from the calamities which they groaned under in that despotic Government. On which it occured to me that the Greeks would be a very proper people for settling in his Majesty's Southern Provinces of North America. They being bred to the making of Silk and to the Culture of the Vine, Cotton, Madder &c. And many of them Declared to me that they would Embrace the first Opportunity of Flying from that Country of Slavery and Oppression where their Lives and properties were at the Will of their hard Masters. These repeated Declaration from Thousands of that people Engaged me to Petition his Majesty Order in Council for a Tract of Land in East Florida on which I might Settle a small colony of Greeks."²⁵

Soon the Board of Trade approved his petition and decided to pay "forty shillings per head to the first five hundred Greeks (chil-

23. C.O. 5/541, 211; also in "Narrative of Dr. Turnbull," Lansdowne MSS. LXXXVIII, 133.

24. James Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, January 20, 1767, *op. cit.*

25. "Narrative of Dr. Turnbull," *op. cit.*

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 101

dren excepted) that shall be imported and actually settled in that Province.”²⁶ This was a little less than Turnbull had asked, but at the same time the Board gave him the use of one of the sloops of war not in active service for carrying his settlers from Greece to Minorca. When all this has been arranged, Turnbull speeded the remaining preparations for his trip to the Levant, finished the complicated arrangements for the shipping of his settlers, bought tools, seeds and implements for Florida and by June, 1767, when everything was ready, sailed again.

Instead of going directly to the islands of the Archipelago, Turnbull went first to Leghorn, Italy, from where, he had heard, the migration of many Italian husbandmen was possible. He had already made arrangements to take people from there and from southern France.²⁷ With great difficulty and after many troubles with the governor of Leghorn, he managed to take one hundred and ten Italians, most of whom were under deportation orders. He sailed to Port Mahon, Minorca, where he left them to wait for his return.²⁸ He had left his agent, Edward Pumel in Leghorn, to arrange for the dispatch to Mahon of another shipload of settlers in October of 1767.²⁹

On July 11, 1767, Dr. Turnbull left for Greece. What he had expected to be a simple business trip, materialized as an adventure beset with great disappointments. The Levant Company, then active in most of the Greek ports, was jealous of Turnbull's scheme and fearful of conflict with him. Its agents notified the Turkish authorities of his intentions of removing to America useful subjects of the Ottoman Port.³⁰

In every harbor where he anchored, in every place he passed, Dr. Turnbull found the Turks on guard and forbidding him to recruit settlers.³¹ For weeks he travelled the Aegean with very

26. C.O. 5/305, 313, 317.

27. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Leghorn, June 15, 1767, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 141.

28. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, July 10, 1767, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 135; see also Turnbull's answer to Bernard Romans entitled "An Answer to a Publication in the Columbian Magazine for August 1788, in which an attempt is made to calumniate Dr. Turnbull's character," in P. Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans* (DeLand, Florida, 1924), 107.

29. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Port Mahon, July 10, 1767, *op. cit.*

30. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 147.

31. *Ibid.*

little success. In September he was on the island of Melo, from which at least one settler is known to have come, Anastassios Mavromatis by name.³² On September 24, he wrote from there to Governor Grant that he was on his way to a port of Peloponnesos, where he was to embark his Greeks.³³

This trip had not been a part of Turnbull's original plan.³⁴ It seems, however, that he had heard about those few hundred villages of Mani built, like eagle nests, high on the cliffs of a rocky peninsula that starts from the peak of the mountain Taygetus and extends southwards for about fifty miles. He had probably been told of the sufferings of the people there, and how they had managed to defy the strength of the Ottoman Empire; about the heavy price they had paid for freedom, losing great numbers of men and women in their continuous fight with the Turks; and he was probably informed about the frequent migrations from Mani, during the past hundred years, to the Ionian islands, Italy, and Corsica, where they had gone to escape the threat of a life of slavery.

When Turnbull reached the port of Coron, only thirty miles from Mani, he could hardly believe that life was possible on this steep, rocky arm that protruded into the sea, the famed *Brazzo di Maina*. Up there, however, life was going on. It was not a gay life though, and at the time Turnbull arrived, the atmosphere was grave, full of anxiety and despair. Plagues lasting for several years had only recently ended,³⁵ family feuds that had taken a heavy toll of lives,³⁶ and the meagre living available from the bar-

32. Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Program, Work Projects Administration, *Translation and Transcription of Church Archives in Florida, Roman Catholic Records, St. Augustine Parish, White Baptisms, 1784-1792* (Tallahassee, Florida, 1941), I, Entries 20, 117, 306. (This volume as well as its second volume, including White Baptisms from 1792 to 1799, will be hereafter designated as: *White Baptisms*, I or II.)
33. James Grant to Earl of Shelburne, Saint Augustine, March 12, 1768, C.O. 5/549, 77.
34. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*
35. Michael B. Sakellariou, *E Peloponnesos kata ten Defteran Tourkokratian, 1715-1821* [Peloponnesos under the Second Period of Turkish Domination, 1715-1821] (Athens, Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbucher, 1939), 119.
36. Anastasios Goudas, *Bioi Paralleloi ton Andron tes Epanastaseos* [Parallel Lives of the Men of the Revolution] (Athens, 1875), VIII, d, ff.; also Apostolos B. Daskalakis, *E Mane kai e Othomanike Aftokratia, 1453-1821* [Mani and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1821] (Athens, 1923), 157-167.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 103

ren mountains had aggravated the warlike lives of these people.³⁷ They could bear everything as long as they could live with their peculiar local government, their ancient customs some of which came down from Homeric times, and could keep their mountainous villages as an island of freedom in the middle of the Ottoman Empire. However, the recent terrorism of the Turks in Peloponnesos had made their hearts heavy. They knew that this was the beginning of many new calamities, and they had enough already.

The story behind this recent development had started in Russia rather than in Greece. The ambitious Tsarina Katherine the Great had conceived the plan of fostering the revolt of the Greek Orthodox population of the Balkans against the Ottoman Empire. For the Greek part of her plan, she relied heavily on the services of George Papazoles, a Greek artillery captain in the Russian army. Bold and ingenious, tireless and devoted to his Empress, Papazoles established his headquarters in Venice in 1763. After about two years of intensive propaganda conducted by his various agents, he went to Greece in 1765. He visited Mani, where the war against the Turks had never stopped, and promised decisive Russian military and naval aid, if the people would organize a general revolution in the southern part of Greece. The people of Mani, used to such promises, were very reserved. However, meetings had taken place, protocols and agreements had been signed, secret preparations had started and restlessness was in the air.³⁸

The Turks had sensed this atmosphere, and though they could not find out what was happening, they decided to resort to terrorism in order to intimidate the people of Mani. Just before Turnbull's arrival, they had arrested their outstanding leader, the Bishop

37. On customs and life in Mani see the almost contemporary description by Col. William Martin Leake, *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), I, 200, 209, 241-243, 318, 332-339.

38. This revolt took place in 1770, two years after the departure of Turnbull's settlers. A few Russian warships and about one thousand inexperienced Russian soldiers headed by the Russian brothers Alexis and Theodore Orlov, aided the people of Mani, who finally were utterly defeated by superior Turkish forces. About this revolt of 1770 and its preparation by Papazoles see Constantine Papparegopoulos, *Is-toria tou Ellenikou Ethnous* [History of the Greek Nation] (Athens, 1925), V, part 2, 196-206; Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 148 ff.; Daskalakis, *op. cit.*, 168-191.

of Lacedaemon, Ananias Lambardes, and beheaded him in the medieval city of Mystra, in the outskirts of Mani.³⁹

Sorrow and grief filled the hearts of the people. Bishop Ananias had inspired them with a passion for their Christian faith and freedom; he had built powder-mills and had been in contact with all of the armed chieftains preparing the great upheaval. With his death, a great blow had been dealt to the cause of their freedom. It was in the midst of this mourning atmosphere that news came from the port of Coron that an English doctor had arrived who wanted to take people with him far away, to the New World. The doctor talked about a sunny country, with sandy coasts and orange groves; and a new life that everyone could start there, free from tyranny and oppression, where everyone could live in peace, have his own religion, and receive in time a piece of fertile land. The result was that many of the people of Mani decided to follow Dr. Turnbull.

The contemporary French author F.C.H.L. Pouqueville and somewhat later E. d'Eschavannes give us almost identical descriptions of the departure of these people from the port of Coron. They speak about the excitement and the emotional outbursts of the people gathered on the docks, and how sad they were at leaving the land of their forefathers. They mention that Turnbull had obtained permission from the commander of the Turkish garrison at Coron by bribing him with 1200 piastres, and that the Orthodox priests who were present gave the signal for the departure of the immigrants.⁴⁰

39. Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 154; Takes Ch. Kandeloros, *O Armatolismos tes Peloponnesou, 1500-1821* [The "Armatolism" of Peloponnesos, 1500-1821] (Athens, 1924), 56-57, 67.
40. F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grece* (Paris, 1826), 2nd ed. IV, 331333; E.d' Eschavannes, *Histoire de Corinth, relation des principaux evenements de la Moree* (Paris, 1854), 266; Constantine N. Sathas in his *Tourkokratoumene Ellas* [Greece under Turkish Rule, A Historical Essay on the Revolutions made against the Ottoman Yoke, 1453-1821] (Athens, 1869), 474, n. 2; Sathas, also, knew the following statement made earlier by Kyriakos Melirrytos, *Chronologia Istorike* [Historical Chronology] (Odessa, Russia, 1836), 245: "1767: Dr. Turnbull leads a colony of Peloponnesians to Florida of America. The colonists joined by Corsicans cultivate as tenants 60,000 stremmata [about 20,000 acres]. They inhabit New Smyrna, neighbouring to Saint Augustine." See, also, Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 119, n. 6; Kandeloros, *op. cit.*, 68.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 105

Speaking about them, Dr. Turnbull, said:

“Those now with me are from among a people who inhabit a chain of mountains which makes the southmost promontory of the Peloponnese. That people submitted to the Turks when they conquered the Morea in the beginning of this century, but finding themselves hardly used, they shook off their fetters, and continued free to this day. The Turks have often attempted to bring them under subjection, but have always failed from the impracticability of attacking them in their mountains. These Greeks are ruled by Chiefs called captains, to whom they pay a small tribute yearly to enable him to provide warlike ammunition to defend them against the Turks. This, however, is frequently consumed in Civil wars among themselves. Several mountains in the Turkish Empire are inhabited by people who maintain their liberty in this manner, & who rather chuse to work hard in cultivating the little pieces of ground they find among the mountains, than live under tyranny in the fertile and extensive plains under them.”⁴¹

And several years later, mentioning them he added “that it was cruel tyranny and the most pinching poverty that made them wish to fly from such complicated distress; otherwise they would not have emigrated, for there is not a nation on earth more prejudiced in favour of their own country than the Greeks, and indeed with reason.”⁴²

Leaving Coron, Turnbull continued his trip among the Aegean islands. His itinerary is obscure, but judging from the place of origin of some of his settlers, one can form a faint idea of the ports at which he touched. Thus, it seems that he visited the island of Crete, whence came Demetrios Fundulakis, from the town of Candia, twenty years of age at that time.⁴³ Probably

41. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*

42. P. Lee Phillips, *op. cit.*, 107.

43. As happened with most Greek names of the colonists, his name appears in the various records and censuses, hispanized and corrupt, in a great variety of spellings, i.e. Fudelache, Tudelache, Pedulach, etc. All records state that he was “a native of Candia,” or “of the island of Candia in the Levant.” “The Spanish census of 1783 states that “he is of the Greek church,” which constitutes a unique exception among the known compatriots of his who, by that time, had become converted Roman Catholics. The Spanish census of East Florida of 1793 states that in that year Fundulakis was forty-five years of age, implying the year 1748, as the year of his birth. It is probable that George Pataridakis or Pataridaxi came also from Crete. His name is Cretan but, unfortunately, there is only one record in Father *Pedro Camps Register*, Entry 19 of the year 1774. (A copy of the *Pedro*

he stopped also at the volcanic island of Santorin, from which came the only known Greek woman, Maria Parta or Ambross, the latter being her mother's maiden name.⁴⁴ Then Turnbull went to Smyrna, the birth-place of his wife and son Nicholas. His arrival there greatly disturbed the French Consul Peyssonnel who, in this period of great economic rivalry between France and England, followed Turnbull's movements carefully. He reported the recruitment of people from Smyrna in two of his official reports to the French government, one on September 22, 1767, and the other on January 28, 1768.⁴⁵ The only man known to come from Smyrna, however, was Gasper Papi, whose descendants carry his name in Florida into the middle of the twentieth century. He was a lad of seventeen years old when he embarked in Turnbull's ships.⁴⁶

The reaction of the Levant Company to Turnbull's plans continued to cause various troubles, the most disturbing of which occurred at Modon. This is a little town of the Southern Peloponnesos, on the west coast of the same peninsula where Coron lies. Built in a strategic location that controls ships entering or leaving the Aegean sea, and being heavily fortified with castles of many periods, Modon had been since ancient times one of the most important ports of Greece. Turnbull narrated the incident, which evidently happened when he was ready to leave Greek waters and return to Minorca, as follows:

Camps Register, which is known as "The Golden Rule Book of the Minorcans" has been deposited in the archives of the Saint Augustine Historical Society, indexed in English by E. W. Lawson.) Pataridakis there appears as a godfather of Maria, daughter of Peter Drimarakis, a Greek from Corsica.

44. Census of Father Thomas Hassett of 1786, (hereafter cited as "Hassett"). On Hassett's census see Joseph B. Lockey, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV, No. 3 (January 1937), 152-154.
45. *French National Archives of Foreign Affairs* B¹ 1058; see Svoronos, *op. cit.*
46. Smyrna of Asia Minor is given as a birth-place of Gaspar Papi or Pape by every census or other contemporary records; see Hassett, also, c. 1783, c. 1787. In c. 1793, he appears as the son of Miguel [Michael] Papi and Catalina [Kathrin], whose maiden name was Auas; in *Father Camps Register, Marriages*, Entry 2 of the year 1781, his mother's name appears as Auguis or Aquas. The same census states also that Gaspar Papi was forty-two years old during that year, pointing to the year 1751 as his birthdate. See, also, *White Baptisms*, I, Entries 171, 285, 443 and II, Entry 12.

Ill grounded Apprehensions of Jealousy had influenced them [the Levant Company] to make it [the purpose of his trip] public in all places, of which I felt the effects at Modon in the Morea, for on being obliged to put in there for refreshments for my people, after keeping at sea as long as I could in the worst weather I ever saw, on sending a boat with ten men ashore for water they were taken into custody, on pretext of my having some of the Grand Signior's subjects on board the ships then with me; but they were released the next day in consideration of a present made privately to the Commanding Officer of the Garrison, who desired me not to permit the people to appear on Deck for fear of complaints against him for letting me carry away Greeks, which he thought he had a right to detain as rebels.⁴⁷

Finally, Turnbull left Greece and on February 3, 1768 he entered the deep water of Port Mahon, where the rest of his settlers were waiting for him.⁴⁸ It was a crowd that had been gathered from many places: from Italy, Greece, Southern France and Corsica, and the majority of them from the island of Minorca itself.

Among those from Corsica there were many who had Greek names, such as Nicholas Stefanopoli,⁴⁹ Georgios Stefanopoli,⁵⁰ Antonios Stefanopoli,⁵¹ Petros Drimarachis,⁵² Petros Cosifach-

47. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. C. 1783; Hassett; c. 1787; c. 1793 states that he was the son of Charles and Martha Stefanopoli, and that he was forty-three years of age, indicating the year 1748 as his birth-date; c. 1813, however, states that he was sixty years old during that year, implying the year 1753 as his birth-date. See, also, *Father Camps Register*, Entry 22 of the year 1775, Entry 1 of the year 1777, Entry 11 of the year 1788, Entry 25 of the year 1780, Entry 14 of the year 1783; also, *White Baptisms*, I, Entries 34, 84, 207, and II, Entry 51. The name Stefanopoli suffered many corruptions and it appears in various spellings such as: Stephanoply, Estefanople, Estepanopoli, Estefanoply, Estefanobili, Estanople.

50. C. 1783; c. 1784.

51. C. 1783; *Father Camps Register*, Entry 19 of the year 1771, Entry 2 of the year 1772, and Entry 7 of the year 1778.

52. C. 1783; Hassett; c. 1787; also, in *Father Camps Register*, Entry 19 of the year 1774, Entry 12 of the year 1776, Entry 7 of the year 1778, Entry 16 of the year 1780. His name appears as: Drimarachi, Drimarari, Drimarere, Madrari, Madraxi.

53. C. 1783; Hassett; c. 1787; c. 1793 states that he was at that year forty-one years of age, implying that he was born in 1752; also, that he was the son of Theodore and Martha whose maiden name was Noxachisa (?). See, also, *Father Camps Register*, Entries 2 and 6 of the year 1779. Entries 9 and 14 of the year 1781, Entry 6 of the

os,⁵³ Michael Costas.⁵⁴ Their unexpected presence among the Corsicans was nothing but another page of the tragic fate of Mani, which had already given Turnbull a few hundred of his settlers.

Their story started during the previous century, when, in 1669, the island of Crete fell into the hands of the Turks, ending a twenty year war between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetians. It was then that the people of Mani found themselves in a very precarious position. During the war they had been allies of their former enemies, the Venetians, who nevertheless were Christians, against the Ottoman Turks. As soon as Crete fell their defeated allies abandoned them, and Mani felt all the pressure of the ferocious Turkish hordes. The latter, using promises and threats, reprisals and campaigns managed to build two castles at the outskirts of Mani making the life of the inhabitants unbearable. Thus, many of them decided to leave their country.

The first migration took place in 1671, when about three hundred families left Mani and established themselves in Tuscany, Italy.⁵⁵ Five years later, in 1675, the second mass migration from Mani took place, when the whole clan of the Stefanopoli decided to go to Corsica.⁵⁶ They were one of the older families of Mani, proud to derive their origin from the imperial Byzantine family of Comneni.

year 1782, Entry 22 of the year 1783; *White Baptisms*, I, Entry 109; also *Father Camps Register, Marriages*, Entry 4 of the year 1778. His name appears as: Cosifacho, Cocifacio, Cosifaxi, Cosifachi.

54. C. 1783; c. 1787. His name appears as: Costa, Acosta, Costas.
55. The Italian documents from the Archives of Florence and Venice concerning this colony in Tuscany were published in their Italian original by the late professor Spyridon P. Lampros, "O kata ton Ebdomon Aiona eis ten Toscanan Exoikismos ton Maniaton," [The Migration of Maniates to Tuscany during the Seventeenth Century], *Neos Ellenomnemon*, II (1905), 396-434.
56. Material concerning this colony has been deposited in the archives of Genoa and Ajaccio. Besides the descriptions of this colony found in almost every history of Corsica, the following monographs are the most significant: Nicholas B. Fardys, *Yle kai Skarifema Istorias tes en Korsike Ellenikes Paroikias* [Material and Draft of a History of the Greek Colony in Corsica] (Athens, 1888); Dr. Fardys had become a teacher of the school of the Greek Community of Cargese, Corsica, between 1786-1787. Using the archives of the Prefecture of Ajaccio, the documents collection of the Stefanopoli family in the same city, the baptismal, marriage and death records of Cargese, he wrote an informative history of that colony G. G. Papadopoulos, *Chronographia peri tes Katagoges ton en Mane Stefanopoulon, tes aftothen eis Korsiken Apoikeseos* Chronography on the Origin of the Stefanopoli of Mani and their Migration from here to Corsica] (Athens, 1865); Papadopoulos included in this study a unique chronicle

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 109

They had sent a representative of their family to the courts of various Italian princes to negotiate the terms of their migration. This man, John Koutsikalis, wandered for some time in Italy, and even visited the Roman Pope, but he was unable to find favorable terms. When he finally approached the Genoese Republic, his efforts met with success.⁵⁷

The Genoese were glad to help settlers from Mani and immediately promised land and protection in Corsica, which was dominated by them. Actually, they were the ones who needed the help of these settlers. The whole island of Corsica had been restless for some time. The Corsicans wanted their own independence. Revolutions that had started then destined to continue for more than a century, had disturbed and exhausted the Genoese Republic greatly. The settlers coming from Mani, trained in arms, experienced in war, could very well form a bulwark against the revolutionists. Thus, the Genoese were more than happy to help this colonization.

In 1676 seven hundred and thirty men, women and children of the Stefanopoli family, having with them their bishop Parthenios Kalkandis, and their priests, arrived in Genova. They signed an agreement with the Genoese Republic, on January 18, 1676, providing for the granting of the land of three Corsican villages to the colonists, for their identity as subjects of the Genoese Republic, whom they were obliged to serve on land and on sea, and various other conditions.

In March 14, 1676, the Stefanopoli and the other settlers left Genoa and established in the three Corsican villages of Paomia, Revinda and Salongo. With their industry and determination to make a new life there they soon prospered, introducing new agricultural methods and developing the trade of their area.⁵⁸

written by a priest, Nicholas Stefanopoli, of Corsica, in August 26, 1738, narrating the early adventures of the colony until that year. Nicholaos Stefanopoli, *Histoire de la colonie grecque etablie en Corse* (Paris, 1826); P. Stefanopoli, *Histoire de la colonie grecque etablie en Corse* (Pise, 1836); Demetrius Gr. Kambouroglou, "Peri tes apo tes Manes eis ten Neson Kyrnon Ellenikes Apoikias," [About the Greek Colony from Mani in the Island of Corsica], *Hebdomas*, II, No. 61 (April 1885), 179-192; G. G. Papadopoulos, "Asmata Demotika ton en Korsike Ellenon" [Folk-songs of the Greeks in Corsica], *Pandora*, XV, No. 353 (December 1864), 413-420, including few marriage records since 1724.

57. G. G. Papadopoulos, *Chronography, op. cit.*, 19.

58. Fardys, *op. cit.*, 53-54.

This was the largest Greek migration to Corsica since 560 B.C., when some other Greeks, the Phocaeans of Ionia, had established a large colony, building the city of Aleria. As it happened, however, with the ancient Phocaeans, who continuously had troubles with the native islanders, the same happened with the settlers from Mani this time.

The Corsicans did not like these Greeks. They did not fail to realize why their Genoese oppressors had brought them there. They considered them as intruders who grabbed their land and who were willing to fight against the cause of their freedom. Consequently, they attacked them at every opportunity. When in 1730 the Corsicans started a large scale revolution, protesting against the heavy Genoese taxation, they had made an attempt to solicit the help of the Greeks in their struggle. The latter, however, honoring their agreement with the Genoese, refused to cooperate with the revolutionists and thus became their main target. It was their war experience and boldness that saved the Greeks from complete destruction. In 1737, however, after a bloody battle with the Corsicans, the Greeks, despite their victory, abandoned their villages and came to the capital of the island, Ajaccio. The only thing that they could do there was to join the Genoese gendarmerie and fight for the suppression of the revolution.⁵⁹

What a fate for them! They had left their country to escape bloodshed, war and troubles. They had come to Corsica to find a piece of land and a peaceful life. Instead they found themselves involved in everything they wanted to avoid. Since they had come to Corsica, they had considerably changed their Christian dogma, placing themselves under the auspices of the Roman Pope; they had lost again their lands and homes; and they had been transformed into mercenaries fighting against a patriot like Pasquale Paoli and his revolutionists who strived to gain their independence.

By 1767, the Genoese were convinced that they could not keep the island any longer and they started negotiations to cede Corsica to France. The treaty was signed in 1768 and France took over, but it was just before this treaty's conclusion that Turnbull's scheme came into picture.

The Greeks of Corsica were confused and uncertain by this coming change of masters. They did know what would happen

59. *Ibid.*, 71.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 111

to them under the French. They thought for some time of attempting another mass migration to Spain, but after long negotiations, their plans had been frustrated.⁶⁰ Then, Turnbull's appeal for Florida settlers became known. It is not strange that many of them decided to join him and escape to the New World.

It is improbable that Turnbull himself visited Corsica, since none of the known records mentions such a trip. There is, however, a great possibility that Andrew Turnbull's agent at Leghorn, Edward Pumel, recruited and sent them directly to Minorca with the shiplot of colonists that had been sent in October of 1768.⁶¹

All these Greeks from Mani, the Aegean islands, Smyrna, and Corsica came to Florida as indentured servants. The terms, however, of their service are not known. Turnbull himself has asserted that he had signed contracts with all his settlers in Europe.⁶² There are, however, reasons to doubt the accuracy of his statement. The only known contract signed between him and his settlers, found in the Archives of the city of Mahon, bears the date of February 11, 1768, and concerns only Minorcans.⁶³ However, the bulk of the Minorcan settlers came to him in March and even at the last moment, when he was ready to leave the island and he had already made sail, Turnbull discovered upwards to one hundred Minorcan stowaways, which obliged him to hire a Danish ship as far as Gibraltar and from there on to transfer them in two smaller ships.⁶⁴ It is improbable that he could have signed contracts with them. Also, among twenty-one depositions sworn to before the court in 1777 by settlers, no one speaks about written contracts, but about "agreements."⁶⁵

All the evidence points to the fact that these settlers were brought to Florida as tenants, who should divide the products of their land equally with Turnbull, letting him first withdraw the

60. Daskalakis, *op. cit.*, 143-144.

61. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Port Mahon, July 10, 1767, *op. cit.*

62. P. Lee Phillips, *op. cit.*, 108.

63. A copy of this contract has been deposited in the Archives of the Saint Augustine Historical Society. For its English translation see Edward W. Lawson "Contract Signed by Minorcan Colonists is Translated," in *The St. Augustine Record*, September 2, 1953.

64. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Gibraltar, April 4, 1768, Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 145.

65. C.O. 5/557, 429-432, 435-436, 437-438, 439-440, 441-442, 443, 445-447, 449, 453, 457, 461, 463, 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 475, 477, 479.

expenses he had incurred for their maintainance since they had arrived in Florida, but not for their transportation. This system of sharing the crops was highly praised by Governor Grant who explained that:

“Most of them (the settlers) are to be fixed in Familys, and to have half the produce, which is well judged on the Dr’s part, as it is the surest, indeed the only method of making new Adventurers Industrious, for no Man in America can be prevailed upon to work for his Master in order to repay the Expence which the Master may have been put upon his account - on the contrary if a servant has not an immediate Prospect of Profit to himself, he takes care that his Labor shall not pay for his clothes and subsistence.”⁶⁶

As to the time to be served under their indentures there is also uncertainty. Turnbull’s contract with the Minorcans speaks about ten years of service to be counted after the first harvest.⁶⁷ However, all the sworn depositions of the Greeks, Corsicans and Minorcans,⁶⁸ speak of a time between five and a maximum of six years. Other contemporary authors speak about eight years.⁶⁹ It is evident that there was a variety of agreements between Turnbull and his settlers, and that the Greeks had agreed to serve their time as tenants of the above described kind for a period of between five and eight years.⁷⁰

The number of the Greeks that Turnbull brought with him is also unknown. Both Pouqueville and d’Eschavannes speak about Turnbull having “ships” and not one ship at Coron. The French Consul of Smyrna, Asia Minor, Peyssonnel, in his report of January 28, 1768, says that Turnbull stopped in Peloponnesos with two ships.⁷¹ Turnbull, himself, narrating the Modon incident he

66. James Grant to Earl of Hillsborough, Saint Augustine, July 2, 1768, C.O. 5/541, 423-424.

67. Contract between Minorcan colonists and Turnbull, *supra*, n. 63.

68. *Supra*, fn. 65.

69. Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* (Philadelphia, 1911), 234; John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), 188, repeating Bernard Romans (in P. Lee Phillips, *op. cit.*, 42), mentions a three year tenure time.

70. Melirrytos, *op. cit.*, states that the Greeks came to Floirda as tenants.

71. *Supra*, n. 45. Peyssonnel also added that some of Turnbull’s passengers had changed their minds and escaped, informing the Turkish authorities about his plans, whereupon the Turks detained Turnbull’s ships for some days and released them after they were bribed with 2,000 talers. Peyssonnel, evidently, is reporting the Modon incident.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 113

also speaks about “ships” and he indicates clearly that they were three of them when he says that:

“I arrived in this island (Minorca) the 3rd of this month (February 1768) after a long passage from Turkey. One of my ships with passengers for Florida got in here before me, & I am in daily expectation of a third ship with 200 Greeks These added to the men women and children now with me will make nigh a thousand of them.”⁷²

Shipping during those days, as Turnbull himself admits, was not only expensive but also difficult to find.⁷³ He, being a good Scotsman, would never hire another ship without needing it badly and before exhausting the shipping capacity with him. Thus, it is evident that the ships with him were loaded with people. He stated that the third one was carrying two hundred Greeks; the capacity of the other two is not known, but his own would hardly be the smallest. The minimum number of settlers in each of the ships must have been one hundred. Thus, counting those from Corsica it is safe to say that Turnbull’s Greeks numbered more than four hundred.

In this period of Enlightenment, those Europeans who heard the news applauded Turnbull’s idea of taking Greeks to colonize Florida and Abbe Raynal, with all the enthusiasm and optimism of the French *philosophes*, exclaimed:

“Why should not Athens and Lacedaemon be one day revived in North America? Why should not the city of Turnbull become in a few centuries the residence of politeness, of the fine arts, and of eloquence? The new colony is less distant from this flourishing state than were the barbarous Pelasgians from the fellow citizens of Pericles.”⁷⁴

When the recruiting of his settlers was finished, Turnbull must have been very satisfied. He had with him almost as many

72. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*

73. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Gibraltar, April 4, 1768, *op. cit.*

74. Abbe Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* (London, 1798), VI, 77-78.

Greeks as he wanted, plus almost three times as many colonists from other places. This was a veritable achievement, because no one before had ever managed to bring so many people in one trip to colonize an American area. This task had been accomplished thanks to his own efforts and courage, to the support received from the British government, to the financial backing of his partners, and to the paternal protection offered him by his powerful friend, Lord Shelburne.

Turnbull was not one of those to ignore help, especially the services rendered to him by Lord Shelburne. He searched for an appropriate gift, something that his Lordship would really like. In a period when neo-classicism was so much *en vogue* and Renaissance revivals adorned so many mansions, Turnbull had a brilliant idea. Somewhere in Greece he looted a temple of Venus and sent the marbles directly to the home of Lord Shelburne. Later, after Turnbull arrived in Florida, he was anxious to learn if they had arrived at their destination, and he wrote to his protector:

“My friend Mr. Humphreys has taken them (the marbles) under his care, and promises to see them carried to your House. I left some other Marbles in Mr. Davis’s Hands to be forwarded to your Lordship. I shall be sorry if they have not been forwarded as there was an Alt Relief, of a Venus at her Toilet, among them, not a despicable Piece; others were worth little. I meant them as a Testimony of my Endeavours to execute your Commands.”⁷⁵

When everything was ready, on April 30, 1768, seven crowded ships left the beautiful island of Minorca. They carried more than fourteen hundred people. Some of them like the Minorcans, were escaping to the New World to secure freedom from starvation; some, like the Corsicans, because they longed for freedom from bloodshed and war; some, like the Italians, because they wanted freedom from persecution and uncertainty; and some, like the Greeks, because they desired freedom from tyranny and oppression. Among them were perhaps several who were seeking adventure, but all the ships were loaded with dreams and hopes and plans for a new life. But the story of these settlers was just beginning. The hardships, sickness, adventure, torture and death

75. Andrew Turnbull to Earl of Shelburne, Smyrnea in East Florida, September 24, 1769. Lansdowne MSS., LXXXVIII, 155.

BACKGROUND GREEK SETTLERS NEW SMYRNA COLONY 115

they found in New Smyrna, constitutes another page of their lives.⁷⁶

76. NOTE. In 1951 a controversy arose in Greece as to whether Modon or Coron was the port of embarkation of the Greek settlers and whether they came from the areas of Mani and Messenia or only from Messenia. N. I. Rozakos in "Unemployment in Mani and Migration," *Nea Estia*, L, No. 578 (August, 1951), supported the thesis that the settlers came from both Mani and Messenia and had embarked at Coron; T. E. Politopoulos in "Maniates in America," *ibid.*, L, No. 580 (September 1951), maintained that the settlers came from Messenia and left for Florida from the port of Modon. It is evident that both authors derived their information from secondary sources.

In connection with the question of the settlers' place of origin, Turnbull had stated explicitly (*supra*, 16) that those with him were "from among a people who inhabit a chain of mountains which makes the southernmost promontory of the Peloponnese," which, of course, excludes the fertile plains of Messenia as a possible place of origin of these colonists. Moreover, the description of the life, customs, and institutions given by Turnbull were unique to Mani. In all records and censuses of East Florida there is not a single case of a settler from Messenia; on the contrary, there are cases of people who came from Mani, like John Giannopoulos or Janopoli, whose native village was Skoutari of Mani, and Kyriakos or Domingo Exarcopoulos or Hedzarcopoly, who came from "Brazzo Mayna di Levante." It is true that both Pouqueville, *op. cit.*, and d' Eschavannes, *op. cit.*, speak about Messenians. It was, however, a custom among eighteenth and nineteenth century historians to refer to the whole southwestern section of Peloponnesos as Messenia, and Col. Leake, *op. cit.*, in his map of Messenia has included, also, Mani.

As for the port of embarkation, Turnbull's letter to the Earl of Shelburne, of February 27, 1768, *op. cit.*, makes clear that when he approached Modon, his settlers were already on his ships and that only ten went ashore to bring refreshments, and were detained by the Turkish authorities, as Turnbull says, "on pretext of my having some of the Grand Signior's subjects on board the ships then with me." Also, both Pouqueville, *op. cit.*, and d' Eschavannes, *op. cit.*, state that Coron was the port of embarkation. Coron, moreover, is closer to Mani than Modon and the logical place of departure of people coming from there. Raynal, *op. cit.*, 76, is the first who gave Modon as the port of embarkation, confusing it with the incident that happened to Turnbull there. His information has been repeated by a few others, i.e. John Lee Williams, *op. cit.*, 188. Turnbull's account, however, leaves no doubt that he approached Modon after having taken his colonists with him.

STORIES IN STONE

A Study of Duval County Grave Markers

by LUCY AMES EDWARDS

IF IT IS TRUE, as Hawthorne tells us, that "A grave, wherever found, preaches a short and pithy sermon," then perhaps a gravestone teaches history. That it records facts of history we know, but in the growth of towns and cities, as skyscrapers and subdivisions supplant old homes and scattered farms, some records of facts are being lost. With the thought of preserving family history the attempt was made in the summer of 1940 to compile the records on early gravemarkers in Duval County. An unexpected bonus was the information gained of Duval County families and how they had helped to make Florida history.

Having decided to copy early tombstone inscriptions, we asked ourselves, "what constitutes an early grave marker in Duval County?" It was learned that Jacksonville vital statistics began about 1860 and continued with many breaks until 1880; and thereafter, without breaks. But prior to World War I, Jacksonville was small and many deaths in the county would not have been included in city records. It was learned also that there are only incomplete state vital statistic records prior to January 1917. Therefore it was decided to copy the inscription on all stones before 1917. Negro cemeteries were not checked except where graves of trusted servants or highly respected Negroes of the community were buried in white cemeteries. Colored troops were listed as in colored battalions, although officers of colored battalions were usually white. Since the purpose of the search was to make a record of facts that perhaps were not recorded elsewhere, no attempt was made to copy verses or sentimental and descriptive phrases, unless those phrases had historical or genealogical value.

The next problem was to locate the headstones. Funeral directors had information on cemeteries where present-day interments were being made, but they knew little of old family plots and graveyards. The American Legion, which at that time was sponsoring the Veterans' Grave Registration Project to record the burial places of all deceased veterans, generously shared with us the informa-

tion it had secured on old grave plots. In a few cases we were able to return the favor and direct them to other family graveyards which we had found. But folks everywhere were helpful. Mr. W. F. Hawley, a "live oaker" who stayed to become an early resident in the Arlington area, knew well the Duval County of the latter part of the past century and the first part of this. He gave interesting accounts of the old shipyard on the southside of the river and of the activities of John S. Sammis and Oran Baxter. The latter was buried nearby in Clifton Cemetery near the start of "Baxter's Reach," as the section of the river from Commodore Point to Chaseville Point was called by captains of sailing vessels. Mr. Hawley located for us many family plots on the southside of the St. Johns River. Others recalled cemeteries no longer used, but most of them never ceased to be surprised that anyone should be interested in old graves.

It was learned that several cemeteries began as church burying plots and facts were gleaned about some early churches that no longer exist. The Mandarin Cemetery originally adjoined a Protestant church which was Presbyterian, we were told by Mrs. Essie Coleman of Mandarin. It was at the end of a lane leading from what was probably the earliest boat landing on the St. Johns River at Mandarin, then known as San Antonio. The Church of Our Savior at Mandarin has a tombstone under the church and two in the church yard. These stones, however, antedate the church which, according to Mrs. Coleman, was built in 1883. The graves in the churchyard are those of John M. Bowden, born at Mandarin 1790, died 1871, and of his wife Mary Ann Bowden, born 1790, died 1861, indicating that the church lot had been a part of the Uriah Bowden grant. According to Spanish land grant records, the claim of 200 acres on southside of St. Johns River at San Antonio granted to Uriah Bowden in 1815 was confirmed to his son Moses Bowden, with the note that John Moses Bowden, two year old son of Uriah and Maria Gilbert Bowden, was baptized in 1793 by the vicar of parochial church in St. Augustine. Undoubtedly this is the John M. Bowden buried in the churchyard. The stone under the church is that of Eliza M., wife of George Butler and daughter of Silvester Robinson. She died 23 Feb. 1835, age 26 years. Philips Cemetery in South Jacksonville was in the yard of an early Methodist Church. It was

part of a land grant made to William Hendricks in 1797, confirmed to his son Isaac Hendricks and later inherited by Isaac's daughter Martha Ann, who married Albert Gallatin Phillips, sheriff of Duval County from 1833 to 1836. Sometime during their married life prior to 1844 they gave this piece of land for the site of a Methodist church, a school, and a cemetery. It is believed to have been the first Methodist church in Duval County on the southside of the St. Johns River. Because of need for repairs, services were discontinued after the War Between the States. The cemetery was a free community one, the plat being kept in the nearest Southern Methodist Church. A frame community church formerly stood under the oak trees in front of St. Nicholas Cemetery, also in South Jacksonville. It was not rebuilt after it burned but is remembered by many living today. A non sectarian church, it was served by Protestant ministers of different denominations from Jacksonville. According to T. Frederick Davis, in 1844 the Baptists in Jacksonville erected a small brick church on a plot of ground two miles west of the court house, now Myrtle Avenue between Adams and Duval Street. A few years afterwards Elias G. Joudon bought a piece of ground adjoining the church and donated it for a burial ground. The church building was partially wrecked from the fighting around it during the War Between the States and was never again used by the congregation. Of those buried there, only three stones remained in 1940 and on only two of them were the inscriptions legible. In 1945, due to encroaching business, the city gave permission for those graves to be transferred to Edgewood Cemetery.

In spite of help we were frequently almost lost in this search for old graveyards. Some burial plots were deep in wooded areas with the trails leading to them passing through a thicket, or a swamp, or a cut-over area with many confusing logging roads. We were stuck in sand on Sawpit Bluff. Near Thomas Creek we found that the road we were attempting to follow had no bottom. After a five mile hike and a telephone call, a wrecker lifted us to firm ground. Sometimes we were forced to make a second or third trip before summer rains permitted us to cross a swampy area, and always we fought mosquitoes. However, not all insects we encountered were objectionable. Like most boys, our young sons collected bugs, beetles, butterflies, and what-have-

you. The Old Pablo Cemetery near Mayport is in a dense hammock of oaks, palmettos and vines, and there we had a rich dividend of brilliant spiders and silken webs that shimmered in the broken sunlight.

The family burial plots on former plantations scattered over the county were an introduction to early Duval County families. Some of these family plots are on Spanish land grants, others on land bought by settlers soon after Florida became a part of the United States. Except for the King's Road between Sloan's Landing and Talbot Island, the St. Johns River and its branches furnish the roadway system for the county. At that time the overland King's Road north of Jacksonville was little more than a trail. Dovell tells us that during the territorial period travel and transport north and south was almost always by a water route. Many records of the period refer to this partial water route as the "King's Highway." Most journeys along the coast were made by water, using in part what is today the Inland Waterway. Consequently most of the early family graveyards are on what were once plantations along the river or near some creek. This explains why they are so far away from the main highways of today, and in many cases most difficult to reach. Some of them cannot be reached in an automobile during wet weather. Others require wet weather in order to avoid becoming stuck in dry sand. At times the road ends in an area so desolate that no one can be found to guide one through jungle-like underbrush of palmetto and vines. In many places the graveyard is all that is left to tell one that the area was once inhabited. Sometimes there are old fruit trees, an old rose bush, or the remains of an open well as additional evidence that folks once lived there. This is true of the Houston Cemetery on Big Talbot Island. Talbot Island was once the north end of the King's Road in Duval County, a ferry crossing and a busy hostelry as well as the home of a large family. Here Spicer Christopher acquired a Spanish land grant about 1795, built his home in the center of the island, "raised China oranges," "had \$3000 invested in horses," "shared conveniences with passers by" and "entertained wayfarers." Most of the grave-markers in this cemetery are for descendants of John Houston, a son-in-law of Spicer Christopher. There is little trace today of the orange groves and pastures for fine horses, of the homes and

plantations which once faced along the Nassau River, but this burial plot deep in the woods in the center of the island tells much of the family. Roses and other cherished flowers continue to bloom in the enclosed graveyard. The earliest marker is that of John Houston's first wife Elizabeth, who died in 1824. Elizabeth Houston was the youngest daughter of Spicer Christopher.

Sloan's Landing was the south end of the King's Road in the county and the location of the ferry across Julington Creek. In February 1835 a franchise was granted for a ferry across Julington Creek from New Higham on the south bank in St. Johns County to Sloan's Landing in Duval County. It is probable, however, that Sloan's Landing antedates this franchise. In the list of soldiers in the 2nd Company of St. Johns of the Patriots of East Florida in 1813 there is a Michael Sloan and a John Sloan whose names are signed in company with those of Joseph Hagen, John Creighton, Isaac and Moses Bowden, Roberto Gilbert and William Hartley, all known to have lived in the Julington Creek-Mandarin area and to many of whom Spanish land grants in that area were confirmed later. Also, the name of a James Sloan is carried on the Petition, dated Oct. 10, 1820, from the Inhabitants of the St. Marys-St. Johns District to the Spanish Governor of East Florida, for the organization of a municipality. According to Mrs. Essie Coleman the Hagen and James families, both of whose homes were on Julington Creek, were descendants of the Sloan family, through their maternal lines possibly the founder of Sloan's Landing. Tradition says that the small cemetery at Sloan's Landing dates from about 1835 and the Indian massacre in that neighborhood during the Seminole Indian War. Although there are many graves, no early markers and no printed proof of such interments were found. But it is easy to understand why there are so few headstones for these early settlers. Granite or other stone grave markers placed in the 18th and early part of the 19th centuries had to be hauled overland across Georgia to the St. Marys River and then for a water haul down inland creeks and rivers, or brought by sailing vessel from New England. Many cedar grave markers can still be found in the county with all markings, if there ever had been any, completely worn off. Many of the family names found on the two lists of the Spanish period, which were mentioned above, can be found on tombstones in the county.

It is easy to understand also why modern highways and the automobile have caused the abandonment of burial sites in out of the way places along the river and creeks. But for a while it was difficult to understand why there were so many small family burying grounds on the north side of the river back in oak woods. Then one old man, when directing us to the burying ground of his family, commented on the fact that the black jack oak woods that we were going through was once an open field where he had plowed cotton many times as a boy. Later, it was learned that his case was typical of many. Much of Duval County was homesteaded prior to and shortly after the War Between the States but as cotton was found to be unproductive, the next generation abandoned it and large farms have been overgrown with black jack oaks. The men who homesteaded the land started those cemeteries. Some of them are still used today but many of them are the burial place of only the man himself, his wife and some young children.

In other places the forests were cut by lumber dealers who saw in Florida timber a bonanza, as through the centuries Florida has always appealed to the adventurer and speculator. These timber merchants left behind them pine barrens. When one has driven for miles on narrow winding roads through these stretches of open woodlands, one knows that the term "pine barren" is correctly given. It is while seeking a graveyard in these black jack oak woods and pine barrens that one has difficulty, for aside from the condition of the road, instructions for reaching them are usually vague. One elderly lady said, "Take the dim way," going in a certain direction. It was a new term but one we found to be most descriptive. But the pine barrens and black jack oak woods of the 1940s are fast becoming rich grazing land for good cattle in the 1950s.

A strange custom was noticed in two cemeteries in the county. The usual containers for flowers were missing from all the graves and in their place were utensils or ornaments that might have been used by the deceased. On a child's grave one might see a small teacup, or a small china toy or ornament. On the grave of an old lady were two perfect teacups and saucers and on an old Confederate veteran's grave was a whiskey bottle.

The oldest gravestones in the county are the two on Fort

George Island, dated 1808. The markers are those of the daughter and the sister-in-law of John Houston McIntosh, leader of the Patriots of East Florida. Both of those graves, or tombs as the caretaker on the island calls them, have been broken into by vandals seeking treasure, but yet are mute reminders of what may have been happy, normal lives spent amid the turbulent history of this tiny island. From the day in 1562 when Jean Ribault paused near there to offer the first Protestant prayer in North America, Fort George Island has seemed destined to swing between periods of happiness and of cruel selfishness. Not far from Fort George, at Sawpit Bluff and Cedar Point, William Fitzpatrick and others made history. On Doctors Island in Nassau River Francis Broward, the first of that name in Florida, is reported to have been buried in 1813. But time and tide have left not even cedar headstones to mark this period in Florida history nor their services in the Revolutionary and Patriots Wars. Besides the graves on Fort George and Big Talbot Islands, other early grave markers are those of the young woman buried in St. Josephs Cemetery in the city of Jacksonville in 1827; that of another young woman buried under the church of our Savior at Mandarin in 1835; a stone in the Mandarin Cemetery dated 1836, and the lone grave near St. Johns Bluff of James Buckland, formerly of Ellington, Conn., also dated 1836.

The only grave in the county positively identified as that of a Revolutionary soldier is that of Dr. James Hall of New Hampshire who was buried on Beauclerc Bluff, near Plummer's Cove. According to the marker he died in 1837 at La Grange, E. F. (East Florida), which is the Mandarin of today. According to Dr. Webster Merritt, Dr. Hall is believed to be "the first bona fide American physician to practice medicine in East Florida, probably the first American physician to practice anywhere in Florida." During the Revolution Dr. Hall served as sergeant in the 3rd Regiment, New Hampshire Line. From data in Spanish land grant records it is thought he came to Florida about 1798. It is known that he married Lenore or Eleanor Plummer. In 1828 a grant to Robert Pritchard for 270 acres at Beauclerc Bluff on the St. Johns River was confirmed to his widow Eleanor. It is undoubtedly on this land that she and Dr. Hall lived and there he was buried. Dr. Hall's grave has been marked by a bronze plaque

placed by the Sons of the American Revolution and the grave plot is cared for by Jacksonville Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

There are head stones in the county identified as marking the graves of veterans of the Black Hawk and Seminole Wars. In the north end of the county at what is known as Dees Landing is the burying ground of the Eubanks family. Here is buried William Eubanks, Major, 17th Infantry, Black Hawk War. In 1817 he received a Spanish land grant on Nassau River, on which Dees Landing faces. This grant was confirmed to him in 1825 by the United States with the remark "claimant in actual possession" with himself, wife and five slaves residing on the claim. There are, of course, many stones in the county for veterans of the War Between the States, both Confederate and Federal, for it seems that many Federal troops that served in Florida during the war returned to make it their home. Many Confederates are buried in Old Gravely Hill Cemetery, which began as a family burying ground on the Miles Price homestead. Price was a Confederate soldier and gave a burial plot to the family of any Confederate veteran which desired it. Twenty Confederate veterans, one veteran with Union Forces, two Spanish American veterans and five World War I veterans are buried there. In Manning Cemetery are markers for six Confederate soldiers, the largest number for its size of any family cemetery in the county. One section of Old City Cemetery was also set apart for the burial of Confederate soldiers. St. Joseph Catholic Cemetery at Loretto was the burying place for many colored soldiers who served with Northern forces during the War Between the States. There was at one time a Catholic school for Negroes in the same vicinity.

Many cemeteries originated as family burying grounds but later lots were given or sold to other families. This was true of St. Nicholas situated in the residential section of Jacksonville known by that name and not far from the site of the Spanish Fort San Nicholas. The cemetery was started by ancestors of the Holmes family. D. S. H. Miller, Surveyor of Florida during the second Spanish occupation and formerly connected with the Spanish outpost, San Nicholas, was the father of the wife of Darius Ferris, whose headstone marks the first recorded burial in the cemetery. Records show that Darius Ferris and David L. Pal-

mer brought property in Duval County in 1841 and H. H. Hoeg of New York, in 1840. All three were active in the early development of the county and all three were buried in St. Nicholas Cemetery, as were many other prominent citizens during the latter part of the past century and the first part of the present century. Many of the markers in this cemetery, both early and late ones, are imposing stones. Elaborate stones can be found in many cemeteries in different parts of the county showing dates after 1875.

Among other southside family plots of interest is that of the Parsons family situated along the river in the Gilmore section of the county. Here is buried Mary Dorcas Parsons Broward, the mother of Gov. Napoleon B. Broward. Also buried there is an early Duval County educator, Mr. D. Milspaugh. The oldest stone in the cemetery is that of Thomas Burke of Eaton, N. H., who died in 1840.

The small burial plot near the present-day Fulton fishing camp immediately brought up many questions. The few graves near the shore of the river were each outlined with granite. But one is grieved to see that the head and foot stones of all but two graves have been hauled away. One of these stones marks the grave of a native of Nova Scotia, the other, a native of England. The latter stone has two names cut on it. They are Harry Chambers and Peter Chamberlain. Early residents told us that the Englishman was Lord "Harry" Peter Chamberlain, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, who had lived in America under an assumed name. That he was the son of English nobility is questioned by former neighbors, who say he was probably a "remit-tance man." Correspondence with England after his death, we were told, failed to produce any facts about his family and life in England, except his real name, which his Fulton neighbors had cut on the head stone with the name he had used in America.

In itself Fulton is an interesting and pleasant spot. When we visited the graveyard, magnolia and gordonia trees with their glossy leaves and fragrant blooms were seen along the road leading from the main highway. Brilliant scarlet mallows bloomed in damp spots at the road's edge and luxuriant vines with purple blooms covered the sandy shore. For-hire fishing boats, picnic tables and outdoor ovens flanked a tiny store. "Fishing widows" whiled away the hours with their eyes frequently on the many

small boats anchored out in the river, each with two or more fishermen in it. Farther down the shore crab traps were stacked near the little used building of the Fulton Boat Co.

We were told that this part of the south shore of the St. Johns River just west of St. Johns Bluff had been known by the Indian name "Homoloa." Mrs. G. Graham Dockerell of Jacksonville said that when she and Mr. Dockerell lived there about 1900 they found many Indian arrow heads. It was a part of the Andrew Atkinson Grant and was known as "Shipyard" township. In May 1881 R. Fulton Cutting purchased 475 acres from Margaret I. Wilmerding for \$2000. The tract was described as bounded on the east by Ship Yard Creek, north and west by marshes of St. Johns River and on the south by a line running from a marked live oak due west to the marshes of said river. Today those marshes are white sand and shell, bordered by the white bodies of dead trees encircled with fill dredged up from the river channel. Mr. Bart G. Dockerell has in his possession a letter from Mrs. Mary I. Hole, the wife of H. Frederick Hole, in which she gives the history of Fulton:

Mr. Cutting was a rich, philanthropic New York man whose only son had been sent to Florida some years before, ill with consumption, The cure had been so thorough and remarkable that Mr. Cutting in gratitude resolved to settle up this piece of land, which he bought and called "Fulton," as a thank offering for his son's recovery, making it, he hoped, a sort of mission settlement to educate and do good to the colored people. He therefore cleared the land on the river front, built a nice little wooden church, a large and comfortable house for a clergyman, and another for his agent who was to manage the estate, a good house for a store and post office, and a large packing house, dock, etc., by the river with platforms for drying shad nets, etc. Close to the river were houses where fishermen could be lodged. . . . Except for the fishing, Fulton was not a success in the end. The right people did not get put there and the negroes did not respond. Mr. Cutting was very disappointed with its financial and moral non-success and lost interest in the whole undertaking. When my husband settled there a Mr. Ferrar, an Irishman, was the only person representing Mr. Cutting and looking after the estate. My husband became caretaker and took care of the place for some years until we bought "Fulton" from Mr. Cutting, which ended his connection with it.

Mr. Hole was an Englishman who, according to Mrs. Hole, first came to Fulton in the fall of 1889, starting a small business for making fibre for bedding and upholstery purposes out of dwarf palmettos, "so abundant everywhere." There had been palmetto brush factories in Daytona, Fernandina, and Jacksonville as early as 1882. Mr. Hole ran the store at Fulton and was also interested in shad fishing. In 1889 there was a flourishing shad fishery at Fulton with boats belonging to the Cutting Estate being let out to white men, mostly Swedes and Norwegians. Mrs. Hole says, "If I remember right, the Fulton shad were always the earliest in the New York markets."

About 1896, Mr. G. Graham Dockerell and Mr. B. G. Jarvis bought land in the area and started peach orchards. Later other Englishmen joined them. The church built by Mr. Cutting was used by the English community for Episcopal services, the rectors from Fort George and All Saints taking turns visiting the church. "And," Mrs. Dockerell added, "At times even Bishop Wood conducted services in the little chapel." W. W. Webb says that in 1885 Fulton had a population between 100 and 125. By 1900 the group was small, consisting of only three or four English families and several Swedes. At that time United States, weatherwise, was in a cycle of cold winters, causing the failure of the peach industry. In 1906 the Dockerells moved to Jacksonville. Shortly before World War I a fish fertilizer factory was started at Fulton, which was followed by a boat company and a fishing camp, which is what it is today.

The Ogilvie Cemetery on Thomas Creek in the north end of the county is an excellent illustration of a strictly family cemetery and of how family lines may be traced by grave markers. It is also an illustration of why a genealogist wishes that the stone cutter had made his inscriptions a bit fuller. This cemetery at first seemed to be the burial plot of two distinct families, which is sometimes found, for when a plantation was sold the new owner often used the old burying ground. After searching other records, however, it was found that if the wife's maiden name as well as the husband's name had been cut in one grave stone, the record would have been clear. It seems that in 1840 David Ogilvie, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, came to Nassau County, Florida, and acquired land on the northside of Thomas Creek in that coun-

ty. He later married Lauranah Geiger, the daughter of a family living on the south side of the creek in Duval County. Her parents and their descendants as well as many Ogilvie descendants were buried in this cemetery.

More than half of the compilation is made up of records from only two cemeteries, Old City Cemetery and Evergreen. "Old City" Cemetery was given to the City of Jacksonville in 1852 and was officially named "Willey Cemetery" in honor of the donor, Capt. Charles Willey. But in the memory of most living persons it has always been known as Old City Cemetery. It is located on one of the highest points of land within the city limits. To the right of Old City Cemetery, and separated by a narrow drive, is St. Joseph Cemetery, the burial ground of early Catholics. Although not a part of Old City Cemetery, the two cemeteries belonged to the same period and were both originally part of the farm of Capt. Charles Willey. In 1858 Rev. P. DeFoe bought from Capt. Willey land for St. Joseph Cemetery for the use of Immaculate Conception Parish. The oldest marker is that of Mariana V. Pons, a native of St. Augustine, E. F., who died Feb. 19, 1827. Inside Old City to the far left, and separated by a low wall, is the section known as the Hebrew Cemetery, which was donated by the city to Jacob Huff, trustee of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, July 13, 1874. Another section of the original Old City area was set apart for use by Negroes. In this area are buried members of early Negro families, many of which had lived in Jacksonville since its founding. Other areas were later set apart for other purposes, one being for ministers and another for Confederate soldiers. Although Old City became the city cemetery officially only in 1852, it had been a burying ground for many years prior to that time. Deep excavations in the Protestant area have revealed several skeletons, all buried with head to the north and feet to the south. Since the cemetery is higher than the surrounding area, it may have been an Indian burial ground. Old City is rich in history of early Jacksonville families. The earliest grave marker in the cemetery is in the Doggett lot, but it is a removal from St. John's Episcopal Church Yard. The Livingston lot, like others in the cemetery, speaks of the heavy toll of the yellow fever epidemic of 1857. Many markers here, and in other cemeteries in the county also, tell us that the deceased was born

in some distant state or foreign country, showing the varied background of Duval County pioneers. One is impressed with the number who were from the north, especially from New York state and New England.

During the latter part of the 19th century several other cemeteries were started in what is now the down-town area of the city. It has been said that if one stood at Laura and Orange Streets at the turn of the century, as far as one could see would be grave markers. After the Jacksonville fire of 1901 most of those graveyards were discontinued and the bodies re-interred in Evergreen Cemetery. Among those re-interments was that of I. D. Hart, the founder of Jacksonville, whose family vault was damaged in the fire. Evergreen Cemetery was established in 1881 as a non-profit organization. Much enlarged today, it and the adjoining St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery and the Hebrew Cemetery, were the chief burial places, other than family grave yards, during the first quarter of the century. Evergreen is the burial place of the first child born in the city of Jacksonville, Sarah Ann Hogan, wife of Uriah Bowden. She was born July 28, 1825. It is also the burial place of many of the builders of present-day Jacksonville.

To even the most callous, tragedies are everywhere evident. Possibly the most poignant is where five or six infants in the same family are buried side by side. Or where whole families are nearly wiped out in a few weeks time. A tragic illustration is that of the Turknett family, which lost five sons from scarlet fever between April 2 and April 19 in 1854. One tragedy, which today might have been read as an automobile or plane accident, raised some questions. Was it a train wreck? A mother of 79, her son of 54 and a daughter of 43 all died on the same day in 1900. Files of the local paper revealed a triple ax murder and robbery.

It has been interesting to note that some names found frequently on old grave markers in the county cannot be found today in the city directory, although they are the names of streets in Jacksonville, which would indicate well known families during the past century. Among such names are Dancy, Oak, McDuff and others.

Of the fifty-four cemeteries and burial plots in the county which have headstones with dates prior to 1917, the Hysler family cemetery is today on land now owned by the U. S. Navy. Shift-

ing sand dunes have nearly covered all graves in the cemetery belonging to the Mayport Catholic Church,, which is also on land now owned by the U. S. Navy. Two family cemeteries in the Arlington area, which were formerly on large wooded lots, are now surrounded by new ranch-type homes.

As the city of Jacksonville grows, reaching more and more into the county, other family graveyards, which were in open fields or wooded sections in 1940, will be absorbed by subdivisions or business and industrial areas and lose their identity as family or group cemeteries as did those in downtown Jacksonville after the turn of the century.

MACOMB'S MISSION TO THE SEMINOLES

*John T. Sprague's Journal
Kept during April and May, 1839*

Edited by FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

ON MARCH 22, 1839, Major General Alexander Macomb left Washington to go to Florida in an unsuccessful attempt to end the expensive and futile war which had already lasted four years against the Seminole Indians.¹ On his staff, accompanying him as aid-de-camp, was Lieutenant John T. Sprague of the 8th Infantry, who maintained the official diary of the expedition.² This journal which has not been published in its entirety previously, contains the chronicle of the great council which assembled in May of that year to try to establish peace once more.³ Although General Macomb's peace mission failed, Lieutenant Sprague's diary is of great interest because it contains an account of the conduct of the negotiations which supplements his own history of the Florida War in which the record of this particular episode is short and extremely sketchy.⁴

With all its delays, General Macomb's journey to Garey's Ferry consumed seventeen days. The general found it necessary to

1. Alexander Macomb, commanding general of the Army, was born in Detroit in 1782. At the age of sixteen, he had been commissioned cornet of light dragoons and had advanced rapidly until he became senior major general in 1828. He was one of the first students to receive formal training at the United States Military Academy. During the War of 1812, he was a brigadier general in command of the defenses of Plattsburg. He was ordered to Florida in 1839 by Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett who felt that Macomb's high rank would impress the Indians and that the presence of such a high ranking officer would bring about peace quicker. Macomb died in 1841.
2. John T. Sprague was born in Newburyport, Mass., on July 3, 1810, the son of an army surgeon. Early in life he became a favorite of Secretary of War Lewis Cass who secured for him a position in the War Department. Sprague was commissioned second lieutenant in the Marine Corps in 1834, but he resigned in 1837 to accept an appointment as second lieutenant in the 5th Infantry. He transferred to the 8th Infantry the following year, and during his tour of duty in Florida, he was commissioned first lieutenant. Sprague subsequently received a brevet captaincy for gallantry at Pilarklikaha in 1842. During the Civil War, he served as military governor of Florida. He died in New York on September 6, 1878.
3. The Original journal is in the Toner Papers, Library of Congress.
4. Sprague's book, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, was published in New York in 1848.

travel by several modes of conveyance. From Washington, he and his staff journeyed to Portsmouth, Virginia, by steamboat.⁵ There, they boarded a train and stage for Wilmington, North Carolina, where they embarked on a second steamboat for Charleston, South Carolina. At that place, they took a third steamboat for Savannah. Before continuing further, however, they had to spend several days in Savannah which Lieutenant Sprague described as a city of "shades and sunshine, of hospitality and kindness but of *awful charges at your Hotels!*" For the last leg of his trip, General Macomb travelled to Garey's Ferry by a fourth steamboat. He arrived there on April 7, 1839.⁶

When the party arrived at Garey's Ferry, Macomb immediately commenced negotiations with the Indians to try to arrange a meeting with their chiefs.⁷ When he concluded these arrangements for the great council which he hoped would end the war, he had nothing further to do for several days. He and his staff, consequently, made a voyage down the St. John's River to Fort Mellon. Lieutenant Sprague's journal contains interesting descriptions of the country through which the party travelled; Florida's climate, life at these remote military posts, and the Army's speculation about what success General Macomb's mission would have.

On his return to Garey's Ferry, Lieutenant Sprague remained there for several weeks. On April 30, 1839, General Macomb moved his headquarters to Fort King where the conclave would be held. The road to Fort King passed through a section of the country which Sprague characterized as never being "remarkable for its products, being mostly pine barrens with a deep sandy soil."

At Fort King, not too much of great interest transpired for several weeks. In the meantime, however, Lieutenant Sprague and several officers went on a scouting expedition. This was a failure,

5. "Major General Macomb left Washington on Friday morning . . . to take the chief direction of affairs in Florida. His stay there will depend upon circumstances which cannot be known until after his arrival in Florida." *The Army and Navy Chronicle*, VIII (March 28, 1839), 200.
6. "It is said that the object of his visit is to hold an interview with the enemy. It is further stated that the General is furnished with dollars by way of closing the war." *Ibid.*, VIII (April 11, 1839), 234, 237.
7. "General Taylor remains in command of the army of the south, and Gen. Macomb will not interfere with any arrangements he has made, or makes in the future. His visit to this country is of a diplomatic nature." *Ibid.*, VIII (April 25, 1839), 268.

but the officers saw an Indian dog which they pursued "with exemplary intrepidity, gallantry, and zeal well worthy of those whose ambitions it is to serve their country."

Until May 9, 1839, nothing of excitement occurred. Generally, this period of waiting was characterized by a belief that the war was hopeless. In addition, the entire army awaited with tense anticipation for any news and intelligence about the Indians. On that the ninth, the cowbell signalling the approach of strangers rang loudly. A party of eight came in. "A more wicked and demon like looking savages I have never had the fortune to meet with," commented Sprague. General Macomb then conducted more preliminary negotiations, the Indians promising to return in several weeks.

On May 18 and 22, 1839, General Macomb held two meetings with the Seminoles. Lieutenant Sprague found himself in sympathy with these people. "Their sin is patriotism, as true as ever burned in the breast of the most civilized," he wrote. To Sprague, the occasion was a memorable one. The Indians seemed sincerely desirous of peace. He felt very confident in General Macomb's ability to appease the remaining Seminoles. As the result of the council, both sides reached an agreement. General Macomb proclaimed the end of hostilities while the Indians were to retire to the territory south of Peace Creek within sixty days until further arrangements could be made.⁸

The great council concluded, but before returning to Washington, Lieutenant Sprague attended an Indian dance in which he participated, "by way of convincing them of the great attachment we had for them." Policy motives, he claimed, induced him to attend. "They had confided in us, had come into our camp in the midst of armed men and we were willing to convince them that we reposed so much confidence in them as they did in us," commented Sprague.

At the conclusion of his journey back to Washington, Sprague was firmly convinced that General Macomb's mission had been successful. "Much has been accomplished," he wrote. He believed strongly that General Macomb had pursued the correct course, had

8. General Macomb's order announcing the end of the Florida War is published in John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*. (New York: 1848), 228-229.

“followed it with zeal and fidelity and accomplished a measure which will secure peace to the Territory of Florida.”

Macomb himself also regarded his trip as being profitable. He had ordered hostilities to cease, and induced the Indians to move to southern Florida and leave the white man's settlements unmolested. “There is every reason to believe that when the Indians remaining in Florida shall learn the prosperous condition of their brethren of Arkansas, they will, at no distant period, ask . . . to join them,” he wrote in his official report to Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett.⁹

The press of the country had, meantime, followed the progress of General Macomb's negotiations with great interest. *The Army and Navy Chronicle* wished him success as it felt that “all the good people of Florida . . . are heartily tired of the war.”¹⁰ The *St. Augustine News* had no faith in “talks” with the enemy, and concluded that “if the troops are withdrawn from the Territory, nothing like a successful negotiation will take place. . . . We pray for the people of this Territory, that the Government will ratify no overture short of removal westward.”¹¹ *The Pensacola Gazette* took the attitude that the “Indians consider the whites to have been badly whipped, and it is nearly time that we should take the same view of the matter.”¹²

The Charleston Courier hailed the results of the council as wise and humane. “It will be better to leave the slow but sure influence of advancing civilization to relieve Florida of the remnant of her savage inhabitants, than further to prosecute a war, at the cost of millions, in order to expel a handful of Indians from inaccessible hammocks and morasses.”¹³ *The Army and Navy Chronicle* rejoiced that an agreement had been reached to “afford the Army a respite from a toilsome and inglorious campaign.” The Floridians, further commented the paper, “do not approve the armistice. . . . A Tallahassee paper commenced and closed with the order of General Macomb issued at Fort King, with the words *shame!!! shame!!! shame!!!*”¹⁴ The *St. Augustine News* further commented that the country would hail the close of the war, but

9. *Ibid.*, 232.

10. *The Army and Navy Chronicle*, VIII (May 9, 1839), 296.

11. *Ibid.*, VIII (May 16, 1839), 315.

12. *Ibid.*, VIII (May 30, 1839), 346.

13. *Ibid.*, VIII (June 6, 1839), 364.

14. *Ibid.*, VIII (June 13, 1839), 377.

in this, the Floridians could not join "in the general thanksgiving . . . were there not some little drawback to this prospective glory."¹⁵ In short, from the very beginning, it was readily apparent that the people of Florida did not regard Macomb's efforts as solving the problem.

All the worst fears of the Florida press were realized, for all negotiations for peace came to a sudden end. On July 22, 1839, eighteen of the thirty men in Colonel William S. Harney's detachment of troops on the Caloosahatchie River were murdered by the Indians. After this incident, the war began anew. The people abandoned their farms and once more the troops began the fruitless task of scouring the hammocks and swamps for the elusive Indians. Not for several more years would peace become a reality.

Although Lieutenant Sprague could not have foreseen the disastrous results of General Macomb's council, he was impressed by the General's efforts. That he failed war perhaps due to his unrealistic attitudes about the Indians. From Lieutenant Sprague's journal, however, it is possible to discern the General's high sense of humanity and justice in going to Florida and the great hopes which the entire army entertained for the successful outcome of the mission.

JOURNAL KEPT IN FLORIDA, OF APRIL AND MAY, 1839.

Washington City, June 14th, 1839

General!

The following pages have been written by me from day to day during our sojourn in Florida; our journey there and returning. I have written them under all the disadvantages attending the travelling in Stages and Steamboats and all the inconveniences of living in Camp, which I hope will be a sufficient apology for the many imperfections in composition, writing, and the want of interesting matter. I regret, that I have not had time to renew them, as an absence from Washington of two months and eight days, and travelling two thousand eight hundred & four Miles, should certainly produce something worthy of preservation. I do

15. *St. Augustine News*, June 1, 1839. Quoted in Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida During the Territorial Days*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1944), 236-237.

not flatter myself that this Journal deserves it, but as a book of reference and narrating many incidents connected with the termination of the Seminole War, it may, in time to come, be useful, and interesting to those who were your most humble cooperators.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect
Your Obedient Servant,
John T. Sprague
Lt. 8th Regt. U.S. Infantry

To Major General Alexr. Macomb
Commanding in Chief, U.S. Army
Washington City, D. C.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22d 1839. Left Washington City, at 10 o'clock A.M. on board the Steam Boat Columbia for Portsmouth, Va., in company with General Macomb, U.S.A., Capt. Schriver, ¹⁶ Asst. Adjt. General, Lt. M. S. Miller, aid De Camp, ¹⁷ and Lt. Montgomery, 7th Regt. of Infantry; ¹⁸ ultimate destination Florida. From Portsmouth we proceed to Charleston, S.C., and from thence to Garey's Ferry, Florida. The day is warm and pleasant, wind blowing fresh from the South, which somewhat retards our progress. The surrounding country looks fresh and green, every thing evincing the rapid approach of summer. Col. Downing, delegate from Florida, ¹⁹ and Mr. Sheppard of N.C. ²⁰ are in our company; very pleasant and intelligent men. At 12 M. passed Fort Washington at present unoccupied. ²¹ Mt. Vernon is nearly opposite it. We expect to arrive at Portsmouth at 1/2 past 6 tomorrow morning and take the Cars immediately for the South. At 8 P.M. passed a light house - called Piney Point light. Distance from Washington 120 miles to Portsmouth 130 miles - making from Washington City 250 miles. Fare \$8.00.

SATURDAY, MARCH 23d. 1839. Arrived at Portsmouth at 7 A.M. where we breakfasted. Morning exceedingly unpleasant and continued to rain hard all day. At 8 A.M. took the Cars on the

16. Captain Edmund Shriver, Assistant Adjutant General.

17. 1st Lieutenant Morris S. Miller, 3rd Artillery.

18. 1st Lieutenant Alexander Montgomery, 7th Infantry.

19. Colonel Charles Downing, delegate to Congress from Florida.

20. Congressman Augustine H. Sheppard (1792-1864).

21. Fort Washington is located on the Potomac River, a short distance from Washington.

Portsmouth and Roanoke Rail-Road for Enfield. Dined at Weldon at 1/2 past 1 P.M. Arrived at Enfield at 5 P.M. having come 70 miles by rail-road and 20 by stage. Left Enfield at 1/2 past 5 P.M. in stages; supped at 7 and prepared ourselves for a long, and tedious nights ride to Waynesboro, N. C., distance 65 miles. The Country through which we passed to day is exceedingly uninteresting. It is unusually flat and swampy, but few farms, when compared with the extent of country, and these small and badly cultivated. The houses are mere huts, and the pine which is the only timber of the country, seems to be the means which the inhabitants rely upon for support, as it abundantly produces tar, pitch, and turpentine, which is a valuable commodity in our seaport towns. Majr Smith, Paymaster, ²² joined us at Portsmouth on his way to Georgia. There are three Stage loads of Passengers, mostly merchants from the South, who have been north to purchase supplies. Our meals so far have been perfectly awful. What with coarse provisions, half-cooked - dirty greasy negroes and cold rooms, a man must have a strong stomach to retain an appetite. We all look with fear to the bad road we are to encounter tonight. 320 [total miles]

SUNDAY, MARCH 24th 1839. After riding all night over a genuine cordoroy [sic] road, and running a narrow chance of our lives, we arrived at Waynesboro at 8 A.M., and breakfasted, having come 70 miles. This, doubtless, is the worst road in the South, being most of the way through a swamp or very low country; at seasons of the year when the waters are high, it's impassable. The General was knocked about without mercy, the carriage had but little or no spring, the driving was rapid, but he stood it with his usual philosophy and in the morning was as gay and cheerful as any amongst us. About one last night it cleared off, and we had the advange of a brilliant moon, which much relieved our anxiety as regards the road, and to day we have fine spring weather, clear and warm. Took the Wilmington and Roanoke cars for Wilmington at 1/2 past 8 A.M., distance 85 Miles, and arrived at our place of destination at 2 P.M. where we embarked on board the Steam Boat North Carolina for Charleston at 1/2 past 2 p.m. which is one of the most neat and rapid boats I ever

22. Major Charles H. Smith, Paymaster Corps.

travelled in; distance to Charleston 185 miles. It's thirty miles from Wilmington to the mouth of Cape Fear River. We passed Smithville, a neat Military Post, beautifully situated near the mouth of the River, commanding a fine view of the Ocean, Fort Caswell,²³ and Cape Fear Light House. *Mrs. Captain Winder* is at present *commanding officer*.²⁴ Fort Caswell is immediately at the mouth of the River, upon a spit of land extending from Oak Island. It was once a commanding position, but I am told its now useless, as a free access can be had to the River through an Inlet about Six or eight miles north. Immediately upon passing Fort Caswell we were out upon the broad Atlantic, with rather a strong wind ahead, which subsided by sun-down, and the night bids fair to give us a pleasant and rapid run to Charleston. Before dark we were quite out of sight of land. The boat shakes so it is impossible to write. 575 [total miles]

MONDAY 25th 1839. About 1/2 past six this morning we were awoke by the cry "turn out." We are near Charleston, which I found to be case, as upon my coming upon deck, I discovered Castle Pinckney, a Fort in rather a dilapidated condition and at present unoccupied, which commands the Harbor, together with Fort Moultrie six miles distant. We were soon on shore and took lodgings at Stewarts on Broad Street, a most miserable house. The rooms are commodious, but the attention and conveniences of the house are most annoying and perplexing. We breakfasted at 8, which soon caused us to repent of our choice. Servants were inattentive and the coffee could only be made palatable by stirring in a lump of butter and calling it soup. Jones's over the way, is doubtless the best house and is considered the Army House. Charleston in every respect bears the impress of age, the streets are narrow, with the exception of Broad street, and the houses are generally small and ancient in complexion and structure. It contains [left blank in the original] inhabitants, industrious and enterprising, and it is said, hospitable.²⁵ Much to our chagrin we found, that no boat was to leave for Savannah until Friday. Looking forward three or four days, to a day of departure in a strange City, is one off the most insupportable annoyances to which

23. Fort Caswell was located on Oak Island, Cape Fear River.

24. Probably Mrs. John H. Winder, wife of Captain Winder, 1st Artillery.

25. Charleston had a population of approximately 25,000 in 1840.

a traveller is subjected. The first inquiry is, how shall we spend our time? Sure enough! time can only tell. Majr. Smith is still with us and goes as far as Savannah.

MARCH 26th 1839. Yesterday passed off as agreeably as could be expected. We strolled about, saw the ladies, as they passed in the streets, the shops and the burnt district. The General received calls and visited his friends and expressed much anxiety to be off. Our impatience was relieved by finding the Steamboat Richmond would leave for Savannah this evening about 7 o'clock. In her we took passage, and were on board at the appointed hour, but found that from the state of the tide we could not get over the bar until near morning. This caused us to return to Town, and visit the Theater. We were all greatly disappointed, though the theater afforded us much pleasure, but the General's fortunes could not be retrieved as our anticipated departure broke him off from an agreeable dinner with Major McNeil.²⁶ All were on board by 1 o'clock, snugly jammed up in a seven by nine cabin, births [*sic*] without pillows, and bugs of every species. A table ornaments the centre of the Cabin, at which six can be seated, and one black greasy lamp sends forth its rays to make "darkness visible." The ladies Cabin is in the rear, with four births, and by the sounds which emanate therefrom, there appears to be fair occupants, who are audibly wondering who we are. Drew our transportation from Washington to Charleston making 602 miles. The day cool but pleasant.

WEDNESDAY MARCH 27th 1839. Upon emerging from our dull and gloomy abiding place this morning, I found we were upon the "unbounded sea" out sight of land, with a strong wind ahead and a sea which deprived the General and two or three others of the party of a breakfast. The Captain finding the weather so calm at 1/2 past 4 A.M. concluded to take the outside passage to Savannah, and after having come about 18 miles, thought it more prudent to give it up as the wind was increasing and the atmosphere thick and hazy. Came into Edisto Inlet and continued on through narrow arms of the sea, which resemble narrow rivers caused by what are called the Sea Islands, upon many of which

26. Probably Brevet Major William G. McNeill, Topographical Engineers.

are raised the Sea Island cotton. The plantations we have passed today are truly beautiful, and more resemble villages than private residences. A large two story house is the domicile of the proprietor, around which is clustered the huts of his negroes and out houses, all neatly whitewashed and arranged in the most perfect order. After wondering ourselves, we have found out and made the acquaintance of our fair Companions Mrs. Bryant & her daughter Miss Bryant.²⁷ The old lady is clever and her daughter black-eyed and intelligent. The General, as usual, is the youngest amongst us and is much interested!! The moon shines clear and beautiful and the day has been the warmest of the season. The Alligators lying upon the banks, enjoying it, have afforded us quite an amusement in shooting and pelting them with sticks. Today we have come about one hundred miles & are obliged to *lay to* for night.

TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 1839. This morning at day light we were again on the move, having been obliged to lay by last night from the thick hazy weather, as it was impossible to cross Helena sound without discerning the land marks upon the opposite shore. This sound is seven miles from shore to shore and at times very rough. We have been all day winding through the arms of the sea, enjoying the most delightful weather and scenery. The plantations are more extensive and highly cultivated than any we have seen and everything looks like luxury and ease. About five o'clock P.M.; we came into the Savannah River, seven miles below the city and twenty-three from the sea, and 6 P.M. brought us to the city the most beautiful of any in the Union. The town is completely enveloped in shubbery just putting forth in bloom. The streets are wide and lined regularly with the China tree. The houses are mostly of brick, well built, showing much taste & wealth. From all that we learn we shall be obliged to remain here some days for a boat. Our lodgings are more comfortable than any we have found, being at the City Hotel, said to be the best house in the City. We parted with much regret with our steamboat friends soon after our arrival. The General by way of illustrating some of our incidents sketched one of our romantic walks on shore and called it "Love Grove." It was truly graphic and much amused

27. All are further unidentified.

and interested our fair friends. How shall we amuse ourselves? is now the question. The Savannah River is navigable for Steamboat to Augusta; 200 miles, by land to A., 130 Miles. We remained at Beaufort, a beautiful town, about two hours, which gave us a good opportunity to go through it. The houses are large, mostly unoccupied at this season of the year. The planters in the vicinity spend their summers here.

FRIDAY MARCH 29th, 1839. This day we have spent very pleasantly in visiting the ladies, reading the newspapers and strolling about discovering the many beauties of the city. The day has been uncomfortably warm, which gave us a pretty correct idea of what a summer's day must be in Savannah. The streets are deep with sand, and was it not for the beautiful rows of trees, and the dense shubbery which surrounds almost every house, a summer here must be insupportable. Visited Judge Wayne,²⁸ Berrien's,²⁹ and Mr. Bullock.³⁰ Each have a daughter more agreeable than handsome. The General attended church and visited the ladies, two things he says which should never be neglected. He called to see our fair Steamboat friend, much to the chagrin of all of us, who are not willing to be considered in the background. We go tomorrow to the "Love Grove" sketch puts us in the perspective. [*sic*] Went to the Episcopal Church this evening in company with Capt. Sibley³¹ and Lt. Miller. There is no prospect of our getting away until Wednesday, when the regular boat Florida will leave. Connected with the City Hotel we found the Pulaski House, principally occupied by ladies from the North. Here we concluded to take our meals, as the company and the arrangements look very agreeable and inviting. Patience, in a stranger in a strange city, is one of the greatest virtues. Mr. Clarke and lady and a Miss Blake, her sister, are pretty and sociable.³²

28. James Moore Wayne (1790-1867), Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

29. John M. Berrien (1781-1856), lawyer, Congressman, and Attorney-General in Andrew Jackson's first cabinet.

30. William A. Bullock (1813-1867), inventor and manufacturer.

31. Captain Caleb C. Sibley, 5th Infantry.

32. All are further unidentified.

SATURDAY MARCH 30th, 1839. To day has been unseasonably cold and rainy, which confined us most of the day within doors. But towards night is cleared up and enabled us to accept an invitation to the Quoit Club. The club convened about 4 P.M. in one of the many beautiful groves which surround the city. We found there many of the eldest and most respectable citizens of the place. Among them was Judge Wayne, Mr. McCallister,³³ Bullock, Law, and a large number of young gentlemen. We continued our sport until near 7 P.M. with much cheerfulness and hospitality, entwined by an abundance of good wines and cigars. The Evening we spent at Ralph King's Esqr by invitation, where we found some agreeable ladies, without much pretension to beauty. Several gentlemen called upon the General, and suite to day, Judge Wayne, Col. Gordon,³⁴ Hander,³⁵ King,³⁶ and some more-unimportant characters. And the citizens gerally [generally] evince an inclination to be very polite. If the weather will continue pleasant, we can find many sources of enjoyment, as the surrounding country and the city itself is delightful. We do not yet hear of any way by which we can be off before Wednesday.

SUNDAY MARCH 31st, 1839. We have devoted this day to good things, the church, the ladies, and a good dinner. In the morning the General and myself attended the Presbyterian Church where we heard Mr. Preston, a gentleman about sixty years of age, who burdened us with a sermon near an hour long. This is considered the largest denomination in the City. Their Church is a large stone edifice well and elegantly built. After enjoying a good dinner we attended the Episcopal Church, held in the basement story of the new building, the upper part not being furnished, where we heard an excellent sermon from the Revd. Mr. Neville. This congregation is by far the most respectable looking in the city, and contains, I am told, the first citizens of the place. After spending the afternoon very agreeably in the company of three or four intelligent and agreeable ladies, they proposed to the General to accompany them to the Unitarian Church, which

33. Matthew Hall McAllister (1800-1865), jurist and Savannah lawyer.

34. Probably William W. Gordon (1796-1842), lawyer and railroad President who studied law under Judge Wayne.

35. Unidentified.

36. Probably Thomas Butler King (1800-1864), lawyer, Congressman, and diplomat.

the General with his usual gallantry accepted. He waited upon Mrs. Clarke, while the Staff filed off upon the younger portion, quite as intelligent, but not as beautiful. The Unitarians are but just established here, and are labouring against that current which sets so strongly against them in all new communities. Mr. Thatcher is an able and eloquent divine, and will do much for the advancement of his doctrines. His sermon was upon the belief of his Church which he illustrated ably, ingeniously, and forcibly.

MONDAY APRIL 1st 1839. The fine warm weather today contributed very much to our pleasure and the arrival of the steamboat which conveys us to Garey's Ferry on Wednesday, relieved somewhat our impatience. We have no cause to be impatient for both ladies and gentlemen of the city do everything to contribute to our pleasure. The General devoted much of his time to the fair ones that we have had the gratification of meeting, and as he sets the example it keeps us upon the alert to keep up with him. We attended a very delightful party at Judge Wayne's this evening, where we found assembled the Belles of the City. Miss Wayne and Miss Cuyler are decidedly the most distinguished. The evening was spent in talking and dancing until 1 A.M. when the General retired and we soon followed I know of nothing which can contribute so much to the happiness of declining years, as that buoyancy of feeling which pertains to youth. In General Macomb this is retained in a wonderful degree. He participates with interest and vivacity in all that's passing, and infuses into all around him a spirit of gaiety and interest. A fire occurred in the city last night, which for a time threatened the destruction of a large portion of it.

TUESDAY APRIL 2d 1839. The day has been clear and warm, and we spent it in a manner which becometh all distinguished strangers in a strange city. There are but few travelers who could form so correct an idea of a strange city, within so short a period, as ourselves. We have seen its churches, heard its clergy, enjoyed its society and associated with its citizens, and we can but part with them with regret and ever remember them with pleasure. Mr. Bullock entertained us this evening. We found there all the distinguished young ladies of the city, which makes

a small but interesting and intellectual circle of society. In bidding adieu to our fair friends this evening, a generous interest was evinced toward us which made us feel as though we were parting with long tried and early friends. A good strong grasp of the hand, with a stout shake, and a smile not nurtured by cultivation, warms a soldiers heart and makes him feel too strongly and deeply the vicissitudes of his life. God bless those we leave behind. They have honest hearts and sound heads. The Generals present, an elegant purse!!! from the delightful Mrs. Williamson. Our attentions were without renumeration. In fact we asked none, but why leave us out? Tomorrow morning at 6 A.M. we leave for Garey's Ferry, in the Florida. Farewell Savannah, those beauty of the South, of shades and sunshines, of hospitality and kindness but of *awful charges at your Hotels!*

WEDNESDAY APRIL 3d 1839. At 6 A.M. we found ourselves moving from the wharf with a clear sky and a warm sun. The General stole a march upon us and was there first, which he is addicted to in other matters as well as in this. The Steamboat is small but neat and convenient, few passengers, which makes it the better for us. Our journey today has been as heretofore, winding through arms of the sea, but destitute of that interest which characterized the country through which we passed on our way to Savannah. There are but few plantations to be seen from the boat and these badly cultivated. At 5 P.M. we passed Frederica, a small town where there is the remains of a Tapia fort built by Genl. Oglethorpe previous to the Revolution. It is said the walls are in a remarkable state of preservation; they have that appearance from the boat. At 8 P.M. stopped at a small town called Brunswick. It was so very dark we could not see it. We have come since morning 87 miles, and the night bids fair to give us a rapid and pleasant run. The motion of the boat is so great it's with difficulty I can hold my pen. It's now near 12 and fifteen are *snoring* about me, which somewhat resembles the growling of a household dog, and which bids me beware how I encroach on the morrow.

THURSDAY APRIL 4th 1839. Last night, as we anticipated, we had a pleasant run, and seven o'clock found us at St. Marys 125 miles from Savannah. This is the residence of Genl. Clinch.

It contains about one thousand inhabitants. The outside passage was taken from the mouth of the St. Mary's to the mouth of the St. Johns, a distance of about twenty-five miles. The sea was very rough which caused much sickness. At 1/2 past 10 A.M. crost the bar of the St. Johns, after taking a pilot. The mouth of the River is about one mile wide and presents a gloomy prospect. Several vessels lay there, one having on board two companies of the 4th Artillery bound north. The St. Johns river is no more than a succession of lakes, from a half to a mile and a half wide. The country is low and swampy, thickly covered with a growth of timber, the largest part of it cultivated. At 1 P.M. arrived at Jacksonville, a small town built upon a sand bank, and is thirty five miles from the mouth of the river. Picolata is 25 miles above Jacksonville, where we arrived at 5 P.M. There is the general hospital for the army. It is a pleasant spot and said to be very healthy. Lt. Drum commands and has about fifty men.³⁸ Left it about six and came down the river to Black Creek and up the Creek 6 miles, where we laid by for the night to take in wood. $862 + 125 = 987$ [miles].

FRIDAY APRIL 5th 1839. At 7 o'clock this morning, we found ourselves at Fort Heileman 18 miles up the Black Creek and better known as Garey's Ferry.³⁹ Col. Twiggs met the General upon his arrival and invited him & the staff to breakfast; a salute was fired and the band played "Hail to the Chief" in front of the General's quarters.⁴⁰ General Taylor arrived here fortunately, last night, and the General has been in private conversation with him nearly all day.⁴¹ It is General Taylor's opinion and the opinions of nearly every officer here, that nothing can be done with the Indians unless they are permitted to remain in the country, and it is a matter of much doubt whether any communication whatever can be had with them. The officers appear to be completely discouraged. The Indians are in every part of the country in parties of two and three, and there is no prospect or probability of capturing them nor of ending the war. Sam Jones

37. Brevet Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch, 4th Infantry.

38. 1st Lieutenant Simon H. Drum, 4th Artillery.

39. Fort Heileman was located at the north and south forks of Black Creek. It was named after Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Julius F. Heileman who died June 27, 1836.

40. Colonel David E. Twiggs, 2nd Dragoons.

has declared that any messenger sent to him shall be put to death.⁴² Genl. Taylor is actively engaged in carrying out his plan of defence. The country ten miles below Fort King - north to the Georgia line, and from this place west to the Suwanee River, is to be occupied by posts, each post to be the centre of every twenty miles square, which divides the country into twenty-one sections.⁴³ From the opinions of Genl. Taylor, Col. Twiggs and other officers, the prospect of bringing matters to a termination looks very discouraging. Genl. Macomb seems to fear no responsibility and will make a strong effort to effect that which many consider an impossibility.

SATURDAY, APRIL 6th 1839. This morning Genl. Taylor started for the Suwanee, from which point he is to send out *runners* to the Indians with a friendly talk to meet Genl. Macomb at Fort King on the 1st of May. Genl. Macomb also wrote to Col. Harney⁴⁴ at Fort Mellon,⁴⁵ to procure if possible, a communication with the hostiles, and to request them to meet him at Fort King on the first of May. Indian John and several other Indians, who were captured a few days since by Capt. Winder,⁴⁶ came this morning to have a talk with the General. He received them very kindly and frankly explained to them the object of his visit. He had come, he said, from the Great Father, to hold a friendly talk with them, and to put a stop to that ill-feeling which had

41. Brigadier General Zachery Taylor (1784-1850), 1st Infantry and later President of the United States. Taylor had no liking for Macomb. Previous to the latter's arrival, Secretary Poinsett had ordered Taylor to divide the peninsula into districts each of which were twenty miles square. Every commander had been ordered to scout the hammocks on alternate days for signs of the Indians. The plan would eventually have driven the Seminoles into the soldier's hands. "Every hammock and swamp between Fort Mellon and Tallahassee, quite across the country, has been thoroughly searched," he wrote Poinsett. Sprague, *op. cit.*, 225-226. Taylor remained in command in Florida, and from the first, he did not have any faith in Macomb's agreements. Taylor's beliefs were vindicted after the resumption of hostilities.

42. Sam Jones, or Arpeika, was the chief of the Mickasukies. "He was always remarkable for his obstinate ill-nature," Sprague wrote about him. Sprague, *op. cit.*, 99. He occupied the country around the mouth of the Kissimmee River and the eastern shore of Lake Okeechobee.

43. Fort King was situated on the Ocklawaha River.

44. Lieutenant Colonel William S. Harney, 2nd Dragoons.

45. Fort Mellon was located on Lake Monroe.

46. Possibly Captain E. S. Winder, 2nd Dragoons.

so long existed between his red children and the whites, and that he was sorry it had been so. He has told me, says General M., to talk to you in peace and friendship, and I now wish you (Indian John) to take this message to those now in the swamps, & request them to meet me at Fort King on the first of May, when I will say to them what their great father desires. John with some hesitation consented and will start tomorrow, and inform the hostiles that if they will come in for a friendly talk, they can remain below Peas[e] Creek unmolested for the time being. The weather is warm and pleasant, giving us a good idea of the delightful climate of Florida. The thermometer standing at 70°.

SUNDAY APRIL 7th 1839. This day we have spent after the injunctions of the Scripture; in peace and quietness and communing within ourselves. The whole subject of conversation is the termination of the war, and the question is often asked - can Genl. Macomb effect it? There is great diversity of opinion among all those who are most familiar with the protracted warfare, as to whether an intercourse can be opened with Sam Jones, the principal hostile chief. I have not heard one express a decided favourable opinion; others again consider it possible but attended with great hazard, and that whoever attempts it either Indian or white man, he will lose his life. Genl. Macomb's object is, to have an interview with the hostile Indians. This he is determined upon effecting, and he is concentrating ever[y] thing to obtain this desired end. To prosecute the war at this season is impossible, and from the scattered condition of the Indians, indeed, perfectly useless, and all that can or ought to be expected, is an interview with those who now shout defiance to both Indian or white man. When all parties are in council something can doubtless be determined upon, as it now is, no force can find them and all hostile movements can effect nothing. The weather is to us very warm; the thermometer standing at 73°. ⁴⁷

47. "Preliminaries of a treaty of peace having been entered into with the Seminole Indians, the General Commanding-in-Chief directs, that should any of the enemy present themselves at the military posts, they will be treated with kindness, and supplies of food be issued them." *The Army and Navy Chronicle*, VIII (May 2, 1839), 281.

MONDAY APRIL 8th 1839. This morning at 1/2 past 9 A.M. we found ourselves on board the Steamboat Cincinnati bound for Fort Mellon, on the St. Johns river: distance 160 miles. The object of the General is to see the state and position of the several posts upon the river. Col. Twiggs accompanies us with the band of the 2d Dragoons [*sic*] which often enlivens our time and gives an additional charm to the beauty of the surrounding country. At 1/2 past 12 P.M. passed Picolata distant from Gareys Ferry 30 miles: 1/2 past 3 P.M. brought us to Fort Shannon or Pilatka: distant from Pilatka 30 miles; about one hundred men are stationed here and about fifty at Picolata. Soon after leaving Pilatka, about five miles below the Mouth of the Ocklawaha, Indian John was set on shore upon his mission of peace, as it was thought more expeditious to land him upon the river than to start him from Gareys Ferry. He took his pack and rifle, and after wishing him success and safety in his enterprise, we soon lost sight of him in the deep and luxuriant foliage which borders the whole extent of this most beautiful of rivers. A boy about twelve years of age, cousin of Sam Jones, accompanies him, and the whole country, and Army as well as ourselves look with intense anxiety for the result of his hazardous undertaking. 1/2 past 8 P.M. came to an anchor at Lake George bar having crost the Lake which is twelve miles broad. The day has been unpleasant windy, rainy, and uncomfortably cold.

TUESDAY APRIL 9th 1839. At 8 o'clock A.M. we were at Fort Butler,⁴⁸ but the General determined to stop upon his return from up the river. This fort is opposite Voulisia [Volusia] where a battle was fought at the commencement of the war, and is 55 miles above Pilatka. Our course to day has been through a delightful country, without any cultivation whatever. A thick growth of cypress, palmetto, and live oak line the banks of the river, which continues growing narrower as we advance, being most of the way not more than one hundred and fifty feet wide. Orange groves are abundant at various points upon the river, where the sour and bitter sweet orange hang in clusters from the trees. In many places the banks of the river are ten or twelve feet high and the soil apparently rich, but the country, generally,

48. Fort Butler was located near Volusia just to the south of Lake George.

is exceedingly flat in many places presenting a swamp as far as the eye can reach. Alligators, are like the locusts of Egypt, and afforded us great sport in shooting them from the boat. 1 P.M. brought us into Lake Munroe, [Monroe] upon the west side of which is Fort Mellon. This lake is ten miles long and five broad, great depth of water and encircled by high dry banks. Fort Mellon is 50 Miles above Ft. Butler. It was attacked by the Indians in the spring of '37, but without success, when Capt. Mellon of the Army was killed.⁴⁹ We visited his grave. It's enclosed with pickets and covered with a stone slab without any inscription. The fort is a picket work and somewhat elevated above the lake. A company of Artillery is stationed there commanded by Majr. Gardner.⁵⁰ Lt. Turner⁵¹ and Lt. Shiras⁵² were also there. The situation is beautiful having a fine view of the lake and the opposite shores which are hung in the deep and luxurious green foliage which characterizes this whole section of the country. After wandering about Fort Mellon and seeing all that was to be seen, we crossed the lake to a spot once occupied as a fort. Here we found a most remarkable spring, strongly impregnated with sulphur; it is fully one hundred and fifty feet in circumference, and as near as we could measure, twenty feet deep. The land about it is rich, sustaining a heavy growth of cypress, cabbage-tree, and oak. Another spring we saw, called the bluespring, about thirty miles from Ft. Butler, which is somewhat remarkable, creating a stream of water fully twenty feet wide. Fort Lane is on Lake Harney, 30 miles above Ft. Mellon, but at present unoccupied.⁵³ This is said to be the head of steamboat navigation on the St. Johns. Flat boats have been one hundred miles farther up. This country cannot for years to come be settled or cultivated. Its groves, its climate and streams are pleasing and carry you in feeling to the luxury of an eastern world. To see our men bringing on board today buckets and bags full of oranges was a sight not often realized by us northerners. The country must forever be unhealthy, for these very enjoyments, when the season is advanced, carries disease and death throughout the

49. Brevet Captain Charles Mellon, 2nd Artillery, killed on February 8, 1837.

50. Brevet Major John L. Gardner, 4th Artillery

51. Brevet 2nd Lieutenant Henry S. Turner, 1st Dragoons.

52. 1st Lieutenant Alexander E. Shiras, 4th Artillery.

53. Fort Lane was situated on the St. John's River near Lake Harney.

whole Territory. We have frequently been on shore to day without much fear of the Indians, but certainly very much exposed. Our party was armed, but an attack in the thick timber or in the orange groves, would have scattered a few of us. We left Lake Munroe [Monroe] at 5 P.M. on our return and anchored with a marsh extending upon each side of us, within 20 miles of Ft. Butler; having come 30 miles. 1180 [total miles]

WEDNESDAY APRIL 10th 1839. Being upon our return down the river, we found but little to interest us when compared with going up. The bright clear sunshine of this morning, however, gave to every thing, that we had before seen, a degree of interest. Fort Butler, we arrived at by 8 o'clock A.M. where the General found an escort of Dragoons drawn up in full uniform to accompany him to the Fort, which stands about a half a mile from the bank of the river, and is the most military and well-built fort upon the St. Johns. The General received the troops, the mounted men, performed several bad manoeuvres, a salute was fired, one officer tending vent and the other playing No. 1 at the gun, and 9 o'clock found us again on our way down the river, highly gratified with our visit and with the disposition evinced by the officers at this post to have everything done up in a true military style, which is not often the case in this disgraceful service, as the fatigues and privations completely unfit officers and men for any thing like drill or military display. At 1/2 past 3 P.M. we were again in the Black Creek and met the Steamboat Charleston on board of which Majr. Gardner took passage for Savannah. 7 o'clock we were again in our quarters at Fort Heileman, having been much gratified and instructed in our journey up the river. The thermometer to day at 12 P.M. stood at 68°. Cloudy and raining. 1180+141=1321. [miles]

54. Colonel John Warren "heretofore had command of the militia serving in Florida, and highly recommended to me on account of his efficiency and activity as an officer, was invited to raise and take command, as lieutenant-colonel, of a battalion of mounted militia, to assist in the defence of the settlements east of the Suwannee, and expel the Indians. Although inconvenient to him, at the time, on account of his private affairs, the colonel very promptly complied with my wishes." Sprague, *op. cit.*, 230. He had previously participated in the battle of Withacoochee, December 31, 1835.

THURSDAY APRIL 11th, 1839. Nothing of importance transpired today. The General wrote to Col. Warren at Jacksonville requesting him to come to this place.⁵⁴ He is reported a man of intelligence, and from his active participation in the Florida war as a volunteer officer, he possesses much information and is considered an efficient officer. The General also wrote to the commanding officer at Fort King, informing him of his intended visit and of his plans for an Indian Council, and desiring that the Indians may pass unmolested and these that came in treated kindly and furnished with a small quantity of provisions. Lt. McLaughlin commanding the schooner Wave off St. Augustine, was written to, requesting him to come to this place upon official business connected with the war - particularly relating to the protection of the coast.⁵⁵ A letter was received from Mrs. Macomb from which the General derived much gratification, as he, from the time we started, has been a most faithful correspondent. We were all engaged in writing officially and to our friends. The day was cloudy, with some rain; thermometer stood at 12 M. at 69°.

FRIDAY APRIL 12th, 1839. Information reached here today, of a battle being fought between the Indians and a company of volunteers, about twenty miles from Fort Harley, [Harlee]⁵⁶ and about fifty miles from this place. The Indians were in a hammock and as they were coming out, the volunteers attacked them on the opposite side, defeated them, and it is said, killed three Indians, besides taking all their packs and horses and capturing one negro. The negro says the party were without ammunition, but they can get a supply from a white man "down the country." This is no doubt the case, as the Indians, report says, fired but one gun. The intelligence, daily brought in from the interior, shows everything to be in a state of quietness, and the health of the troops very good. The officers of the army ride through every part of the country without fear of molestation, and the Indians, by their conduct, seem to say, let us alone and we will you. Colonel Warren, who is to raise seven companies of Militia, was here this morning and had an interview with the General and the

55. Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin, U.S.N., who in 1841 was in command of the naval flotilla which cooperated with Colonel Harney in the battles around Lake Okeechobee and in the Everglades.

56. Fort Harlee was situated on the Little Sandy Pond.

necessary arrangements made. The General wrote to Govr. Call this morning informing him of his arrival here, his designs, and his reasons for not visiting Tallahassee as he designed.⁵⁷ Thermometer to day at 12 M. was at 76° fine clear sunshine with a fine fresh breeze.

SATURDAY APRIL 13th 1839. Colonel Warren was here this morning and made the final arrangements for mustering into the service seven companies of Militia; he to serve as Lt. Colonel. He seems to be an intelligent and active man. The letter to Govr. Call was sent this morning. Lt. Stokes⁵⁸ of the 4th Artillery arrived this morning from Traders Hill⁵⁹ and reports two hundred and ten men mustered as militia to serve upon the frontier under the command of Col. Nelson of Georgia. Capt. Morris's Company of the 4th Artillery arrived this evening on its way to the North, and will leave in transports to-morrow morning.⁶⁰ No news of importance from the interior. All is quiet and the country generally healthy. Capt. Shriver and Mr. Miller started this morning upon a deer hunt and returned about dark without much success. The General was engaged in writing all day as well as myself. The day has been clear and comfortably cool; thermometer ranging from 70° to 75°, which is considered cool weather for the season. We are making preparations for our journey into the interior.

SUNDAY APRIL 14th 1839. Gareys Ferry has no church nor much of a spiritual feeling. The day, however, is observed by a suspension of business, and the orderly deportment of the citizens of the town. There is preaching here I am told, occasionally, and there is to be a regular church as soon as the building is finished, which is in successful progress. A general order was issued by the commander in chief announcing his arrival in Florida, and informing the Army that, the Head Quarters was soon to be removed to Fort King, and requiring commanding officers of the different posts to report to him their positions and everything else

57. Governor Richard K. Call of Florida.

58. 1st Lieutenant James H. Stokes, 4th Artillery.

59. Traders Hill was located in Georgia on the St. Mary's River a short distance over the Florida line.

60. Captain Gouverneur Morris, 4th Artillery.

pertaining to them. We were engaged in writing most of the day and the remainder we spent in conversations; intellectual of course. Nothing of importance from the interior. The day has been very pleasant, bright clear sunshine, thermometer at 12 stood at 81°. Our quarters are so large, elevated and open that we are not in the least annoyed from the heat. The nights are uncomfortably cool.

MONDAY APRIL 15th 1839. To day we have been employed in writing letters and &c. Lt. McLaughlin who commands the Schooner Wave upon the Florida coast arrived, with whom the General had a long conversation relating to the defences of the coast, and of the necessity of establishing, immediately, the light house at Key [Biscayne]. [*sic*] Lt. McLaughlin has not seen nor heard of any Indians upon the coast for the last three months. Capt. Scott⁶¹ and Monroe's⁶² companies of the 4th Artillery arrived here this morning from Fort King on their way to the North. We are all busily engaged in arranging for our tour into the interior. No supplies can be obtained there and it is necessary that we should be in a stock sufficient at least for a month, as we are obliged to go into camp and live there. The day has been very clear and warm. Thermometer at 12 M. standing at 83°. No news from the interior.

TUESDAY APRIL 16th 1839. Mr. McLaughlin left here this morning for St. Augustine. Mr. Miller and Lt McLane⁶³ of the Top. Engineers accompanied him. Mr. McL. has been directed by the General to cruise down the coast and communicate with the officers of the Army stationed along it, and inform them fully of the plans which have been designed to bring in the hostile Indians. No intelligence of importance from the interior. Expresses arrive daily and pass through every part of the country without molestation. We have delightful clear weather not uncomfortably warm, but the nights are extremely unpleasant from the dampness and the coolness which commences as soon as the sun is down. We have a small fire made in our room, and sleep very comfortably under two blankets. Capt. Munroe & Galt's

61. Probably Captain John B. Scott, 4th Artillery.

62. Captain John Munroe, 4th Artillery.

63. 2nd Lieutenant Robert M. McLane, Topographical Engineers.

Company of the 4th Artillery⁶⁴ left to day for the north. Thermometer stood to day at noon at 84° We are busily engaged in making preparations for our departure for Fort King.

WEDNESDAY APRIL 17th 1839. Today we have been in a cloud of sand. This place being nothing but a sand bank. The least wind makes it very unpleasant, but today the mind has been unusually high, and the weather quite warm. In so small a place as this, nothing transpires to give much interest or change to mans existence. We have been engaged as usual in talking, reading, and writing. Capt. Schriver is quite indisposed, owing, no doubt, to too much exposure to the night air, which after dark is uncomfortably cool. The General inspected the Qr. Master, Commissary and Clothing Departments, and found them in excellent order, which are upon quite a large scale. In the Qr. Master's Department there are employed one hundred and fifty men. The Express arrived from Tampa Bay, corroborating the intelligence we have been receiving from day to day. No intelligence from Col. Taylor. Thermometer at 12 M. stood at 83°.

THURSDAY APRIL 18th 1839. A General Court Martial was convened to day by order Col. Twiggs, President, for the trial of a Prisoner for mutiny. He belongs to Company B of the 2d Infantry, and has been under the command of Lt. McKinstry, by whom the charges are preferred,⁶⁵ I was placed upon the Court together with Maj. Ashby,⁶⁶ Capt. Backus,⁶⁷ Lt. Steven[s],⁶⁸ Lt. Medcalf, [Metcalf]⁶⁹ and Mumford,⁷⁰ & Col. Twiggs.

We have not been engaged as usual and were it not for the agreeable association which exists amongst us, we should find our sojourn here rather tedious and monotonous, but as it is, our time passes very agreeably. The General is the best example for all soldiers and would the officers of our Army follow it, there would be much less *grumbling* - to use a professional phrase. He is always in good spirits, fond of those about him, and when an-

64. Captain Patrick H. Galt, 4th Artillery.

65. 2nd Lieutenant Justus McKinstry, 2nd Infantry.

66. Brevet Major James Ashby, 2nd Dragoons.

67. Captain Electus Backus, 1st Infantry.

68. 2nd Lieutenant Isaac I. Stevens, Engineers.

69. 2nd Lieutenant John T. Metcalfe, Ordinance.

70. 1st Lieutenant Ferdinand S. Mumford, 1st Infantry.

noyances come - meets them like a Christian philosopher. How many years it takes us to learn how to live. The day has been delightful, bright clear sunshine without a cloud in the horizon, and not uncomfortably warm. Thermometer at noon standing 81°. The General and myself took a short hunt, killed no game, however. The reason assigned by the General was "because he did not hit it."

FRIDAY APRIL 19th, 1839. The day has been uncomfortably warm and we have spent the day as usual. No news from the interior. We have daily arrivals from all parts of the country, but get no information relating to the Indians. Thermometer at 12 M. stood at 88°.

SATURDAY APRIL 20th 1839. This day has been remarkable in the history of Gareys Ferry. The General wishing to evince his feeling towards the officers stationed here, for their kindness and attention, gave a dinner party, which was the first ever given at this post. Seventeen officers took their seats at the table. The General occupied the center, with Col. Twiggs upon his right, Capt. Schriver opposite, Lt. Miller at one extremity of the table and myself at the other. We were all seated at 6 P.M. and from that time until nine o'clock, songs, sentiment and story passed merrily around and all retired in the most perfect order, and seemed highly gratified that something had transpired to cheer the monotony of their lives. The day was comfortable cool which added much to our enjoyment. The gentlemen who were present were

Col Twiggs	2nd Dragoons
Major Hunt ⁷¹	Qr. Master
Major Ashby	2nd Dragons
Capt. Backus	1st Infantry
Capt. Alexander ⁷²	6th Infantry
Capt. Mackay ⁷³	Top. Engineers
Surgeon Maxwell ⁷⁴	U.S.A.

71. Major Thomas F. Hunt, Quartermaster.

72. Captain Edmund B. Alexander, 6th Infantry.

73. Captain John Mackay, Topographical Engineers.

74. Surgeon Charles D. Maxwell.

Lt. Darling ⁷⁵	2nd Dragoons
Lt. Asheton ⁷⁶	do
Lt. Metcalf	Ordnance Corps
Lt. Mumford	1st Infantry
Lt. Stover ⁷⁷	do
Lt. Soley ⁷⁸	4th Artillery
Lt. McKinstry	2nd Infantry
Lt. Casey ⁷⁹	Commissary Dept.
Lt. Hayden ⁸⁰	2nd Infantry
Lt. Ransom ⁸¹	2nd Dragoons

who evinced the utmost harmony and good feeling; such a feeling as should always characterize the soldier. The officers here seemed to be worn out by this protracted war; there is nothing to be done; no enemy to be found, and no end to be even anticipated.

Thermometer at 12 M. to day stood at 81°. The wind blew hard which completely enveloped us in dust, but towards night it subsided. Lt. Miller returned to day from St. Augustine.

SUNDAY APRIL 21st, 1839. This day has been the Sabbath which we have all been taught to reverence, which we have done by remaining at home and conducting with propriety, and some of us in reading the Bible; the General in particular. The citizens of the town observe the day more rigidly than in most towns of the South. The stores are closed, and the whites and negroes walk the streets well dressed, shewing by their deportment that though they have no evidence of Christianity, such as preaching and churches, they have it in their education.

The day has been quite warm and somewhat windy, but very pleasant. Thermometer at noon standing at 82°.

We drew our transportation to day from Charleston to this place making it three hundred and twenty miles. The General and Lt. Miller drew their transportation here.

75. 1st Lieutenant Nathan Darling, 2nd Dragoons.
76. 2nd Lieutenant Robert Asheton, 2nd Dragoons.
77. 1st Lieutenant William H. Storer, 1st Infantry.
78. 2nd Lieutenant James R. Soley, 4th Artillery.
79. Captain John C. Casey, Commissary Department.
80. 2nd Lieutenant Julius Hayden, 2nd Infantry.
81. 2nd Lieutenant Owen Ransom, 2nd Dragoons.

MONDAY APRIL 22d 1839. We are all busily engaged in making preparations to be off on Wednesday for Fort King. Intelligence was received from there to day, that some Indians had come in for the purpose of hearing what was to be said to them, if such be the case the prospect of a successful result looks flattering. The news from the interior is generally of but little importance, such as, that some one or two or three Indians had been heard of in certain directions, or that some signs had been seen. This is the only information that can be had of the Indians in Florida. Who they are and what they are about no one can tell. To day the General wrote the Secretary of War, giving him a detail of his designs and movements, and enclosing a copy of a letter to Govr. Call written soon after the General arrived in Florida. A letter was also written to Majr. Hunt directing him to transfer one thousand dollars, which was placed in his hands for the Seminole Treaty, to me for which I was to be accountable. I have found much difficulty in procuring the proper funds, and fear I shall not succeed. This day has been one of [the] most gloomy that we have experienced in Florida; the weather cool with a dark lowering clouds; thermometer standing at 71°.

TUESDAY APRIL 23d 1839. The band belonging to the Second Dragoons which has contributed so much to our pleasure, left to day for Baltimore, in charge of the Adjutant, Lt. Asheton. I succeeded in getting such funds as would suit my convenience in paying the expes [sic] connected with he commission, and gave my receipt to Majr. Hunt for the amount, (\$1,000.00). In the vessel which transported the Dragoons to Baltimore, the General sent his two ponies, designed I believe for two of his nephews, and he also sent a box of *notions* to Mrs. Macomb, to whom he is a most faithful correspondent. No intelligence from the interior, all is quiet and the army is looking with great anxiety for the result of the General's mission. The depredations or rather the occasional murders which have been committed along the frontier, are generally believed by the army to have been committed by the vagrant loungers who invest almost every part of Florida. Many of the most respectable citizens are of the same opinion. Thursday morning we start for Fort King.

This day has been comfortably cool with some rain. It also

rained quite hard last night. Thermometer stood at 12 M. to day at 79°.

WEDNESDAY APRIL 24th 1839. This day has been one of business; we have been all engaged in making preparations for our departure to morrow morning. We design leaving at 5 in the morning and taking our breakfast seven miles from this. Nothing of importance has occurred to day, which has been extremely pleasant. Clear sun shine and quite cool. Thermometer standing at noon at 79°.

Fort Heileman, so called, is at Garey's Ferry, but there is nothing to indicate its character. The Qr. Masters work shops, and the stores and the store houses around, and a few log huts built upon a sand bank, gives this place something the character of a town, which contains about three hundred inhabitants. The site of the town is in dispute. Two men claim it under a pre-emption right and another under a Spanish grant. Black Creek is navigable for the largest boats this far 18 miles. The river then forms two branches. The southern branch is navigable three miles farther up, but the northern diminishes into a small stream, only navigable for small keel boats. The Florida War has made the place. It has no advantages to compare with any point upon the St. Johns. The country around exceedingly poor, hardly susceptible for cultivation for any length of time.

THURSDAY APRIL 25th 1839. This morning as we contemplated, we found ourselves at 1/2 past 5 A.M. on our route to Fort King, accompanied by a company of Dragoons commanded by Lt. Darling. After riding seven miles we took breakfast, and at 9 A.M. took up our line of march for the day, bidding farewell to Col. Twiggs and Dr. Maxwell who accompanied us the seven miles. The day was clear and warm which added much to the beauty of the country through which we passed. This section of the country will never be remarkable for its products, being mostly pine barrens with a deep sandy soil. The timber is considerably scattered which gives an additional interest to the undulations of the land, representing a highly cultivated park. The General is mounted on a large grey horse, which we call Micanopy. The rest of us follow after the Dragoons, four waggons and

one containing Indian John and family, make up the entire train. Having come fifteen miles we rested for a short time at Kinsley's Pond, a beautiful clear sheet of water about four miles in circumference and one in diameter. At Fort Harley [Harlee] we encamped at 6 P.M. having had a warm and dusty ride of 27 miles. This post is a picket work enclosing a few log huts, and occupied by ten Dragoons commanded by Lt. Thompson.⁸² There are a few houses or sheds scattered around the Fort which constitute the town. There are no settlers between the seven miles house and Fort Harley. 1321+27=1348.

FRIDAY APRIL 26th 1839. The first night in camp is often attended with many inconveniences and but little sleep, but this morning we were agreeably disappointed in finding ourselves much refreshed and prepared for our ride to Fort Micanopy, our next stopping place.⁸³ With a bright rising sun and a cool fresh breeze [*sic*], we found ourselves on a rapid move at 1/2 past five. A morning in this climate is truly invigorating, both mentally & physically. The middle of the day is extremely warm and the evening is often uncomfortably cool. The country to day is as beautiful as yesterday, land much better - consisting of some Hammock and a superior quality [*sic*] of pine, which is said to be excellent for the cultivation of cotton. There are no settlers whatever upon this road. There are evidences of there having been, such as the remnants of burnt houses, fences and cleared land, but the breaking out of the Florida War compelled these settlers to abandon their homes and seek safety in the more thickly settled parts of the country, leaving behind them every thing unprotected which was soon destroyed by the Indians. We rested several times to day, enjoyed a cool draught of [*left blank in the original*] and water and the cool shade, and three O'clock P.M. brought us to Micanopy where we found Majr. McIntosh of the 7th Infy, who extended to us every hospitality, offering us his garrison for our comfort, but our camp being pleasant & comfortable we preferred [*sic*] it, and after riding 27 miles we enjoyed it.⁸⁴ At Micanopy there is a small village - some Eight or ten houses besides the Garrison.

82. 2nd Lieutenant Philip Thompson, 2nd Dragoons.

83. Fort Micanopy was located at Micanopy.

84. Major James S. McIntosh, 7th Infantry.

SATURDAY APRIL 27th 1839. Micanopy, in the estimation of the Seminole Indians, has ever been consecrated ground. Within a half a mile of the present site of the fort, the Seminole chief Micanopy resided, and from which emanated the great *war talks* of the nation.⁸⁵ The fort is surrounded by thick dense Hammocks which has given great security to the Indians and caused them to contend until the last moment for a spot which is identified with their best days. There has been more murders committed in this vicinity than in the precinct of any other military district in Florida. The fort is a Picket work (with block houses at each angle) about two hundred & fifty feet square, within which are the officers quarters, small but very neat. In the center of the work are large live oak trees which secure a delightful shade. We found there Majr. McIntosh, Capt. Rains⁸⁶ and Lt. Sheppard [Shepherd]⁸⁷ of the 7th Regt and fifty men. Dr. Sloan is also there.⁸⁸ At 6 O'clock we left this beautiful spot, morning clear and cool. Passed a lake which has recently sunk, leaving vast quantities of fish and turtle to die. Eighty soft shell turtles were gathered at one time by the officers at the post. Passed Fort Wheelock a small picket work at present occupied by volunteers.⁸⁹ Also passed through McIntosh's plantation, once the most extensive in Florida, but his house, fences & outhouses were completely destroyed by the Indians. It overlooks an extensive lake called Orange Lake, six miles from Micanopy. The country through which we passed to day, is superior to any thing we have seen. 1 o'clock arrived at Fort King. Distance 27 miles. 1375+27=1402.

SUNDAY APRIL 28th 1839. A sabbath in the wilderness is very different from one within the sound of "church going bells," and within sight of those worldly things and fashions which tell us it is the day of the Lord. Here are no temples exhibiting the ingenuity of man, the deep dark green hammock, the singing of the birds, a clear blue sky and brilliant sun, tell us very forcibly, that

85. Micanopy was the chief of the Indians in Florida. Sprague describes him as "about fifty years of age, very fat, and excessively lazy." Sprague, *op. cit.*, 97.

86. Captain Gabriel J. Rains, 7th Infantry.

87. 2nd Lieutenant John B. Shepherd, 7th Infantry.

88. Assistant Surgeon William J. Sloan.

89. Fort Wheelock was located at Orange Lake.

we require no temple made with human hands to teach and make us feel the existence of a God, and to know this as the day set apart for all mankind to revere and respect. We find here Colonel Whistler of the 7th Infantry commanding,⁹⁰ Lt. Gatlin,⁹¹ Paul,⁹² Wells⁹³ and Dr. Barnes.⁹⁴ Quarters were prepared for the General and Staff within the garrison, but the General preferred going into Camp, to which we readily acceded. We soon had our tents pitched, *last night*, and were very comfortable and to day, having a proper regard for it, all work about the Camp is suspended. Immediately upon our leaving Fort Micanopy we came into the Tus-co-wills Hammock, nine miles long; a place remarkable during this protracted war for the secretion of large bodies of Indians, who carried death in every direction. The road is almost obscured by the denseness of the trees and foliage. The magnolia tree we saw in great perfection, many of them from twelve to fifteen inches in diameter, and these together with live oak trees hanging their moss grown and venerable looking branches in every direction, entwined with vines of every description, presented to the most industrious and enterprising soldier an obstacle almost impossible to be overcome. This Hammock is within the Arredondo Grant, so called for its being a grant of land made to a man by that name by the Spanish Government in the year Eighteen hundred and seventeen. A section of country twenty miles square, comprising the most beautiful and fertile portion of Florida, was ceded to him provided he should settle it within three years, with two hundred families. In the mean time the country came in possession of the United States, but without securing him the title. A suit was commenced in the U.S. Court and decided in his favour. The land is to be brought into market this summer. The road from Gareys Ferry to Micanopy is dry, being through open pine barrens and very deep sand. From Micanopy to Fort King it is much better, there being much Hammock but during a wet season it must in any places be almost impassible. We have been engaged to day in reading the bible, some doing the same, and others the newspapers. The General read his book, which should all do, every day,

90. Lieutenant Colonel William Whistler, 7th Infantry.

91. 1st Lieutenant Richard Gatlin, 7th Infantry.

92. 1st Lieutenant Gabriel Paul, 7th Infantry.

93. 1st Lieutenant James M. Wells, 7th Infantry.

94. Dr. Barnes is unidentified. He is probably Assistant Surgeon Bernard B. Byrne.

which is certainly a good example for us, who, to be frank and just, read it but little.

MONDAY APRIL 29th 1839. We find ourselves comfortably in camp upon an extended plain west of Fort King and in full sight of it. Two companies of Dragoons are encamped in a semicircular [*sic*] form in our rear. Upon our left is a thick Hammock, and upon our right is an undulating pine barren, representing a cultivated park. Fort King is immediately in front. The Fort is upon an eminence [*sic*] overlooking the forrest [*sic*] that surrounds it, and its peculiar construction and its flag contrasting with the wilderness around, gives it quite a picturesque appearance. It is a picket work twenty feet high with a block house at each angle. In the center stands a two story building occupied by the soldiers, on top of which is a Cupola in which is posted a sentinel who announces the approach of man by ringing a huge Cow-bell; which to say the least is very unmilitary, but still very useful. The Commanding Officer's quarters are outside and many other buildings, &c, such as wash rooms, bake house, guard tent and some officers tents. There are about sixty men stationed here. Lt. Arnold ⁹⁵ arrived to day with a company of Dragoons from Fort Butler 45 miles distant. Capt. Searle, Qr Master, ⁹⁶ and Dr. Brush of New York arrived from Pilatka which is on the St. Johns fifty miles from this.⁹⁷ It is said this should have been the Depot for the Army in preference to Gareys Ferry, as the route of communication to the interior is more direct and the facilities for transportation, both by land and water, much shorter and better. This afternoon we visited the Silver Spring three miles from this. We embarked in a frail boat and paddled to the head of it. It forms a creek one hundred feet wide, and after running thirty miles empties itself into the Ock-le-wa-haw river. The water is perfectly transparent, exhibiting all the tints of the rainbow. We could see the fissures in the rocks in the bottom at a distance of thirty feet, and the fish, which were numerous, we could follow in every direction. It seemed as though we were floating in the atmosphere. A dense Hammock surrounds it; the rich green foliage, the brilliant sunshine & the sea of glittering pearls which

95. 2nd Lieutenant Ripley Arnold, 2nd Dragoons.

96. Captain Frederick Searle, Quartermaster.

97. Dr. Brush is further unidentified.

buoyed us up, and the unbroken silence which reigned around, carried us to an enchanted land - any other spot than the misused and vilified Florida. We returned to Camp about 6 o'clock much interested in our ride. The season in Florida is unusually dry; water between this place and Micanopy was not to be had such as our horses would drink. Here, there is excellent water, the best in the country. The water is good at Micanopy, Fort Harley, [Harlee] and Garey's Ferry. There are no settlements whatever between this place and Micanopy. General Clinch's plantation is six miles west, off the road which passes Orange Lake. 1402 [total miles]

TUESDAY APRIL 30th 1839. To day has been occupied in arranging our camp by erecting bowers over our tents to protect us from the sun. Gen. Taylor arrived to day. He talks in the most discouraging manner, and should his predictions prove true the prospect of opening a communication with the hostiles is indeed gloomy. Genl. Taylor sent out from Fort White ⁹⁸ a brother of Tiger-tails, ⁹⁹ a friendly Indian who has been with him the last eight months, with a friendly talk to the hostiles. The last that was heard of him was, that he had been to Tampa Bay, and with the friendly Indians that were there, had gone into the swamps with a full belief that Genl. Macomb's design was to gather the Indians in under friendly assurance, and then seize them and transport them to Arkansas. This story Genl. T. believes to have been told them by the whites in the Territory, many of whom are using every exertion to continue the war. It is the opinion of all, that the war will never end until the Government is done expending money. An Indian sign was discovered yesterday twenty five miles from this. Indian John was immediately started to follow it up, and if possible to bring them in. There were, it is supposed from the *signs* five men and two women. A train of wagons arrived this afternoon from Pilatka. The day has been uncomfortably warm, but the cool nights are a great relief. There are no Indians here but those that came with us.

98. Fort White was located on the Santa Fe River.

99. Tiger Tail or Thlock-lo-Tustenuggee was the chief of the Tallahasseees, who Sprague describes as "plausible and attractive in his manners, and professing great wisdom and sagacity." Sprague goes on to say of him that "he deluded those of his own color as well as the whites, and was always ready to accept the proffer of peace." Sprague, *op. cit.*, 99.

WEDNESDAY MAY 1st 1839. This day has been the warmest day we have experienced in Florida. Our bowers furnish a good shade but not sufficient to protect us from the reflection of boiling sun. Lt. Gardiner ¹⁰⁰ and Capt. Abercrombie ¹⁰¹ of the 1st Infantry arrived to day from Fort Wachisassa fifty miles from this directly north, with six men as an escort. ¹⁰² Immediately after leaving the Tus-co-willan Hammock, six volunteers on their way to Micanopy, were fired on by a party of Indians secreted in the Hammock. They retreated at once and came up with Capt. Abercrombie and party, who returned and found one of the volunteers dead in the road. His head was much bruised and his body stabbed in the side and divested of every particle of clothing. They brought the body into Fort Wheelock. Two citizens were killed in the Allachua [*sic*] Prairie by the Indians day before yesterday. Capt. Rains was sent out from Micanopy in pursuit of them. Such efforts, however, are considered perfectly useless but done more with the design of appeasing the public than the expectation of effecting any thing. The express from Tampa to day also reports that a soldier of the 3d Artillery was shot near that place. Indian John who was sent to follow up the *signs* that were seen, returned this evening. They found the trail, followed it some distance but without success. Lt. Gatlin and Wells of the 7th Infantry and Lt. Ransom of the 2d Dragoons dined with the General to day.

THURSDAY MAY 2d 1839. General Taylor, his aide Lt. Grandin ¹⁰³ and Asst. Adjt. General Griffin, ¹⁰⁴ dined with the General to day. An invigorating breeze which sprung up about one o'clock added much to our sociability and enjoyment. The murders committed upon the Allachua Prairie were confirmed to day. There were three men killed, instead of two. No information has been received from any direction to day. Will the Indians come in? is still the question, and no one is able to answer it. Genl. Taylor applied to day to be relieved from command in Florida and leave it. All the Indian men and women in Camp, were as-

100. Probably Captain John R. Gardenier, 1st Infantry.

101. Captain John J. Abercrombie, 1st Infantry.

102. Fort Wacissa was located at the mouth of the river of the same name.

103. 2nd Lieutenant William G. Grandin, 4th Infantry.

104. Brevet Captain George H. Griffin, Assistant Adjutant General.

sembled to day and received presents preparatory to their leaving our camp for the hostiles, Primus, Murray, and John, all captured Indian negroes, were among the number. A friendly talk was given them, the substance of which was, that the General wished some of the hostiles to come in and talk with him - that his design was peace, and that they might come singly or in bodies, just as they pleased, and should they be disposed they can, for the time being, remain below Pease Creek unmolested. They seemed highly gratified and start out immediately. We all wrote home and to our friends by the express which left this morning. Col. Whistler also dined with the General.

FRIDAY MAY 3d 1839. No news or any intelligence whatever received to day from any part of the country. The Cow-bell has rung several times but brought no welcome strangers. Capt. Abercrombie, Lt. Gardiner, Lt. Metcalf and Lt. Sibley ¹⁰⁵ left this morning, the two first for Fort Heileman, the two latter for the War-ki-sassa, 50 m. distant. Genl. Taylor is very impatient and predicts no favourable results, either in effecting a treaty or accomplishing any thing else thats desirable. Its enough that he wishes to leave Florida. The friendly Indians who received presents yesterday, have not yet gone. They have been entertaining the General this evening with a dance, which was highly interesting and in many respects instructive. They had no other music than their own voices, which made the woods ring with a monotonous but agreeable sound. Old Prim was the most vociferous and efficient performer upon the occasion. The whole party, men, women, and children, will leave in pursuit of their old friends, the hostiles, and may be the means of bringing some in. Lt. Darling dined with the General to day. Lt. Graham of the 2d Dragoons was invited but did not come. ¹⁰⁶ The weather is decidedly hot, a clear brilliant sunshine at noon makes the heat intolerable, but the mornings and evenings are delightfully cool.

SATURDAY MAY 4th 1839. Mails have arrived from almost every direction to day, but brought no important intelligence. Nothing farther has been heard of the movements of the Indians. The reports from the different forts throughout the country represent

105. 1st Lieutenant Ebenezer Sibley, 1st Artillery.

106. 1st Lieutenant Lawrence P. Graham, 2nd Dragoons.

every thing in a quiet state. Indian John, with his companions men, women and children, left us to day for the south, where they expect to have some communication with the hostiles, as the largest body are supposed to be in that direction. The General gave him a pass to protect him and his companions against any whites they may meet on their route, and also gave him passes to be given to any other friendly Indians who are disposed to come in. The day to us has been unusually monotonous - without any arrivals, departures, or incidents, but there is a pleasure in knowing, that among ourselves we can always find enough to drive off the *Blues*. This morning was uncomfortably cool, so was the evening, but at noon we found it very pleasant, just enough to do justice to our friends by inflicting upon them letters, without variety, news or speculation. I wrote to Mrs. Macomb, and told her if the General would write less I would write more, for there are few who equal him as a correspondent or as a Testament reader.

SUNDAY MAY 5th 1839. Another Sunday has gone over our heads without any occurrence or change in our manner of living. In fact without any thing to designate it from any other day of the week. We are all creatures of habit, even the most sanctified of us, and were it not for the variety we meet with in church, "seeing and being seen," the congratulations of friends, and the vain pride of a new bonnet or hat, I doubt whether the Sabbath would be more observed in our cities than in the wild and uncultivated wilderness. Genl. Macomb wrote to Genl. Taylor to day in answer to his application to be relieved from the command in Florida. The reasons for not complying with his request was, that Genl. Macomb had come here for a particular purpose, and that the war had been conducted with ability and that under the existing state of things, great injustice would be done the service, as no one could be found so competent to conduct the affairs of Florida as Genl. Taylor. We had a review this evening, of two companies of Dragoons and one of Infantry. Col. Whistler commanded. Genl. Macomb reviewed them. Genl. Taylor and staff were present. No news from any direction, nor has the Cowbell sounded any arrival. The day has been quite cool. The General has been reading his Testament, and we, till it not in Gath,

[sic] have been reading the news-papers, Genl. Taylor leaves tomorrow morning for Tampa Bay.

MONDAY MAY 6th 1839. Genl. Taylor and his staff left this morning for Tampa Bay. No intelligence from any part of the country. Everything is in a quiet state; it is a most impossible to believe ourselves in so hostile a country as Florida. The Indians are not to be found, and doubtless the next we shall hear of them will be, that some two or three have murdered a family or shot down some unsuspecting traveller. They have a most inveterate hostility to the militia or *crackers*, as they are called here, believing them to be the instigators of the war. In this, in my opinion, they are right and not only the inciting cause, but have been and are now, instrumental in its continuance. The great amount of money expended here the last three years has supported in different ways all the inhabitants in and about Florida, and should the war cease, they must inevitably suffer or devote themselves to some more laborious occupation. It is believed by Genl. Taylor that, every effort to conciliate the hostiles -- every talk that's sent to them, will be perverted by these dependents and plunderers upon the Government and the Indians. Lt. Darling with thirty Dragoons scouted to day as far as the Ock-le-war-har-bridge, seven miles from this. There is a guard of Infantry there to protect it; so [no] signs of Indians were seen. It has been cloudy and quite cool today, with strong indications of rain, which is much wanted at this time. The season is unusually dry and vegetation suffering.

TUESDAY MAY 7th 1839. For the last two days, we have been threatened with rain, and to day about two O'Clock it commenced with some thunder and lightening and still continues raining quite hard. Lt. Miller, Lt. Darling, Dr. Burns¹⁰⁷ and myself accompanied by a detachment of Dragoons took a scout as far as the Ock-le-war-har bridge, seven miles south east from this. Saw no signs nor indications of Indians other than an *Indian dog*, which we pursued with exemplary *intrepidity*, *gallantry*, and *zeal* well worthy of those whose ambitions it is to serve their country. About four miles from this place, we passed through one of the richest

107. Lieutenant Burns is unidentified. He is probably Dr. Bryne previously identified.

and most beautiful Hammocks we have seen, near a mile and a half wide, abounding with orange groves, hickory, white oak, ash, beech and magnolia trees, which indicated very strongly the fertility of its soil. The magnolia is now in full bloom and gives to the atmosphere a delightful odour. The bridge which crosses the Ock-le-war-har River and bottom, is three hundred and forty yards long, made of small round timber. The main river at this place is about Eight yards wide, from six to seven feet deep, and runs at the rate of two and a half or three miles pr. hour. Bordering the river is an extensive Cabbage tree Hammock. I procured several of the Cabbages and brought them to Camp to test their quacity [*sic*]. No other intelligence other than that, Indian John sent word from the nine mile pond, that tomorrow he should bring in five Indian warriors.

WEDNESDAY MAY 8th 1839. The rain last night came down in torrents, and it has continued to rain at intervals during the day. Indian John came in this evening, about sun down, and confirmed the intelligence he sent in last evening. Seven Indian warriors had accompanied him to within a mile and a half of our camp, but declined coming in until morning, when they would hear the talk of their "Great Father," Genl. Macomb. Their object, no doubt, was to ascertain whether they could trust themselves so near us unmolested. If so, they could venture in with more confidence. They have been so often deceived and entraped [*sic*], that they place no confidence in the most faithful assurances of any white-man. Indian John and the men and women that came with him, received provisions and returned to their camp, promising to be in by breakfast time tomorrow with the hostile Indians at his camp. An express arrived this afternoon from Garey's Ferry which brought us many welcome letters. It returns tomorrow morning. A rainy day in camp is one of the horrors of a soldier's life. Every thing is dull, damp and gloomy. The rain pelting upon his tent, and the puddles of water which circle round his camp and his feet, and the frequent enquiry, "will it rain any more?" make up the pleasures of a rainy day in Camp.

THURSDAY MAY 9th 1839. The Cow-bell this morning sounded more agreeable intelligence than any we have received in Florida. Indians! shouted one. Indians, shouted another, with a white flag! and soon the whole camp were upon the look-out for such welcome strangers. We soon discovered a party of Indians in the open woods, approaching our Encampment rapidly, bearing a white flag and we immediately hoisted one in return. There were eight in number accompanied by Indian and Negro John. The General and staff were in full uniform to receive them, and they came forward one by one with their usual gravity and dignity, shook hands and took their seats. The Chief's name was Har-lock-tuste-nugge¹⁰⁸ a man about thirty years of age of fine person, intelligent and prepossessing countenance. The others names were Cho-cote-ha-ne-hay, Cho-cote-tus-te-nugge, Cha-l-mathlee, Aleck Harjo, Jo Harjo, Tallo-fixieo, Har-micco.¹⁰⁹ The three first were upwards of thirty years of age, and the others were quite young, probably, from sixteen to twenty. They looked miserably poor, having nothing but a ragged buckskin shirt to cover their nakedness. They evinced no consternation, but sat down perfectly composed, looked around upon the soldiers in uniform, and upon the company assembled, with the most perfect self possession, but a more wicked and demon-like looking set of savages I have never had the fortune to meet with. They belong to the Mickasuki tribe the most reckless and desperate in Florida. The General expressed to them the pleasure he derived in taking them by the hand as friends, and that he had come here to talk with them and be friends - that he had told his warriors to stop fighting, and to treat the Indians kindly when they should see them, and that if they were disposed to be friends, they could go below Pease Creek, for the time being and remain there unmolested. I want to see the Indians that are out, continued Genl. Macomb, and if we can be at peace so much the better, if not, we must fight. We have no disposition or desire to deceive them, and they now can come in and be once more friends. Their *Great Father*, the President, has sent me here to talk to them; he is sorry there has been so much bad feeling, and would be glad to see them friends again. He has thousands of warriors

108. Harlock-Tustenuggee was the chief of the Mickasukies in that section of Florida.

109. All are further unidentified.

- alone - to talk to you, and I am now here in peace and friendship. I wish them to spread my talk among their people, far and near, and request them to come and see me. I want to see their great chiefs Sam Jones and Tiger-tail & Wild-Cat.¹¹⁰ In reply, the Chief expressed his gratification at the talk he had just heard from the "Great Warrior," and evinced it both in looks and manner. He made the most positive assurances of his and his companions good feelings, and assured the General that, they would make every exertion to comply with his wishes. He did not know where Sam Jones or Tiger-tail were to be found, but he thought they were far down south. Those Indians who have been committing murders about here he knows nothing about but they would hunt them up and talk to them the friendly talk they had just heard, and that he would go where his party was encamped, and bring them in, which he said consisted of more than a hundred souls. A small quantity of provisions was given them, some pipes and tobacco, and after a general conversation among all present, they shook hands promising to return again tomorrow morning.

These Indians have occupied the country about this place, within ten and fifteen miles, the last three years. They are sometimes designated as the Long Swamp Indians, which is within six miles of this place, and where they once planted and lived. The Chief seemed reluctant to give much information respecting their present abiding places, and in fact all questions were avoided of such a character as might be possibly be misunderstood or lead them to suspect, that our motives and designs were not sincere. He however told me that he and his friends now lived and were planting upon the Wythlacochee [Withlacochee] and that where he lived he had never seen a white man. All of them manifested great pleasure in being once more with the whites as friends. It is not often they express such feelings, but upon this occasion they evinced it most decidedly. Lt. McCallister [McAlister]¹¹¹ arrived to day from Fort Fanning,¹¹² thirty five miles distant. He reports that the Express rider between Ft.

110. Coacoochee, or Wild Cat "was the most dangerous chieftan in the field." Sprague, *op. cit.*, 98.

111. 1st Lieutenant James McAlister, 1st Infantry.

112. Fort Fanning was located on the Suwannee River eighteen miles from its mouth.

White and Macomb¹¹³ was fired upon and wounded a few days since. His horse was killed and he made his escape on foot. There were two parties, the first missed him, but the second took effect. This afternoon it rained quite hard. The morning and evening was clear and pleasantly cool. An express arrived to day from G. Ferry.

FRIDAY MAY 10th 1839. To negotiate with Indians or to have any thing to do with them, requires much prudence and forbearance, and an unusual store of Christian philosophy. This morning before we had soothed our tempers with a comfortable breakfast, the Cow-bell again sent forth its symphonious sound, announcing the arrival of our Indian friends. We soon discovered the dark group making their way through the pine timber, direct for our Encampment, with a white flag in the advance, reaching as high towards heaven as the extent of a mans arm and long pole could make it. Nothing but the want of whiskey could ever bring an Indian from his camp so early in the morning. The General again had a long talk with them. He endeavoured to convey to them a correct idea of their situation and of his willingness to act towards them as a friend, who was anxious, that a war which had been existing for three years, without any beneficial results, should now be closed, and the white man and Indian be brought together as friends. In order to bring about permanent and desirable results, it would be necessary that he should see Sam Jones, Tiger-tail, and Wild Cat when a great Council could be held at this place, at such a time as they might designate, and that he wished the chief present, Har-lock-tust-nugge, to go out - find any of the above mentioned chiefs - give them the talk they have heard and get them to come in, and that whoever should go he would present an elegant rifle. The chief expressed his approbation of what had been said to him and his companions and that he knew all the Chiefs, and would at a proper time, hunt them up and endeavour to bring them in. They were far down south and it would require full three months to go there, find them and return to this place. The first object of the General before sending for the principal chiefs, is to gather in all the Indians north of this and Pease Creek, in order to stop all the hostile operations on both sides, so as to secure

113. Fort Macomb was located on the Suwanee River.

to the inhabitants of Florida and its frontier, peace and protection. These Indians are to go out immediately and bring in all the Indians that can be found. When told that an express had been fired upon by the Indians in the vicinity of Fort White, he said he knew there were many Indians in that direction, but he did not know who they were. He would, however, send his young men and prevail upon them to come in. He supposed they were young men who had been committing the murders throughout the country, who were without chiefs and experienced men, as all the chiefs had gone to Arkansas, and it would be difficult to find them and get them to act in concert. The utmost sincerity and good feelings prevailed upon all sides, more particularly manifested on the part of the Indians, who were delighted that they could once more get amongst the regular soldiers who treat them with the most uniform kindness and good feeling. Provisions were given to the Indians and toward evening they shook hands, bade us adieu with great cheerfulness, promising to return in eight or ten days with as many Indians as they could find. An order was issued to day requiring great vigilance to be observed in all duties connected with camp, as Indians are not to be relied on with all their professions of friendship. The day has been cool, clear, and very pleasant. No arrivals from any of the surrounding posts to day.

SATURDAY MAY 11th, 1839. The absence of our Indian friends has made to day comparatively [*sic*] monotonous; whose return we look forward to as another epoch in the history of Florida. All of us place the greatest confidence in their professions, and have but little doubt but that, they will be the means of large numbers coming in. A regular Military Camp is to the Indians a place of great enjoyment as well as gain. The soldiers caress them in every possible manner - giving them presents - contributing in every way to their amusement, and treating them more like companions than enemies. It is indeed remarkable that this should be the case, after wading several swamps and harrassed night and day for the last three years in pursuit of them that they should be inclined to treat them with so much levity and kindness. It doubtless arises from their knowledge of the impositions practiced upon them, and the inhuman and barberous treat-

ment which they receive from the white settlers upon their borders. No one who becomes familiar with the history of our Indians and Indian wars, but will be convinced that the first aggression is made by the white man who is divested of all restraint and regardless of every righteous law. The General heard from Genl. Taylor to day, informing him of his a rival at Tampa Bay, and of the intelligence he had privately received [*sic*] from different parts of the country relating to the termination of the Florida War. The citizens [*sic*] he said, were expressing their disapprobation of any treaty which might be made allowing the Indians to remain in Florida under any circumstance whatever, even for a short period, and that subscription papers were in circulation raising money for the purpose of giving two hundred dollars for every Indian scalp. This no doubt is the talk of the many vagrants which are to be found in this part of the country. There is not a white man in nor about Florida, excepting the regular Army, who dares venture out in any numbers in pursuit of the Indians. The Indians may rest in perfect security if two hundred dollars is all that's afforded for their scalps. The command was turned out this afternoon in the order of battle and inspected by the General. A line was formed completely around our Encampment in extended order, which will make quite a formidable defence in case of night attack. An express arrived today from Gareys Ferry and Tampa Bay. We have been all busily engaged in writing to day. The General wrote to the Secretary of War relating to him all that occurred in effecting the object of his mission. Capt. Holmes¹¹⁴ and Dr. Moore¹¹⁵ from Fort Russell,¹¹⁶ fifty two miles from this, dined with us to day. The middle of the day was clear and warm, the morning cool and the evening uncomfortably so.¹¹⁷

114. Captain Theophilus H. Holmes, 7th Infantry.

115. Assistant Surgeon Samuel P. Moore.

116. Fort Russell was located near Orange Lake.

117. The Florida press, generally, held the attitude that "removal, unconditional removal, is the only surety of peace." *The Army and Navy Chronicle*, VIII (May 23, 1839), 329. General Taylor also had no confidence in these arrangements, but considered them as a prelude to more treachery and bloodshed. He had been in command of the troops in Florida since 1838. Worn out, sick, and discouraged, he had requested relief in vain to restore his health. Not until April 1840, was his request granted, when Brevet Brigadier Walker K. Armistead, 2nd Artillery, relieved him.

SUNDAY, MAY 12th, 1839. Who is there that's ever been in the wilderness - away from home - cut off from the association with those whom we love, that has not felt the influence of a Sabbath day? The infidel may talk of his unbelief and the violator of every law may assert his independence, but the Sabbath will steal upon him, and exercise an influence over his thoughts and actions, wherever he may be, either from early inculcated precepts and example, or from the wisdom displayed in the command "Six days shalt thou labour but the seventh day is the Sabbath." None of us, however, are infidels, we only want those associations with our friends to make the day as we have always known it. Colonel Whistler started this morning for Fort Fanning, on the Suwannee, fifty five miles distant, with an Escort of Dragoons for the purpose of meeting Mrs. Whistler who comes up from Tampa Bay in the steam Boat which runs between Tampa Bay and Ft. Fanning. The General has been *Testamental* and *sentimental* to day. He has had his red covered book in his hand most of the day and wrote upon a Magnolia leaf thus, "My dear Wife! May heaven bless you is the prayer of your husband," Thereupon Miller and myself gave vein of thought and wrote the names of those left behind - which brought up dances - waltzes - frolics - sentiment and ten thousand other delightful recollections. About four o'clock we had a slight rain which ended in exhibiting the most perfect and beautiful rainbow, a description I would not pretend to give. No news from any part of the country. The day has been quite warm.

MONDAY MAY 13th, 1839. Nothing of importance has transpired to day in our camp. We have all remained in camp and amused ourselves in reading, writing, and pitching quoits, which affords as fine exercise and an agreeable amusement. The Cowbell has rung several times which brought the whole command out to see who had arrived. In what direction, shouts one? A mail, I guess says another! Some officer says the third! And when all Eyes were eagerly fixed in the proper direction, a long string of volunteer troops would come in sight - dirty - ragged and dusty, seated upon long tailed and long eared horses, with the deadly rifle resting in front & a short jacket, long beard and hair, and a broad-brim white hat ornamenting the person proper.

Dr. Burns who has been absent on a visit to Forts No. 2 & 3 returned to day. He reports every thing quiet in that direction; no sign of Indians. From other parts of the country we have heard nothing for the last two or three days. We soon shall have mails from all points. This morning was quite cool, the middle of the day pleasantly warm and the evening rather warmer than usual. Dr. Burns dined with us to day.

TUESDAY MAY 14th, 1839. This has been unusually dull, no arrivals, no departures, no incidents in Camp. We amused ourselves in pitching Quoits, reading and writing, the General the Testament, Miller History, U. States, Schriver Army Regulations, myself Byron. A day or two since Lt. Miller and myself with a detachment of Dragoons visited Powell's Town the former residence of Osceola. Its about ten miles N.W. from this place and the road to it, is through the most beautiful and fertile portion of Florida, being most of the way open timbered land of oak, hickory, pine and some Hammock. The site of the town is a flat piece of ground surrounded by Hammock and oak woods. There is nothing remarkable in its appearance nor does not it possess the advantages both in location & picturesque appearance which generally characterizes Indian towns. The place was burnt in the winter of '36 by Colonel Parrish, commanding the Florida Militia. The burnt timber of which Osceola[']s] house was made now scattered about and the slight frames of other houses belonging to minor chiefs are still standing. The great dancing and Council ground of the Seminoles is still distinctly to be seen. The spot where the fire was built and which has burnt for years, and the circle around it, trod hard by the dancing of men, women and children, is still visible. The place was once covered with sheds, but these have met the same fate as the rest of the town. Cudjoe's Town, an Indian negro, right hand man of Genl. Jesup [*sic*], ¹¹⁸ is about two miles west. This has also been burnt. The day has been very pleasant, morning and evening being very cool, middle of the day, in the sun, uncomfortably hot. No news from any part to day.

118. Thomas Sidney Jesup, Quartermaster General of the Army, preceded Taylor in command of the army in Florida.

WEDNESDAY MAY 15th, 1839. The detachment of Dragoons which accompanied Genl. Taylor to Tampa returned today. Information was received through the commanding officer at Fort McClure,¹¹⁹ that a party of his men were fired on by four or five Indians when out procuring wood. None, however, were killed or wounded. This post is thirty miles from here, on the road to Tampa Bay, and is garrisoned by volunteers. No information from other parts of the country, nothing yet heard of our friendly Indians. We are looking anxiously for them every day. Our Indian Council House was finished to day. Its built on the right of our encampment, beside of it is a flag staff on which we hoist a white flag. Another staff was got up to day immediately in the rear of the Genls tent, on which we swing the "Star Spangled Banner." Our encampment is beautifully arranged and improving every day, and is to be increased in numbers. Capt. Dade's company of Dragoons now stationed at Pilatka was ordered here to-day.¹²⁰ Upon the extreme right and left of our Camp, we have at night large pine knot fires, which brilliantly illuminate the Camp and the whole country around. Our centre-table has been ornamented to-day with a bunch of large full-bloom Magnolias. Nothing can equal the delicacy and deliciousness of their fragrance. The Hammocks abound with them, and give to these inhospitable spots the odour of a flower garden. Lt. Graham dined with the General to day. The day has been clear, morning cool, middle of the day warm, and the evening uncomfortably cool.

THURSDAY MAY 16th 1839. The arrival of a mail from the north has given us to day more variety than usual. Its arrival, at so remote a post as this, is considered one of the great events of the week, and its anticipated arrival is a solace for many a long and weary hours. We received nothing of importance in the way of letters and the newspapers, with the *delightful variety of advertisements*, gave us something to interest and to bring us again nearer home. The General received a letter from Col. Gates, commanding at Garey's Ferry, relating to him the circumstances of an attack, made it is supposed, by Indians, upon three mounted Militia men, within nine miles of Gareys Ferry.¹²¹ One of

119. Fort McClure was located at Warm Springs on the Withlacoochee River.

120. Captain Townsend Dade, 2nd Dragoons.

121. Lieutenant Colonel William Gates, 3rd Artillery.

them was killed the others escaped by a rapid flight. A detachment of Dragoons was despatched to the spot, and upon its arrival there, found the dead body, one horse tied to a tree, saddle and blankets laying by, and a bottle of whiskey. The body was perforated with a large ball, having no resemblance to a rifle ball, and the head had been mangled with pine knots. From these facts, it might be supposed the deed was committed by some of the vagrant whites which infest this Territory. An Indian never would, under any circumstances, leave behind him his bottle of whiskey, neither do Indians carry any other Arm than the rifle. No information received to day from any of the surrounding Forts. A report was brought to day from an Indian negro, that more than an hundred Indians would be here tomorrow or next day. The day has been clear and uncomfortably warm. Lt. Ransom dined with the General to day.

FRIDAY MAY 17th 1839. This afternoon Lt. Colonel Harney of the 2d Dragoons arrived from Key Biscayne bringing with him two hostile Seminole Indians, and Sandy a faithful negro Interpreter. As soon as Colonel Harney received Genl. Macomb's instructions, he despatched Sandy with "*the talk*" to find and to bring into his post at Key Biscayne any of the hostiles he should chance to meet with. The first day he was unsuccessful. He started again, and on the third day he discovered two Indians in the vicinity of Snake Creek near New River, who had been fishing. Upon his approaching them, the eldest of the two, asked "what he wanted there?" He replies, that he had come with a talk; he in answer said he was willing to hear it if it *was good*, but he supposed he had come with more lies. Sandy repeated to him his instructions, announcing the arrival of Genl. Macomb and the proposition of peace and relating to him particularly its terms. He expressed his willingness to accompany Sandy to Colonel Harney, relying confidently upon the assurance given him, that he could go and return in safety. He and his companion came on immediately to Key Biscayne or Ft. Dallas, saw Col. Harney, who confirmed all that had been told him by Sandy. He expressed his wish to go immediately to any place to meet Genl. Macomb, but before doing so was desirous to see Sam Jones and his other warriors, and in conjunction with them accept or reject the terms of peace offered them. After an absence of one

day he returned; Sam Jones and all the warriors was of his opinion, and fully authorized him to accept the terms offered them, and wished matters brought to a termination as soon as possible. From the most unquestionable authority, this Indian is now the principal chief of the Seminoles and Mickasukies. His name is Chitto-tuste-nugge or Snake Chief, and upon the amalgamation of these two tribes in the Seminole country, which is now occupied by them, it appears, that Sam Jones has been obliged to surrender his authority and be governed by the Seminoles, who are more numerous and who recognize this man as the principal chief.¹²² He is a full blooded Seminole, about thirty five years of age, five feet seven inches high, full round face and a remarkable well formed athletic person; very dignified in his manners, and his remarks and observation indicate him as something above mediocrity. His dress is a common cotton shirt, his legs bare, and around his head is tastefully arranged a red silk handkerchief. We all shook hands with him upon his arrival, when he took his seat with the utmost composure and self-possession. The General has been explaining to him this evening the object of his mission, and defining to him upon the map the country to which all his people must go and remain at peace, with which he expressed himself perfectly satisfied. The boy who accompanied him here, is a stout dark-looking well-built fellow, careless and stupid in his habits and not much inclined to talk even when spoken to. His name is O-che-Harjo or Mad Nuts and brother of a distinguished chief called [left blank in the original] or Blue Snake, and is probably twenty years of age.¹²³ His dress is merely a common cotton shirt. With all his imperfections, he is considered a young man of some considerable importance. Some articles of clothing were given them and provisions, when they left us for the night and expressing great anxiety, that tomorrow the Council should be held, as the sooner every thing could be accomplished the better. During the evening I went to their camp. The Negro Interpreter, Sandy, was asleep, the Chief was making soup over a small fire, and the boy smoking a pipe. The chief said he was very lonely, as he had no one to cook for him.

122. Chitto-Tustenugee succeeded Sam Jones as the principal chief of the Seminoles. Shortly before the great council, he had been elected by a council held by the Seminoles and Mickasukies. Sprague, *op. cit.*, 231.

123. Blue Snake was a chief of the Tolofa tribe of Seminoles.

It is impossible not to feel an interest in these people who have been hunted down like wild beasts. Their sin is patriotism, as true as ever burned in the breast of the most civilized. Florida is the land of their birth, but independent of this, there is no country in the world so peculiarly adapted to their wants and habits. Its climate, at all seasons of the year, is so mild, that a single article of dress is sufficient for their comfort, the soil is fertile, producing spontaneously roots and vegetables (the coonta root, wild potatoes, & palmetto cabbage) enough to supply their wants, its rivers & ponds abound with fish and turtle, and in its Hammocks and pine barrens, game of every description can be found whenever they are disposed to hunt it. This is the country they have been contending for, until they are now driven to a little nook and corner, inhabitable for the white man, for which they come as humble suppliants to ask or to receive peaceable possession.

SATURDAY MAY 18th 1839. To day, has been to us, one of excitement and interest, to the people of Florida one of great importance, and to the Indians one of great pleasure. Late last night, Murray, the Indian Negro and Interpreter, came in from the nine-mile pond bringing information, that there were assembled a large body of Indian men, women, and children, who would be in to day by 12 o'clock to visit the General and attend the Council. Soon after that time, Har-lock-tuste-nugge arrived, accompanied by twenty Seminole and Mick-a-su-kie warriors, leaving behind their women and children who they said took no part in the *great talks*. They were conducted to the Council-bower prepared for the occasion, by the Sergeant of the General, and directed to remain, when the General would soon join them in Council. In all negotiations with the Indians form and ceremony are indispensable. It attaches to all that said to them a degree of importance and interest, which has a beneficial effect upon their feelings and opinions. The General has carried this to the utmost extent. A Council-Chamber or rather bower was erected within our Encampment, covering a circular space of ground, and shut out from the sun by a roof of green bushes, in the center of which was erected a pole to which was attached a white flag. A small room was attached & over the door which communicated with the part occupied by the Indians, the garrison

flag was festooned, which very appropriately came just over the General's head. At about 4 P.M. the garrison band of the 7th Regiment was assembled at Head Quarters together with a company of Dragoons in full uniform as an Escort. We proceeded to the Council in common time, the band in advance, the General and his Staff in full uniform, together with all the officers at the post, following, and the Dragoons brought up the rear. Upon each side of the door a soldier was stationed with a white flag, the band passed through and formed on the other side opposite the General's seat, while the Dragoons circled round upon the right and left. The Officers present took seats upon each side of the General. The Indians were all assembled and looked upon the ceremony with perfect astonishment. The general told them he was glad to see them, and they would now "*take a smoke*" and then explain to them the object of the Council. All who were present, white, black, and yellow, smoked in perfect silence and apparent deep thought for about fifteen minutes, when the General arose shook hands with all and wished them to listen to his words for what he said were the words of a friend. They listened attentively, & with much interest and pleasure to the terms of peace, which were, that all the Indians within sixty days must return below Pease Creek and remain there. The map was shewn them, and the boundaries which are hereafter to separate their people from the white, was traced out and fully explained to them; with which they expressed much satisfaction. The General impressed upon them the necessity of their leaving the country north of the line designated, as they had much to apprehend from the citizens who will return to the country, and should many of these people find you, they will care but little whether you are friends or enemies. We have shaken hands, and if you go to the country assigned you within the time stipulated, we can *all* again be at peace. The General then told Sandy, the negro Interpreter, that he had said all that he had to say and he was now ready to hear their reply. Chitto-tuste-nugge, the successor of Sam Jones, was the first to speak, which he did in a calm and dignified manner. He expressed himself as highly gratified with what he had heard and that, he and his people readily accept the proffered terms and that, he would send out his young men with what he had heard from the "Great Chief" - request them to cease fighting and retire to the country allotted them, and he knew they

would readily accede to it. He knew they had much to fear from the whites who inhabit this country, they had been the cause of the war, and had always treated them badly. We will now, said he, be at peace.

Har-lock-tuste-nuggee - the Second Chief, and a Mick-a-sukie, was the next to speak. He is a clear, fluent, speaker very brief and expressive in his remarks. He declared himself satisfied with what he had heard - that his people were satisfied, and that, he would gather them in and go to the country assigned them. He was glad to hear the words of their "Great Chief," they were the words of a friend, he talked to them as such and he and all his people would obey them. He knew, that if the whites should find them, they would abuse them, they have been the cause of the war; with you we have always been friends. You have treated us as such, but the *crackers* are not our friends. I have no more to say. We are friends - we have shaken hands - and are now at peace. They were then told that if any one of them had any thing to say they could now express it. "Their chiefs, they said, had spoken and what they said were the words of their hearts: they had nothing to say." A social and friendly glass was then proposed by the General, he setting the example and all present followed with much gaiety and many jocose remarks. A general conversation, drinking and smoking ensued, and the Council broke up. The escort was formed and we returned to the Head Quarters in the same manner that we came. The deportment of the Indians throughout was marked by the utmost frankness and good feeling, and undoubtedly sincerity in all they expressed. They were desirous of peace and willing to take any part of their country as a residence rather than leave it. They never will leave it and its useless to make the effort. We gave them a small quantity of whiskey, enough they said, to make their hearts glad and the last we heard from them, was their loud and long yells in an Indian dance. Capt. Schriver received a letter from Lt. Blake, Top Engineers,¹²⁴ informing him of the death of Lt. Hulbert of the 6th Infantry.¹²⁵ He was found near a small stream, stripped [*sic*] of his clothing, and his body perforated with four rifle balls. A soldier who was in company was found dead near him. It occurred near Fort Fanning.

124. 1st Lieutenant Jacob E. Blake, Topographical Engineers.

125. 2nd Lieutenant William Hulbert, 6th Infantry, killed on May 2, 1839, while on a scout near Fort Frank Brooke, Florida.

The two chiefs were present when the letter was read, and when informed of it, they expressed their regret and said it would not have happened had the Indians received the great talk, but they knew they had not.

The following officers were present at the Council to day. Major General Macomb commanding in chief, and his Staff consisting of Lt. M. S. Miller, 3d Artillery, Aide de Camp. Lt. J. T. Sprague, 8th Infantry, Extra Aide de Camp. Bvt. Capt. E. Schriver, Artillery, Asst. Adjt. General. Lt. Colonel Harney, 2d Dragoons was also present. Lt. Paul, 7th Infantry.

Lt. Darling 2d Dragoons
 Lt. Graham do
 Lt. Ransom do
 Dr. Byrne Asst. Surgeon USA

The Council was convened about two hours and a half. The day was clear and quite warm, absolutely hot, decidedly the most uncomfortable day we have experienced in Florida.

SUNDAY MAY 19th 1839. The Indians have been about us all day expressing their friendship by shaking hands and talking in the most familiar manner. Every talk is wound up by a feeling and impressive appeal for more whiskey, which is always an efficient instrument in securing the confidence of an Indian. Genl. Macomb has the most enduring patience; he listens attentively to all they have to say, treats them kindly, when they leave him perfectly satisfied with themselves and with him as a great chief. His manner to them is prepossessing and his being always in uniform upon important occasions, has impressed them with a great idea of his power and attached to all he has said to them a degree of sincerity to which they are unaccustomed. Col. Whistler arrived today from Fort Fanning with Mrs. W. and his niece Miss Custis. Capt. Dade also arrived with his company of Dragoons from Pilotka. Lt. McLaughlin commanding the Schooner Wave accompanied by Lt. Conte ¹²⁶ and Dr. Taliafero ¹²⁷ arrived this morning from Tampa Bay: all of the Navy. A General Order was issued to day announcing to the Army, that hostilities had ceased;

126. Lieutenant John Contee, U. S. Navy.

127. Assistant Surgeon Horace Taliferro, U. S. Navy.

the War Ended. The day has been clear and pleasant. No news from the interior. The day has been a festival, but any thing but a religious one.¹²⁸

MONDAY MAY 20th 1839. Last night Col. Hamey of the Dragoons, Lt. Miller, Lt. Darling, Lt. Graham, Lt. Merrill,¹²⁹ Lt. Conte, U.S.N. and myself, went out to see the nine mile pond, by invitation, to be present at a great Indian dance. We left here during the afternoon and arrived there about dark. There were assembled for the occasion more than one hundred Indians who received us with great joy - shaking hands most violently - and treated us with every possible kindness. A large fire was built, around which they soon began to circle, sending forth terrific shouts and yells which made the woods ring. Most of us participated in their savage ceremonies, by the way of convincing them of the *great attachment we had for them*. We remained until after 12 O'clock and returned to Camp. There was doubtless much risque in our placing ourselves so entirely in their power, for the history of the Indian character certainly teaches us to place no confidence in the professions of an Indian, but motives of policy induced us to run the hazard. They had confided in us, had come into our camp in the midst of armed men and we were willing to convince them, that we reposed so much confidence in them as they did in us. I met an Indian by the name of Saucy-jack or Tallo-fixico who had not been among the whites since the commencement of the war. He said he heard there was a great chief in his country, dressed like his own warriors with feathers, meaning Genl. Macomb, and he had determined to come and see him and hear him talk. He came in to day & had a long talk with the General. Many Indians have been about us to day and are coming in tomorrow with their women and children to have a great council. The day has been quite warm with a slight rain; morning & evening very cool.

TUESDAY MAY 21st 1839. We have been annoyed and surrounded by Indians all day, begging for whiskey and making the most earnest professions of friendship. All were desirous of hav-

128. The text of the General Order is printed in Sprague, *op. cit.*, 228-229.

129. 2nd Lieutenant Hamilton W. Merrill, 2nd Dragoons.

ing a talk with the General and assuring him of their good feelings and their determination to adhere to all the promises made him and their disposition to remain at peace. We have seen many new faces to day and many that have had no association with the whites since the commencement of the war. They are almost in a state of nudity, many of their women and children having no other clothing than old forage bags, picked up in the vicinity of abandoned posts. This evening they entertained the General with an Indian dance, he soon got tired and left them. Even now, 12 at night, I hear their hideous shouts and yells, and within view of my tent, I can see men, women, and children circling around a blazing fire keeping time with their discordant and monotonous tones. Tomorrow we have the second and last grand council. The General wrote to the Secretary of War informing him of the successful result of his mission and other particulars connected with it. Capt. Moore¹³⁰ of the 7th Infy arrived to day from Fort No. 2, 35 miles distant. No news from any part of the country. No arrivals but Indians who have kept the Cow-bell in a continuous chime. The weather in every respect is delightful, cool nights and mornings, the middle of the day not uncomfortable, and the moon-light nights cannot be equalled.

WEDNESDAY MAY 22d 1839. A Grand Council was convened to day for the second and last time. The same ceremonies and preparations were observed as upon a previous occasion. The band of the 7th Regiment was formed at Head Quarters, the General and Staff in full uniform, accompanied by all the officers at the Post, and a detachment of Dragoons on foot, moved off about 4 P.M. for the *Council-bower*. Upon our arrival the Dragoons formed around upon the right and left, the band past directly through and formed opposite the General, who stood at the entrance surrounded by all the Officers. The Warriors were seated forming a complete circle in front of the Dragons, amazed with the pomp and ceremony which pertained to the "Great Chief" who stood before them. Indians are remarkable in all their civil and religious proceedings for form and ceremony. The Great Spirit, they believe, will not listen to them or receive their offerings, unless accompanied by these customs received from their

130. Probably Captain Benjamin D. Moore, 1st Dragoons.

fore-fathers. Among the most degenerated, these customs are adhered to with great tenacity, and to effect any desirable results the first thing to be accomplished is to convince them of the dignity and importance of your character. When this is done, your advice and opinions carry with them a sanctity and influence not to be disregarded. From what I learn this has been heretofore entirely neglected in Florida, and to it may be attributed, in my opinion, the many mortifying defeats in negotiating with these Indians. The established etiquette of any Court in Europe might with the same propriety be disregarded, even with more, for a civilized nation could understand the necessities of the case, while an Indian sees no necessity and acknowledges no right to disregard customs which belong to religion, councils and dances. The Seminole language is astonishingly deficient in words to convey ideas and feeling, and with them, more than with any other nation of Indians I have ever met with, is the necessity of adhering strictly to imposing ceremonies and customs. When the band ceased playing the Indians looked about in perfect astonishment to see what followed. So many officers and soldiers in uniform was a sight entirely new to them and surrounded as they were their situation was rather embarrassing. The General told them [he] had come again to talk to them, but before doing so they would have a general smoke. Pipes and tobacco were laid out for each one to help himself. After making a small fire within the circle each Indian came forward shook hands, took a pipe and piece of tobacco, we all joined them and in short time a cloud of smoke rolled over us like a dense fog. All was silence or what to the Indian is considered deep thought. When the smoking was done a shaking of hands again commenced, and the General recapitulated all that he said to them in a former Council. He repeated to them the promises they had made him and assured them he relied confidently upon their fulfillment of the whole of them. I have, said he, brought with me a few presents and I observe, that your women and children want some clothing. I have but little but what I have I will divide amongst you. I have said all that I have to say, we will now take a friendly glass and then smoke, and I hope our smoke as it rises, may be like so many good talks from our hearts to the Great Spirit. And if any one has any thing to say, I shall be glad to hear him. The whole crowd men,

women and children, again passed round shaking hands with all present. Chitto-Tuste-nuggee the principal chief came forward and said he had but little to say. He had heard the talk of the great chief - it was straight - the same that he had heard before. All that he had to say now, was, that all the promises he had made should be performed and that all fighting should cease forever. The talk is good - our hearts are good, and the Great Spirit has heard all we say. He shook hands and took his seat. Har-lock-tuste-nuggee, chief of the Mickasukies, followed him. He had heard all that had been said. The talk was straight and good - the tomahawk and scalping knife is buried forever. I will send my young men throughout the country. I have sent some already west of the Suwannee to see those who have been committing murders. They have not heard of your talk. When they do, I know, they will be friends. All that I have said to you comes from my heart and what I have promised you shall be done. I have spoken the words of my heart and the Great Spirit has seen and heard us. My heart is sorry some of your young warriors have been recently killed, but it could not be helped. If your warriors should kill any of our young men now, you would be sorry - you could not help it, and you would say, my warriors have not yet heard my talk with the Chiefs of the Seminoles and the Mickasukies. So, I shake hands, let us be friends forever. The General told them to remember the fifteenth of July, (the day fixed for them to leave the country below Pease Creek) and that when on their way there they could stop at any Military Post, procure provisions and secure protection to the country allotted them. A desultory conversation ensued corroborative of all that had before been said in and out of Council. The women and children were brought in and received enough cotton and calico to cover their nakedness. Many declined coming to the Council on account of their situation which was too primitive for us youths of a modern day, and those who did come were objects of commiseration. We returned to Head Quarters about dark, much gratified by the feelings manifested by the Indians and their sincerity of all their promises. The men were not so much in want of clothing, having most of them good buck skin shirts. There were present forty three warriors and twenty four women. Five who came in on the first day, were absent in pursuit of oth-

ers that are out, these, together with those we have had in Council to day makes forty eight warriors that we have seen the larger portion of them being Mickasukies. In the evening we were favoured with a peace dance, to which the General was invited, and by the way of evincing the depth - length - and breadth of their affection for the whites and the sincerity of their feelings, and their determination to carry out all their promises, they all got beastly drunk, and annoyed us with their whoops and yells until after midnight, or in fact until they were so drunk they could not whoop and nothing was heard but an occasional yell or grunt from some fellow stretched full length in the sand. I met one of the Chiefs after midnight, somewhat intoxicated. Now, said he, I heard of the Great Chief. They told me he wore feathers - with a big hat, a big knife (sword) and things on his shoulders. I thought I would come and see him. I have come, I have talked to him - we are friends and now I want you to give me two bottles of whiskey to make my heart glad. He told me his chiefs would be kind to me - you are one. I have come to you to make my heart glad. There are but few who know or who are inclined to appreciate the Indian character. Treat them kindly and they will be faithful friends, but the prejudices we have imbibed against them, from the stern and steadfast manner with which they have resisted the approach of the white man, will not allow us to award them the least [provision] in defending their homes: a country endowed with all the blessings within the gift of Providence. No person can see the Seminoles without admiring their gallantry - their patriotism in sustaining themselves, with wonderful ability, during the four years war that has been waged against them. If they were other than Indians the eyes of the whole world would be upon them and applaud their zeal and love of country, The following gentlemen, Officers of the Army and Navy were present at the Council.

Major General Macomb and Staff
 Lt Col Whistler, 7th Infty, commdg Fort King
 Lt Col Harney, 2d Dragoons
 Lt Col McIntosh, 5th Infty
 Capt Dade, 2 Dragoons
 Lt Gatlin, 7th Infantry
 Lt Merrill, 2 Dragoons

Lt Darling, 2d Dragoons
 Lt Ransom, 2d Dragoons
 Doctr Burns, U.S.A.
 Capt McLaughlin, U.S.N.
 Lt Conte
 Lt Taliaferro
 Lt Arnold, 2d Dragoons
 Lt Graham, 2d Dragoons
 Majr Forsyth, Paymaster
 42 Indian Warriors
 24 Women - Indian

Majr Forsyth, Paymaster, arrived today from Tampa Bay.¹³¹ On his way from Fort Fanning, he found a Sergeant of the 7th Infantry dead in the road, shot by Indians, secreted in the Hammock near. He was stript entirely of his clothing, one eye cut out, and his body otherwise mutilated. A soldier was with him who escaped and reports that four shots were fired at them. Col. Whistler, Mrs. W. and Miss Curtis dined with the General to day. Our dinner was quite in style and well worthy of the giver and recievers [sic]. Tomorrow morning early we leave for Washington by way of Pilatka: distant 48 miles, where we take the Steam Boat for Charleston.

THURSDAY MAY 23d 1839. We were up bright and early this morning for a start. At 7 A.M. we bade adieu to our many agreeable friends and with a company of Dragoons commanded by Capt. Dade as an escort, we took up our line of march for Pilatka on the St. Johns river. The morning was foggy which contributed much to our comfort and allowed us to travel much faster than if we had been exposed to the sun. The middle of the day was quite hot and our road being entirely through pine barrens we were much exposed to the influence of the sun. The road to day has been good, some sand, but most of the way hard and dry. The country we have passed through is beautiful in appearance, but hardly susceptible to cultivation. No part of it has ever been settled other than by Indians, the remains of whose huts or villages we found on the way. There are many small ponds on the

131. Major Robert A. Forsyth, Paymaster.

route, some having hard sandy bottoms, others muddy, with an abundance of tall rank grass and pond lillies. At 1/2 past 5 P.M. we encamped on Orange Creek, a stream connecting Orange Lake with the Ock-le-war-har river. Its about three feet deep, clear water, and twelve or fifteen feet wide. Col. Harney is with us on his return to Key Biscayne, having in company Chitto-tusteenuggee and his companions. We have come to day 25 miles. 14 miles from Ft. King we came to Fort Mackay, a picket fort with block houses and situated in the midst of pine trees, with a beautiful lake upon its right.¹³²

FRIDAY MAY 24, 1839. The Head Quarters of the Army was in close order last night. Four of us enjoyed a comfortable nights rest in one tent. The General occupied his cot, Schriver four camp stools, and Miller and myself claimed a preemption upon the ground. At 1/2 past 5 we were mounted and moving. The morning was delightfully cool and clear. Six miles brought us to a deep creek, a stream about twenty feet wide and five deep, a good bridge crosses it. Fort Lawson was our next resting place, 18 miles from Orange Creek and four from Pilatka.¹³³ Its a neat and strong built picket work with one block house, & erected in the midst of pine woods. A lake of clear water and sandy bottom is upon the north and south side of it. A Sergeant of the 7th Infantry with six men is in charge of it. The road we have passed over to day, is now, which is an unusually dry season, very good, but during the wet season it must in many places be impassible. There are many streams with bridges and some very long causeways. The country is extremely flat and where its not muddy, there is deep sand. This is the worst road we have seen in Florida. There are a great number of ponds on the road, some of them very beautiful and picturesque. At 12 M. we were at Pilatka having come 23 miles. Found there Lt. Hanson¹³⁴ & Dr. Stinnecke¹³⁵ with whom we dined. At 1/2 past 5 the boat arrived

132. Fort Mackay was located on the Ockalawaha River, "fourteen miles north of Fort King, on the road leading from there to Pilatka, to which post it is thirty eight miles. It is pleasantly situated upon rising ground and surrounded by tall pines. Upon the east side of it there is an extensive Lake of clear water. The soil about it is poor." (Sprague's comment in back of volume containing this journal).

133. Fort Lawson was located near Pilatka.

134. 1st Lieutenant Weightman K. Hanson, 7th Infantry.

135. Assistant surgeon Henry Stinnecke.

and at 7 we were off on our way to Charleston. We landed Col. Harney and his companions at Picolata. This day has been clear and warm.

SATURDAY MAY 25th 1839. Last night we had a pleasant run from Picolata and early this morning we were in full sight of St. Marys. We had quite a rough sea and the General was somewhat seasick. The rest of us avoided it by keeping our births [*sic*]. Our boat is very pleasant, there being no other passengers than ourselves and Doct. Archer of the Army.¹³⁶ Capt. Brooks, the commander of the boat is a clever gentlemanly man, and does all in his power to contribute to our pleasure and comfort. At 1/2 past three O'clock this afternoon we landed at Frederica a place well worthy of a visit. The remains of a Tapia fort, built by Gen. Oglethorpe some years previous to the Revolution, are in a state of remarkable preservation. Portions of the walls are standing from twenty to thirty feet high, and parts of the barracks and the commanding officers quarters are still to be seen, about one and a half story high. A sociable old farmer and his family reside there, who treated us very politely. We returned on board after rambling more than an hour. Some time during the night we shall pass within seven miles of Savannah, but no stop is to be made until we arrive at Charleston. The day is extremely pleasant.

SUNDAY MAY 26th 1839. How shall a Sabbath be spent on board a Steam Boat? Certainly in no more appropriate manner than after the promises of the Scripture, "where two or three are gathered together in my name I will be in the midst of them." True, we were unavoidably gathered together, but I doubt very much whether any of us regarded any name other than the name of the day. The General read his Testament, and the rest of us talked, and read such books as we could find. Shooting alligators from the boat, as they stretched full length upon the beach, afforded us much sport, though not well comporting with the solemnity of the day. Passed Beaufort, S.C. at 11 A.M. Its a neat town, standing some ten miles from the sea. At this season of the year, its completely deserted. Most of the houses are built

136. Assistant Surgeon Robert Archer.

of Tapia, three and four stories high. In the morning early we expect to be in Charleston. The day has been pleasant and we have had a delightful run through the arms of the sea, bordered as they are with the most extensive and highly cultivated plantations.

MONDAY [MAY] 27th 1839. At sunrise this morning we were in sight of Charleston. We were up, - dressed and ready for the town. At 7 O'Clock we landed and made our way for a shave and a good breakfast, the latter we procured at 8 O'Clock at James' a small but very genteel house. Found there Majr. McNiell formerly of the Army, and Lt. Hathaway of the Army.¹³⁷ By the Generals desire I gave to the Editor of the Southern Patriot a copy of the late General Order issued in Florida, which was published in the evening paper. Saw nothing new or interesting in Charleston but newspapers, which after coming out of the woods is a great luxury.

Took our dinner at 2 P.M. in order to be prepared for the Wilmington boat which leaves at 4 P.M. Our dinner, like every thing connected with *the Staff*, was sociable and agreeable, and by four O'Clock we were on board in good spirits and ready for a start.

The day has been hot, though the wind was high, which enveloped the city in a cloud of dust. Tomorrow morning we expect to be in Wilmington by 7 O'Clock.

TUESDAY [MAY] 28th 1839. Last night was a rough one and knocked us about without much mercy. The General was quite sick, so were the rest of us who did not keep their births [*sic*]. It rained and blew very hard nearly all night, and so very dark, it was with difficulty the mouth of Cape Fear river could be entered. After a comfortable breakfast we landed at Wilmington about 1/2 past 8 A.M. and took the cars for Weldon.

Lt. Miller remained at Wilmington to see some of his friends, where he designs remaining one day. Arrived at Waynesboro at 1 P.M. Took our dinner. Here we took stages for Enfield a distance of sixty five miles, and prepared ourselves for a tedious nights ride. Five of us occupy the stage, which gives us an opportunity for a good sleep. Got our supper at 1/2 past 9 P.M. which

137. 1st Lieutenant John S. Hathaway, 1st Artillery

contributes much to a mans comfort upon occasions like the present.

WEDNESDAY [MAY] 29th 1839. Last night we got along very comfortably - some talked - some whistled - and the majority snored, and daylight exhibited what is the most ludicrously interesting - a coach-load of passengers after a nights ride.

At 1/2 past 4 we arrived at Enfield, where we took the cars for Weldon, Eighteen or twenty miles, where we obtained a most welcome breakfast. After which we came on to a place called Gettysburgh, the intersection of the Petersburg rail road. This route to Washington the General thought preferable to the one by way of Norfolk. We arrived at Petersburg at 1/2 past 2, took our dinner at 3, and by 4 we were in the cars on our way to Fredericksburg, at which place we arrived at 10 P.M. Here we took Stages for the Steamboat about ten miles distant, where we arrived 1/2 past 12 P.M. We were much fatigued and the boat furnished every comfort for a good nights rest. Capt. Shriver left us here for Norfolk on his way home in Pennsylvania. The General and myself were alone, and we felt the loss of both Miller and Schriver, after enjoying a close and agreeable companionship for more than two months.

THURSDAY 30th MAY 1839. After a comfortable nights rest we arrived at Washington at 1/2 past 5 A.M. We took a Hack and were soon at home. At least, the General was, as for myself, it was a home, if a resting place in this broad world can be called such, for I have neither a "habitation nor a name." The journey from Fort King to Washington was accomplished in eight days, a distance of nine hundred and fifty miles. We had been absent from Washington two months and eight days. Within that time *two thousand eight hundred and four Miles* have been travelled by Steamboats, Rail roads - Stages and on horse-back, and within that time, much has been accomplished. The Florida War has been brought to a close, to go back to our first arrival in Florida, follow up the events from day to day, and read the discouraging opinions of the most experienced officers in Florida, it can with propriety be said - "much has been accomplished." In most every undertaking we are apt to be governed, more or less, by the opinions of experienced men about us, but in this instance, Gen-

eral Macomb pursued his own independent course, and in spite of the remonstrance of those who professed to be wiser upon the subject, and the opinions of political men who forced themselves upon him, and the representatives of grand juries who assailed with virulence his proposed measures, he marked out his course, followed it with zeal and fidelity and accomplished a measure which will secure peace to the Territory of Florida - save the Government millions of dollars and relieve the Army from a disgraceful contest, which has already destroyed its discipline and broken down the constitution and spirit of its officers. General Macombs instructions from the War Department were vague and unsatisfactory. He was directed to prosecute the war with vigour - treat the Indians with kindness and attention, whatever may have been their barbarities - call out the Militia to protect the frontiers, and withdraw such portions of the regular troops from the Territory as he thought expedient, and to make a treaty of peace with the Indians, based upon the treaty made at Paynes Landing. If the instructions had been adhered to, nothing would have been accomplished, for they meant nothing, and General Macomb saw at once the necessity of something being done, and he adopted a measure, upon his own responsibility, which would best secure peace to the country, and put an end to the prodigal expenditure of money which as characterized this war from its very commencement. So far as the instructions were understood, public opinion was all he could rely upon for support, and this, in and about Florida, would be anything but favourable. The war, its true, has prevented the settlement of Florida, but it has been the means of filling the pockets of influential and designing men, who have done and are still doing, all in their power to aid in its continuance. To adopt and carry out so decided a measure without knowing the wishes and views of the Government and against the openly arrived at opinions of those who ought best to know their own good. It required much fortitude - much zeal and forbearance, and an intimate acquaintance with the condition of things, and an elevated praise - worthy sense of humanity and justice. The country must and will see the justness of the measure. These Indians were willing to be at peace and were glad to take any portion of their country for a residence, a part in which no white man can live, and to continue to hunt them,

scattered as they were all over the country, expending money and the lives of our citizens, is seemed more an act of madness than the conduct of civilized men. No one who was present at the different councils held, doubted for a moment the sincerity of the Indians. Some officers were at the Councils, who have been in Florida the last three years, and witnessed every thing that has transpired. They, certainly, are capable of forming a correct opinion. The Indians will comply strictly with all they have promised, and if the Government is actuated by the same sense of duty to the country, to the Indians, to the people of Florida, which dictated and brought about the recent negotiation, we may look with confidence for a continuance of peace and prosperity in a country which for four years has been ravaged by the most disgraceful war, that ever can or ever will stain the pages of the history of our country.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Provisional Gazetteer of Florida Place-Names of Indian Derivation, Either Obsolescent or Retained, Together with Others of Recent Application. By J. Clarence Simpson. Edited by Mark F. Boyd. (Tallahassee, Florida Geological Survey, Special Publication No. 1, 1956. X+ 158 pp. Maps.)

THE LANDSCAPE OF FLORIDA is dotted with Indian names, some of them with the long, rolling music of Chattahoochee and Okeechobee, others' with the terseness of Micco and Nittaw. But all of them, with the exception of a few latter day imports, are part of our historical heritage.

Through an unfortunately short lifetime of interest in all things Floridian, J. Clarence Simpson compiled such information as he could on place-names of Indian origin in our state. The task of editing the manuscript for publication was undertaken by Mark F. Boyd with his usual competence.

There are 277 entries in the gazeteer. In each case the location of the feature is given. Early references in maps and documents are listed, and the meaning, or possible meaning, in the Indian tongue is given. Of particular value is the extensive cross-referencing. The book is easy to use. Four maps at the end of the book aid in locating the place-names discussed in the text.

One cannot help but note the paucity of Florida place-names derived from the truly aboriginal, pre-Seminole, languages of Florida. The vast majority of the names are from the Creek or Hitchiti, i.e., Seminole.

This book is undeniably a valuable reference work for anyone working in the field of Florida History. But to those of us who knew him, it is equally welcome as a posthumous tribute to a modest scholar and scientist. His keen mind ranged widely over such fields as geology, archaeology, natural history and history, and his knowledge of the Florida terrain was unequalled. All of this he gave freely to co-workers. There are not many publications which bear Clarence Simpson's name on their covers, but a great many bear the influence of his knowledge on their pages.

JOHN W. GRIFFIN

St. Augustine Historical Society

[194]

Freedom River: Florida 1845. By Marjory Stoneman Douglas.
(New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. 264 pp. Illustrations. \$3.00)

FREEDOM RIVER, one of the first books published in "The Strength of the Union" series, like the others develops the theme of building the Union and the contribution which each state brought to it. Although this book is intended for teenagers the authenticity of background and the quality of writing are such that adults will read it with enjoyment.

The story takes us back to 1845, that memorable period when the territory of Florida had to decide whether to enter the Union as one state or two; slave state or free. In the foreward the author provides the historical setting and sets forth the political problems involved.

Against this background we have an absorbing chronicle of the friendship of three boys: Richard, son of a white settler; Billy Micco, a Seminole Indian; and Eben, a Negro slave. Each boy evolves as a distinct individual. As the story develops we see each of them working out his own particular problem. Richard, who studies at the Big Plantation with Mr. Fitzpatrick's two daughters under the tutelage of Mr. Turner, looks forward to the day when he can go to college. From a rather thoughtless and carefree boy we see him develop into a mature young man accepting the responsibility of making his own decisions. Billy Micco approaching manhood must, as is the custom of the Seminoles, fast and pray to the Great Spirit as he prepares for the Green Corn Dance. Eben, who has escaped from a slaver and landed on a deserted island, is found and claimed by Richard. He is treated kindly and given a modicum of freedom in Richard's home but longs, nevertheless, to gain full freedom. He runs away and joins the Indians in the Everglades, but at the end of the story we find him setting out in a boat made of a hollow log, seeking his own people in the Bahamas.

The three boys, each speaking a different language, find a basis for friendship in their mutual love of the out of doors. Memorable events in the story are the deer hunt where Richard proves his stamina in keeping up with the Indian and Negro; the making of the indigo, with Eben recalling from his misty memory

the exact process; the picnic held in celebration of the news that Florida had been accepted into the Union as one slave state; and the Green Corn Dance of the Seminoles witnessed by Richard and Eben.

This vigorously written account of an important era in the history of Florida will kindle the enthusiasm and fire the imagination of any one who reads it and will recreate the atmosphere much more adequately than a text book. Mrs. Douglas shows an admirable understanding of the life and history of the time and in her vivid descriptions of Florida wildlife her own love of nature comes through clearly on almost every page.

The format is good: clear typography, sturdy binding and excellent paper. Colorful end papers and black and white illustrations by Edward Shenton enhance the attractiveness of the book.

AGNES GREGORY

Florida State University

NEWS AND NOTES

Gifts

THREE BILLS, currency issued by the Tallahassee Rail Road Company, were the gift of George E. Lewis, Sr., Chairman of the Board of the Lewis State Bank, Tallahassee. The bills are in three denominations: \$1, \$2 and \$3.

A framed photograph of a portrait of General Duncan Lamont Clinch was given the Society by Duncan L. Clinch of Miami and Chicago, one of the General's great-grandsons. General Clinch served in Florida under Andrew Jackson and, later, in the second Seminole War. At various times his name was given to three forts (located at Fernandina, Frostproof and near the mouth of the Withlacoochee River) and a campsite (near Pensacola) in Florida.

Mrs. Laura Emerson Gradick and Mrs. Harriet Emerson Cull of Jacksonville have contributed documents relative to the founding of Sorrento, a Lake County community which their forebears helped to establish. They also presented twenty copies of back issues of *The Florida Historical Quarterly* for the Society's file of duplicates.

The Chattahoochee River Boundary

The Chattahoochee River is the common boundary of Florida and Georgia for a distance of some 20 miles east of Jackson County, Florida. The treaties of 1783 between the United States and Great Britain and of 1795 between the United States and Spain both describe the boundary line as passing down the center of the river. No subsequent Congressional action has changed this designated line. However, the U. S. Geological Survey showed the boundary as the west bank of the river on advance sheet maps published last year.

Mark F. Boyd, past president of the Society, brought the discrepancy to the attention of Survey officials who, convinced after extensive investigation, recorded the correction. The maintenance of the true line has a far-reaching significance because of the growing commercial use of the river.

The Florida State Library

The library recently acquired ten volumes of the session laws of the Legislative Council of the territory of Florida.

Mary McRory, reference librarian, attended the Institute for the Administration and Preservation of Archives held by the American University in cooperation with the National Archives in Washington in June and July.

The Church of Latter Day Saints of Jesus Christ microfilmed the old county tax rolls in the library during the spring. There are approximately 1,200 of the tax rolls, dating, roughly, from 1845 to 1870. Pension records still in the custody of the State Board of Pensions were also microfilmed.

The Florida State Museum

Under a contract with the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, the museum completed displays last year for museums at the Olustee Battlefield and Constitutional Memorial Park. A similar agreement has been reached for displays at the Bulow ruins and at the site of the Dade massacre. A. Gilbert Wright, curator of exhibits at the museum in Gainesville, invites correspondence with anyone having authentic materials relating to these two sites.

Recent displays in the state museum itself include a period room of a Florida home of the 1890's and several cases of Victorian glassware and adornments.

One of the important responsibilities of the museum is to serve as a depository for the material culture of Florida. Items of historical significance, other than books and documents, are being added to the growing collection. Here they are not only preserved for the future use of historians, but are also potentially available for display in this or other public museums as needed. Persons interested in this program, who have custody of such historical materials, may wish to write Ripley Bullen, curator of social sciences in the museum.

College News

Melvin H. Jackson, instructor at the University of Miami, received his doctorate in history at Harvard University in June. His dissertation and specialty are in the field of United States maritime history. Robert C. Beyer has returned from a year's leave of absence spent in Chile as a member of an economic mission advising the Chilean government on financial matters. Charlton W. Tebeau, chairman of the history department, spent two months in North Carolina working on his history of Collier County Florida. William B. Munson represented the history department of the teaching staff of the University of Miami summer session at Oaxaca, Mexico. C. Harold King's basic history text, *The History of Western Civilization to the Middle of the 17th Century*, was published by Scribner's in the spring and is being well received. W. Edmund Hicks, a doctoral candidate at the University of Kentucky, joined the history staff in the second semester and will remain for the fall term.

The research council of Florida State University has awarded grants to three members of the history department: Weymouth T. Jordan for research in ante-bellum Southern history; Earl R. Beck for research in recent German history and Calvin J. Billman for research in Latin American history. Annie M. Popper, a faculty member since 1930, retired in June. Charles W. Arnade, formerly of the University of Tampa, and Ludwell H. Johnson, formerly of William and Mary College, have joined the staff as assistant professors. Louise Salley will be visiting professor at Queens College during the current year.

John E. Johns has returned to Stetson University after a year at the University of North Carolina where he completed work for his doctorate. Malcolm M. Wynn, following a year in France on a Fulbright scholarship, has also rejoined the staff. Gilbert L. Lycan, head of the department of history and political science, has been appointed as a member of an advisory committee of outstanding historians to aid the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission in planning the observation of the bicentenary year of Hamilton's birth.

Donald E. Worcester, head of the department of history at the University of Florida, has accepted a year's appointment as

visiting Professor at the University of Madrid, where he will give lectures on American History. During his absence, Rembert W. Patrick will be acting head of the department. George Osborn was visiting Professor at Indiana University during the summer session of 1956, and David Chalmers was on the summer session staff of the City College of New York. L. N. McAlister spent the summer in Mexico City where he was engaged in research. John A. Harrison has returned to his teaching after a year as a Ford Faculty Fellow.

John C. Blocker, former president of the Florida Historical Society, was in Mexico during most of the summer and attended the summer school of the University of Mexico.

Activities of Historical Societies

More than 2,000 persons attended the official opening of the House of Refuge Museum near Stuart early this year. The Martin County Historical Society, sponsors of the museum, is one of the youngest in the state yet has had notable success in crystalizing interest in the area's history. M. P. Nelson was recently elected president of the society. Other officers are Mrs. John W. Stokes vice president, Lillian Armstrong secretary and Charles A. Porter treasurer. Charles Val Clear is the director of the museum and Fred Yost serves as curator.



Reminiscences of pioneers of Fort Pierce were heard this summer by a nationwide audience over National Broadcasting Company's *Monitor* program. This program was the result of a local radio station's interest in recording the history of the city during a meeting of early settlers.

Officers of the St. Lucie County Historical Society at Fort Pierce were re-elected in July for the ensuing year. L. W. Halbe will serve again as president with Dewey Crawford vice president, E. O. Denison second vice president, Mrs. O. C. Peterson secretary and Don Horton treasurer.



Alfred Jackson and Kathryn Abbey Hanna were guest speakers before the annual meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida in June. The Hannas' subject "Confederate Re-

fugees in Mexico," was based on their latest book, not yet released.

The Polk County Historical Commission has made plans to mark all historical points of interest in the area. At a meeting in June, the commission expressed an interest in obtaining biographical data on pioneer settlers and asked that descendants communicate with the commission at the Court House in Bartow.



Four markers have been erected recently by the Pensacola Historical Society in cooperation with civic groups. These new markers commemorate the following: Cantonment, the site of encampments of General Andrew Jackson's troops in 1814; *Vacaria Baja*, the home of Don Manuel Gonzales, where General and Mrs. Jackson visited awaiting the transfer of West Florida to the United States in 1821; Chase Street, named for Colonel William H. Chase, engineer of the city's harbor defenses; and the Pantan Trading Post.



Lewis F. Law was elected president of the Halifax Historical Society at the June annual meeting, succeeding John R. Parkinson. Other officers designated were Mrs. V. D. Glover vice president and Mrs. John E. Hebel to serve again as secretary-treasurer and curator. D. Biemann Alexander, Mrs. J. B. Garrison, Mrs. Lucile B. Mahieu, John R. Parkinson, Mrs. Cary E. Strickland and Miss Grace Wilson were chosen for three-year terms on the board of directors.

A building committee was created to study the possibility of raising funds for a museum, with William Gomon being named chairman. Others named to the committee were Alexander, Miss Bates and Harley Freeman.

James Miller Leake

James Miller Leake, Emeritus Head of the department of history and political science at the University of Florida, died in Gainesville on June 26, 1956, at the age of seventy-six. Dr. Leake had been a Director of the Florida Historical Society and a member of our society since shortly after he came to the University of Florida in 1919. A specialist in American history his book, *The Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution*, had received the Henrico Medallion as a prize essay when published by Johns Hopkins University in 1918. He also was author of a short history of Florida used in the public schools in the 1920's. He had directed a number of masters and doctoral theses on Florida history. Some of these have been published as articles in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, or as books. Dr. Leake will probably be best remembered as an outstanding teacher who stimulated interest in history in two generations of college students. He was born in Ashland, Virginia, on October 1, 1879.

CONTRIBUTORS

E. P. PANAGOPOULOS is Assistant Professor of History at San Jose State College, California.

LUCY AMES EDWARDS (Mrs. Ray O. Edwards) of Jacksonville with the aid of her sons compiled a 295 page manuscript of inscriptions from grave markers in Duval County. Copies of this manuscript were given to the Florida State Library, the Jacksonville Public Library, the Daughters of the American Revolution State Library (housed in the Albertson Public Library of Orlando), and the Daughters of the American Revolution National Library in Washington.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR., is Project Associate in the National Records Management Council, New York, N. Y.

NEW MEMBERS

Nominated by

Mrs. Ulmont S. Allison, Gainesville	Julian C. Yonge
A. A. Johnson, Miami	H. U. Feibelman
E. N. Davis, Frostproof.....	Ed. T. Keenan
Ben Hill Griffin, Jr., Frostproof.....	Ed. T. Keenan
Thomas Jaques, Frostproof.....	Ed. T. Keenan
William Boehmer, Okeechobee.....	Ed. T. Keenan
Horace G. Ridaught, Citra.....	Ed. T. Keenan
Margaret Jackson Crichton, Frostproof.....	Ed. T. Keenan
Wilbur Schneberger, Clearwater (Fellow)	Ruby L. Carson
James C. Fountain, Frostproof.....	Ed. T. Keenan
Wiltrude D. Buhl, Weirsdale.....	Wilbur A. Willis
Charles E. Bennett, Jacksonville.....	R. W. Patrick
H. Bertram Smith, Melbourne.....	Julian C. Yonge
Mary E. Husson, St. Augustine.....	Nina S. Hawkins
Elmo Prater, Tallahassee	Mark F. Boyd
Eugene Tyler, West Palm Beach.....	David A. Forshay
Gerald A. Alberts, Yonkers, N. Y.....	R. W. Patrick
Theodore Lesley, Tampa.....	D. B. McKay
Caleb King, Sr., Jacksonville.....	Dena Snodgrass
Worth Dexter, Jr., Sarasota.....	Winder H. Surrency
Howard Pendleton Rives, Jr., Clearwater.....	Lucius S. Ruder
Beatrice Wilder, Winter Park.....	Elizabeth Baldwin
A. Waller Smith, Clearwater.....	Lucius S. Ruder
Donald Alvord, St. Petersburg Beach.....	Lucius S. Ruder
Library, Georgia St. College of Business Adm., Atlanta	
Paul F. Randolph, Clearwater.....	Lucius S. Ruder
Clearwater Public Library, Clearwater	Lucius S. Ruder
Mrs. Frederic Woods.....	Lucius S. Ruder
W. S. Zshach, Clearwater.....	Lucius S. Ruder
Lewis Fogle Law, Daytona Beach.....	Ianthe Bond Hebel
Harold A. Kooman, St. Petersburg.....	Chas A. Robinson
C. H. Schaeffer, Tallahassee	Emmet L. Hill
Clifford C. Snyder, Miami (Fellow).....	John W. Griffin
Lelia Abercrombie, Pensacola.....	Mary Herbert
Harvey E. Oyer, Jr., Boynton Beach.....	David Forshay
Albert Rogero, Clearwater (Life).....	Lucius S. Ruder
Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville (Life)	

