

1956

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### Recommended Citation

White, Jr., Frank F. (1956) "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague's Journal," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 35 : No. 2 , Article 5.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol35/iss2/5>

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

When the party arrived at Garey's Ferry, Macomb immediately commenced negotiations with the Indians to try to arrange a meeting with their chiefs.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup>

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."<sup>10</sup> 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."<sup>11</sup> *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."<sup>12</sup>

*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."<sup>13</sup> *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!!!*"<sup>14</sup> 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."<sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>16</sup> Asst. Adjt. General, Lt. M. S. Miller, aid De Camp, <sup>17</sup> and Lt. Montgomery, 7th Regt. of Infantry; <sup>18</sup> 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, <sup>19</sup> and Mr. Sheppard of N.C. <sup>20</sup> are in our company; very pleasant and intelligent men. At 12 M. passed Fort Washington at present unoccupied. <sup>21</sup> 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, <sup>22</sup> 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,<sup>23</sup> and Cape Fear Light House. *Mrs. Captain Winder* is at present *commanding officer*.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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,<sup>28</sup> Berrien's,<sup>29</sup> and Mr. Bullock.<sup>30</sup> 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. Sibley<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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,<sup>33</sup> 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,<sup>34</sup> Hander,<sup>35</sup> King,<sup>36</sup> and some more-unimportant characters. And the citizens gerially [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 gaily 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.

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,<sup>28</sup> Berrien's,<sup>29</sup> and Mr. Bullock.<sup>30</sup> 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. Sibley<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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,<sup>33</sup> 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,<sup>34</sup> Hander,<sup>35</sup> King,<sup>36</sup> and some more-unimportant characters. And the citizens gerially [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 gaily 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> General Taylor arrived here fortunately, last night, and the General has been in private conversation with him nearly all day.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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. Harney<sup>44</sup> at Fort Mellon,<sup>45</sup> 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,<sup>46</sup> 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°. <sup>47</sup>

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,<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> Lt. Turner<sup>51</sup> and Lt. Shiras<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> 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]<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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. Stokes<sup>58</sup> of the 4th Artillery arrived this morning from Traders Hill<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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. Scott<sup>61</sup> and Monroe's<sup>62</sup> 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 McLane<sup>63</sup> 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 Artillery<sup>64</sup> 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,<sup>65</sup> I was placed upon the Court together with Maj. Ashby,<sup>66</sup> Capt. Backus,<sup>67</sup> Lt. Steven[s],<sup>68</sup> Lt. Medcalf, [Metcalf]<sup>69</sup> and Mumford,<sup>70</sup> & 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 <sup>71</sup>	Qr. Master
Major Ashby	2nd Dragons
Capt. Backus	1st Infantry
Capt. Alexander <sup>72</sup>	6th Infantry
Capt. Mackay <sup>73</sup>	Top. Engineers
Surgeon Maxwell <sup>74</sup>	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 <sup>75</sup>	2nd Dragoons
Lt. Asheton <sup>76</sup>	do
Lt. Metcalf	Ordnance Corps
Lt. Mumford	1st Infantry
Lt. Stover <sup>77</sup>	do
Lt. Soley <sup>78</sup>	4th Artillery
Lt. McKinstry	2nd Infantry
Lt. Casey <sup>79</sup>	Commissary Dept.
Lt. Hayden <sup>80</sup>	2nd Infantry
Lt. Ransom <sup>81</sup>	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 expences [*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.<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> 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. Rains<sup>86</sup> and Lt. Sheppard [Shepherd]<sup>87</sup> of the 7th Regt and fifty men. Dr. Sloan is also there.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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, <sup>90</sup> Lt. Gatlin, <sup>91</sup> Paul, <sup>92</sup> Wells <sup>93</sup> and Dr. Barnes. <sup>94</sup> 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 <sup>95</sup> arrived to day with a company of Dragoons from Fort Butler 45 miles distant. Capt. Searle, Qr Master, <sup>96</sup> and Dr. Brush of New York arrived from Pilatka which is on the St. Johns fifty miles from this.<sup>97</sup> 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 <sup>98</sup> a brother of Tiger-tails, <sup>99</sup> 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 Tallahassee, 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<sup>100</sup> and Capt. Abercrombie<sup>101</sup> of the 1st Infantry arrived to day from Fort Wachisassa fifty miles from this directly north, with six men as an escort.<sup>102</sup> 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<sup>103</sup> and Asst. Adjt. General Griffin,<sup>104</sup> 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 <sup>105</sup> 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. <sup>106</sup> 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. Burns<sup>107</sup> 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-nugge<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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-Tustenugee 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.<sup>110</sup> 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]<sup>111</sup> arrived to day from Fort Fanning,<sup>112</sup> 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 Macomb <sup>113</sup> 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. Holmes<sup>114</sup> and Dr. Moore<sup>115</sup> from Fort Russell,<sup>116</sup> 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.<sup>117</sup>

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 has 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 vent 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*], <sup>118</sup> 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,<sup>119</sup> 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.<sup>120</sup> 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.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup> 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.<sup>123</sup> 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,<sup>124</sup> informing him of the death of Lt. Hulbert of the 6th Infantry.<sup>125</sup> 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 <sup>126</sup> and Dr. Taliafero <sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup>

MONDAY MAY 20th 1839. Last night Col. Hamey of the Dragoons, Lt. Miller, Lt. Darling, Lt. Graham, Lt. Merrill,<sup>129</sup> 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. Moore<sup>130</sup> 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.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup>

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.<sup>133</sup> 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. Hanson<sup>134</sup> & Dr. Stinnecke<sup>135</sup> 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.<sup>136</sup> 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 Genl. 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.<sup>137</sup> 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.