

1959

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### Recommended Citation

Thompson, Arthur W. (1959) "A Massachusetts Traveller on the Florida Frontier," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 38 : No. 2 , Article 5.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol38/iss2/5>

## A MASSACHUSETTS TRAVELLER ON THE FLORIDA FRONTIER

by ARTHUR W. THOMPSON

THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE is an excerpt from the travel diary of W. T. Allen. Leaving his home in Leominster, Massachusetts, on March 12, 1852, Allen enjoyed a forty-nine day tour of the Eastern portion of the United States. He journeyed by rail and boat to New York City and then by boat to Savannah, Georgia, and Florida. His stay in Florida lasted sixteen days, from March 21st to April 6th, and the account of his experiences on the Florida frontier comprises about fifteen of the fifty-five pages of his diary. After leaving Florida, Allen travelled to Savannah, Macon, Montgomery, Mobile, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Niagara, Albany, New York and Boston, returning to Leominster on April 29th, 1852.

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the writer. From the diary itself, however, one may conclude that Allen was probably a member of the middle class. The observations appear to be characteristic of that class at the time, commonplace, with occasional flashes of cultural interest.

It is likely that the diary was written at the time of the actual trip. On the other hand, occasional changes in tense and inconsistencies in diction indicate the possibility that some of the material may have been written after the event. In any case, there appears to be considerable accuracy in connection with his observations on the Florida scene.

The diary has been transcribed as originally set down by the author, with no changes in spelling, punctuation, etc. That portion of the manuscript reproduced here, including the entries for the period after he left Florida, is located in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library.

Journal of my journey commenced Mar. 12th, 1852-Friday-Took car from Leominster, <sup>1</sup> Friday Eve. March 12-arrived at New York City at 9 a.m. Saturday March 13-took breakfast at [. . . ?] hotel-enquired for Co[u]s. [in] George Blanchard, but

1. Leominster was a small town in Worcester County about forty miles northwest of Boston.

did not see him.-walked about the city, till I was about tired out -went into the American Art Union Gallery, <sup>2</sup> where I saw the largest collection of paintings that I ever saw together, and some of them were fine-I rested myself, and enjoyed seeing the paintings at the same time-called on George Colburn, and found him "O.K."-Went down to the river to see if any steamer was bound for Havana W.I., but found that none were to start for there very soon, but found Steamers bound for Virginia, Charleston S.C. & Savannah, Ga.-I was determined to go somewhere, so up to the Hotel I went and got my valise and went down to the river again -While looking among the vessels, I found a California knife, such as are sometimes used for other purposes than whittling, eating apples &c- thinks I to myself, that's just the thing, now I shall be safe (?) to go any where that I chose, so I pocketed it without saying a word to any one, and nobody saying a word to me-'twas cheap for so much happiness,-as it cost nothing, and was *worth all it cost* -just as they were commencing to pull in the plank, I ran aboard the "Florida" bound Savannah Ga. I found that the fare to Savannah was the same as to Charleston, so I preferred [*sic*] the longer ride for the same money-the first thing that I did was to secure my state-room midship, as there is *less motion* there than in any other part of the boat-We went out of the Harbor in fine style-the Richmond & Charleston Steamer started out at the same time, and we made quite a *show* <sup>3</sup> -When I went up on deck, who should I come across but a gentleman that I had a long talk with on board the steamer in crossing the Sound <sup>4</sup> - I felt quite well acquainted with him, and we had

2. The American Art Union, with galleries in New York, was founded in the late 1830's. By 1849, some 19,000 persons in the Eastern portion of the United States were paying five dollars a year for membership. This entitled them to an engraving of some contemporary painting, as well as a lottery ticket on one of a few originals available. In the fall of 1852, the Supreme Court dissolved the organization because of its lottery activities.

3. Actually, there were frequent steamers to Havana. One ship left New York for that port on March 15. The "Florida" sailed for Savannah on March 13th. The ship bound for Charleston was the "Union," not the "Richmond." This is confirmed by the author's reference to the "Union" in his March 15th entry. *New York Times*, March 15, 1852.

4. Reference here is to Long Island Sound. The author probably travelled due south from Leominster to New London, Connecticut and then by boat across the Sound to New York City. There were several alternative routes at the time and it is not possible to determine which was used.

some good talks together -After we got out to sea, I was quite seasick till the day that we got to the Savannah river -The steamer was most splendidly fitted up, and they seemed to make a business of eating-breakfast at 8 a.m. luncheon at 12 m.-dinner at 2 P.M.-tea at 6 & Supper at 8 or 9 P.M.-I was sick most of the time, so did not enjoy the good things, so much as I otherwise should-when I felt too sick to make my appearance at the table a servant would come to my room and ask what I'd have. I'd call for what I chose (which was not "*ever so much*") and ate it in my room & then lay down again-Most of the passengers were sick, "more or less"-Mar. 15. Monday-. . .-Passed Charleston at about 6 A.M.--didn't go near enough to see the city-When just opposite Charleston, we could see the "Union" (the C. Steamer that started from N.Y. at de same time that we did) coming on some way behind us-We had not seen each other since we left N.Y. harbour- we *beet [sic] them by considerable* -When we got to the mouth of the Savannah river the tide was out, so we had to wait till *floodtide*, before we could go up to the City-We arrived at Savannah, Mar. 16 at 5 P.M.-Some gentlemen were going to stop at the "Pulaski House,"<sup>5</sup> and they said 'twas the first house in the place, so I concluded to go there too-it rained tremendously when we got to S[avannah]. & then the city did look dreary and dirty enough. I felt as though I should not stay there long, but the next morning was very pleasant. When I got to the Hotel, my trunk or valise was not to be found. I hunted all about and made all the inquiries I could but 'twas "no go"-then I began to be blue-at last some one came along and said that he left some baggage at the "*ladies entrance*," and if I would go with him perhaps we might find it-I looked the baggage over and at last found the missing valise, and right glad was I to find it too, for I should have been in a pretty "fix" if I had lost it when I was so far from home-My "*Sound and Florida*" (Steamer) *friend*, put up at the same Hotel & the morning after I arrived there we took a walk up to the upper part of the city on to a plantation, where I found violets, buttercups &c in blossom-it reminded me of home, but they seemed out of season-Savannah is quite a pleasant place-some of the streets

5. The Pulaski House was, by other contemporary accounts, the leading Savannah hotel of the day.

are very wide, with a *double row* of "China Trees" (or the "Pride of India") running through the centre-The China Tree is a beautiful thing when in bloom-it looks something like the *locust tree*<sup>6</sup> - Some of my "Steamer friends" were going to St. Mary's Fla. and I told them I'd go too-We took the steamer "Welaka," Mar. 20 at 10 A.M. Arrived at Darien at 6 P.M. & went ashore-arrived at St. Mary's at 8 A.M. Mar. 21-left my three friends there, and kept on-saw lots of Pelicans in passing "Pelicans bar"-11 A.M. on the coast of Florida-quite cool-Pelicans all about us diving after fish-12 m. at the mouth of St. John's river-thousand and thousand of Porpoises all about us, jumping out of the water having high times-the beach covered with comerants [*sic*], eagles, water turkeys &c, &c-arrived at Jacksonville Fla. at 3 P.M.-quite a large place-arrived at Picolatta [*sic*] at 8 P.M.-stopped there to "wood up"-beautiful moonlight eve-took a walk up to the village-got to talking with a gentleman while walking-He said that he was from Templeton Mass<sup>7</sup> -I told him that I was from L[eominster].-he said that he was acquainted with a number of people that I'm acquainted with, & I felt acquainted with him right off-he said that he came from N.Y. in the same steamer that I did-that he was journeying with his brother who was out of health-When he left Mass, he could hardly sit up-while I was with this gent, we came across his brother (Prof. Wyman of Harvard College) and I had a nice talk with him<sup>8</sup> -They were well acquainted with Doct. Peck & wife & they said they (Dr. & Wife) were then stopping at St. Augustine & that they intended to call on

6. China Trees or the "Pride of India" were extremely popular shade trees in many, mid-nineteenth-century, Southern cities. Mitford M. Mathews, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (Chicago, 1951), I, 313.

7. Templeton is in Worcester County about twenty miles northwest of Leominster.

8. Both were sons of a physician who worked at Mclean Asylum in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The elder brother, first encountered by Allen, was Morrill Wyman (1812-1903), author of *Memoir of Daniel Treadwell* (Cambridge, 1888). The younger brother, in ill health at the time, was the eminent scientist Jeffries Wyman (1814-1874). The younger Wyman received his medical degree from Harvard College in 1837 and then studied in Paris and London for a year. In 1847, he published the first scientific description of the gorilla. This and other materials were later used by Charles Darwin in his *Descent of Man*. Dirk Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making* (Boston, 1948), pp. 312-13, 382.

them-that was the first that I knew of they [*sic*] being here & I told them I guessed that I'd keep with them & call on the Doct. too as I should like to see some one that I was acquainted with, so far from home. Augustine was only 18 miles from where we were then-arrived at Palatka Monday Mar. 22d at 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> A.M.-quite rainy-took another Steamer for Enterprise-the "Thorn"-saw J.M. Forbes No. 48 State Street-ship merchant on board the boat <sup>9</sup>-he hired a Negro boy to go with him to wait upon him-1.00 pr. day & boarded-11 A.M. stopped to take in wood saw an *Alligator* -Stopped raining quite pleasant- *Alligators in perspective!*- 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> P.M. crossing "Lake George" <sup>10</sup>-alligators all along the shore- March 22. 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> P.M. Ft. Butler-Mar. 23-9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> A.M. Crossing Lake Munroe [*sic*] <sup>11</sup> arrived at Enterprise-a "4 horse town"-at 10 A.M.-Enterprise is on Lake Munroe [*sic*] which is 7 miles long & 4 miles wide-Hotel is situated on a high bluff composed entirely of shells, 4 ft. high- . . .-Mar 24-Mr Forbes & party went up the lake in a sailboat that he purchased at Savannah. They killed an Alligator about 12 ft long, & Prof. Wyman took the skeleton of it-John C. Calhoon's [*sic*] sons <sup>12</sup> own an island in the St. Johns river where they've built quite a nice house and live there during the winter-There are wild cattle and other animals on the island, and they have nice times in hunting them-this eve. *two Calhoons* [*sic*], and another gentleman came up to the Enterprise house. While coming up the river they shot 2 turkeys, one of them weighed 22 Lbs. They brought them both to the Hotel & we had a feast of them-Mar. 25. Pleasant and quite warm-went out hunting with Mr. Wyman, but found no *game* as 'twas in the middle of the day, when everything keeps quiet-early in the morning and about sundown is the time for hunting-I had a most miserable gun, one that I should hardly have dared to have fired, if I had seen

9. John Murray Forbes (1813-1898) was a prominent Boston merchant who, by the age of twenty-four, had made a fortune in the China trade. Later, he assumed a leading position in the commercial and railroad world. His grandfather, the Rev. John Forbes, had been rector at St. Augustine, East Florida. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 507.

10. Lake George is about seventy miles south of Jacksonville and about thirty-five miles west of Daytona Beach.

11. Lake Monroe, about thirty miles south of Lake George.

12. Andrew Pickens Calhoun, James Edward Calhoun, John Caldwell Calhoun, and Patrick Calhoun.

any game, but as it was, I made it answer very well-I had the pleasure of carrying it & nothing else-We saw lots of Turkey Buzzards but did not care about shooting them-Prof. Wyman and Doct. - went to a little grove, a few rods from the house, and shot some Paraqueets [*sic*] - a most beautiful bird- like the common Parrot only smaller-every morning the trees are filled with "mocking birds" which sing finely-6 P.M. a party just returned from up the river-they say that there is a party of Indians opposite, at "Ft. Mellon" <sup>13</sup> that Gen. Hopkins <sup>14</sup> & Capt. Finegan <sup>15</sup> just captured-Friday, March 26 . 1852-Mr. Forbes invited me to take a ride on his boat, & of course I accepted-We went to Ft. Mellon which is quite a little village, with an old church, built at the time of the "Indian War" <sup>16</sup> for a store house -it has been used for a church and all sorts of purposes since-the Indians were confined there, when I saw it-they were a dirty looking lot of them-Eleven in all-some of them were entirely naked, and others merely had shirts on-There was only one Warrior [*sic*] in the whole party, and he had a rope tied around his neck, which one of the soldiers kept hold of all the time-he was about 22 yrs old and looked as though he would fight some, if he had a chance-3 women, 2 boys about 16 or 17 yrs. old, who *could fight* if called upon, but not old enough to be called warriors [*sic*]-They were as "spry as cats," and seemed to be perfectly happy-1 Girl about 15 or 16 yrs. old, & 4 little ones 2 or 3 yrs. old, which were entirely naked, till some ladies and white children brought them some large cotton handkerchiefs to throw over their shoulders, but they did not keep them on long, as they were not used to them, and had rather be as they naturally were, than have them on, so they'd pull them off-one of the women, about 22 yrs. old, was *shot through the thigh with 7 buck shot*. When the Indians were attacked, the warriors [*sic*]

13. The present site is Sanford.

14. General Benjamin Hopkins of Mellonville served in the State forces operating against the Indians in the lower St. Johns River area. Caroline M. Brevard, *A History of Florida* (DeLand, Fla., 1925), II, 12.

15. Joseph Finegan was later associated with David L. Yulee in the building of the Florida Railroad between Fernandina and Cedar Key and, during the Civil War, served as Brigadier-General with the Confederate forces. He died on October 29, 1885 at Fort Mellon (Sanford). *Soldiers of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1903), p.329.

16. The Seminole War, 1835-1842. Armed conflict with the Seminoles continued between 1849 and 1859.

were all from home, except this one (I believe) that was captured-he was keeping guard at the time-in the eve-when Gen. Hopkins party came upon them suddenly, and captured the sentinel before he could give the alarm. The woman that was shot was trying to escape, when one of the soldiers shot her-She was called an *Indian beauty* and she was decidedly handsome-they brought her to Ft. Mellon on a litter between two horses, which must have been very painful to her to be jolted about as she was -there was no surgeon with the party, so that her wound could not be dressed till she arrived at Ft. Mellon-which was a great distance-the surgeon that dressed her at Ft. M. told me that if it had been a *white lady*, she would have been dead long ago, for she was in a high fever then: that her leg was broken *in two places* - and 'twas one of the worst things that could be done with a person with a broken limb, to move them about much-The Doct. tried to make the Gen. leave her with him till she got better, as 'twould "kill her to carry her farther"-The Gen. said, "no, you couldn't kill an Indian," that he should take them all with him, to some *military station* where he could get them off his hands, before he gave any of them up. At the end of the "Indian War" there was a treaty made between the Whites & Indians that the Indians should not go beyond a certain line,<sup>17</sup> that they should agree upon-"Billy Bowlegs"<sup>18</sup> was chief at the time, and all those Indians who would not come *under* him, were to be considered, "*outlaws*" by Indians & Whites *both* - All Indians found *north* of the *line*, after a certain time were to be *shot* or *imprisoned* -Capt. Finegan lives near the *line* and is all-ways [*sic*] having trouble with the Indians-he says they steal his cattle, & he shoots all that he comes across-he's very cunning and understands the Indians very well, and they both *fear* & *hate* him, so that he has to be on the look out all the time for fear they'll murder him-The "Floridians" do not like him very well,

17. Basically, the pre-Civil War policy of the United States government was to remove the Seminoles from Florida and resettle them on Western lands. Earlier, however, the treaty signed at Fort Moultrie led to the removal of the Indians from northern Florida. In return, the Indians received a five million acre reservation in southern Florida. Neither arrangement proved very satisfactory to many of the Seminoles. *Florida Statutes*, III (1941), pp. 126-31.

18. Billy Bowlegs, Seminole chief, finally left Florida for the West in May, 1857.

for they think he is trying to have another *Indian War*, for *his benefit*, as his business is raising cattle, and if there should be a war, he would find a market for his cattle, as he could *furnish* the *soldiers*-at the time this party was captured the people about there were frightened very much, as they thought the Indians would not take it *peacably* [*sic*], having their wives & children stolen from them-one old woman said that she was Billy Bowleg's sister, & the woman that was wounded was imprisoned some time ago at Smyrnia [*sic*], with her little child, but she made her escape & left her child-some of our party tried to make her understand that her child was at Smyrnia then, and that she would see it.-They said "Picaninny-Smyrnia," but she didn't seem to understand them at all-Where I was staying was one of the first settlements from the *line* & I did not know but that I might be woke up by the "war Whoop" some night, though I didn't fear it very much-some of the visitors at the Hotel were much frightened, and were for leaving right off-a great many families living outside the settlements, moved *in* for protection-There was quite an excitement all the time, till I left-Saturday, March 27. went to the Post Office at Daponts [?] & then to Ft. Kingsbury with Mr. Wyman & Mr. John Kinports [?] of Phila-Sunday March 28-took a sail with Mr. Forbes, had a nice time, but very little wind, so that we could not *sail* very fast but were in no hurry, as we had nothing else to do-very warm-in the eve, went with Mr. Wyman to Mr. Bethe 's house and saw them making a coffin for Mr. Price, who died of consumption at our house just after I came there-they were making it by *torchlight*. another gentleman from Maryland died of consumption Mar. 26 and was buried at Ft. Mellon-Mr. Price's brother arrived at the hotel the eve that he died-he seemed glad to see him, as he was away fom all his friends, excepting those that he'd got acquainted with at the Hotel-it must have been very sad for him to be sick-so sick-so far from home and *alone*- believe his home was in Georgia-Monday Mar. 29. East Wind-showers-very sultry-Mar. 30. Started from Enterprise with Messers Wyman, Mr. Forbes & Co. at 2 P.M. for Picolata. Arrived at Palatka Mar. 31. at 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> A.M.-the passengers killed lots of alligators &c in going down the river-Messers Wyman & I stayed at Mrs. Judge

Rieds<sup>19</sup> till evening, then hired a man to carry us to St. Augustine, which is 18 miles-I walked a part of the way, as 'twas very tiresome riding as we had to go very slow on account of the sand being so deep, that the horses could not go faster than a walk much of the way-we passed the spot where "Wild Cat"<sup>20</sup> and his party after their escape from St. Marks Castle,<sup>21</sup> attacked a party of "play actors," killing a great many of them and taking their wardrobe-in 15 minutes after they were attacked, "Wild Cat" was dressed as "Richard III"!-We arrived at St. Augustine at 2 A.M. April 1., and "put up" at the "Magnolia House" a very fine hotel-called at the Post Office, and there saw Dr. Peck-in the evening called on Dr. Peck & wife with Messers Wyman. There I saw Miss Theresa Buswill [?]. I was right glad to see her & I had *no* idea of seeing *her* there, as I did not know that she was with the Dr. & Wife-had a very pleasant call-April 2d Dr. P. Messers Wyman & I went down to the beach in a "dug-out" (a boat made by digging out a large tree)-We started at 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> A.M.-had a nice row down-ran aground a few times, but without any serious damage being done-found lots of beautiful shells &c-I found one very large one, which I gave to Doct. P. as 'twas too large for me to carry home-Prof. Wyman shot some comerants [*sic*] which were monsters-we did not start for home till quite late, and when we went to the boat, it was a long way from the land and came near getting adrift and leaving us on the island-but Mr. Wyman went in the water and drew it ashore. We were intending to return the way that we came, but the breakers were so high that they came entirely over the boat, and the boat was a very *heavy* bungling *thing*, so that we came near being *swamped*, as we could not manage it-so we went ashore on "Anistasia island," [*sic*] celebrated for the

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19. "Mrs. Judge Ried" may well have been Mrs. Martha M. Reid, wife of Judge Robert Raymond Reid. Reid, however, resided mainly in St. Augustine and, as a consequence, there may have been no connection between the two parties.
20. Wild Cat, Osceola and a group of Indian warriors were seized by General Jessup while under truce, October 21, 1836. They were taken to Fort Marion (Castillo De San Marcos in St. Augustine) and imprisoned. Wild Cat, with nineteen others, escaped on November 29th and continued to harrass the settlers until 1842. K. W. Porter, "Seminole Flight from Fort Marion," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXII (January, 1944), 112-33.
21. Fort Marion or Castillo De San Marcos. The fort was built by Spain and completed in 1756.

quantity of rattlesnakes living there-we had no matches to make a fire, as 'twas getting cool-at last Prof. W. made out to get a *blase* by means of his *gun*, though he had to try a great many times before he could do it-we gathered a lot of twigs of the *scrub oak* & *Prickly ash*, and made quite a cheerful fire, as we thought we might be compelled to stay there all night, but we got off at last, after trying a number of times, by towing the boat-Mr. Wyman had hold of the painter and walked on the beach, and pulled the boat along, and I took an oar and kept the boat off from shore. Mr. W. (the sick one) walked on the beach & Dr. Peck steared [*sic*] the boat-We got home at last, *wet* and *dirty* enough at 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> P.M. The Dr's family were somewhat frightened about him, as they expected him back long before. We all had a nice time-April 3d 1852 - Saturday - Went with Mr. Wyman to the "St. Marks Castle"-The Castle is very large & built entirely of "cocina Stone"-a kind of stone *made of shells* of which there is a *quarry* on "Armistasia [*sic*] Island"-a very long island between St. Augustine & the Atlantic Ocean-'tis the only place where 'tis found in any quantity in all Florida, I believe-Large quantities are taken from the quarry yearly, for building houses &c-it is quite easily cut into any shape desired -on the Island there is a *light house* but no dwelling houses-it is covered with "scrub oak" & "prickly ash," so that it is impossible to go any distance on it as the "scrubing" [*sic*] is so very thick-When we were *cast away* on the Island the day we visited de beach, we tried to go the *Lighthouse* for some water to drink, as we had none since we left Augustine in the morning, but we found it impossible to go more than a few rods, so we gave it up, for the very simple reason *we were obliged to* - it is covered with Rattle Snakes also and the Island is often *burned over* to kill the snakes, and a great many are driven into the city, which makes it unpleasant for the inhabitants, to say the least-"St Marks Castle" is a regular Spanish Castle & is the most perfect proportioned building that I ever saw-there are watch towers at each corner, on the Southwest tower there is a higher one than the others, underneath which is the *dungeon* from which some bones were taken a few years ago-supposed to be the bones of some *unhappy mortal who was starved to death there* - since then it has been ascertained beyond all doubt that they were the bones

of a *hog* - there are battlements all around, high enough to protect a person when standing on the "esplanade," from the enemy outside, but there is a step about a foot &  $\frac{1}{2}$  high for the soldiers inside to stand on when shooting at the enemy-it extends all around the "battlements"-the "esplanade" (on top) is about 18 feet wide,<sup>22</sup> under which are large rooms for the soldiers, and to store the ammunition, &c.-the rooms are arched, all built of stone, the same as the outside-in the center is a *court*, quite large, into which all the rooms open-on one side is an *inclined plane*, for drawing up the Cannon to the battlements-just opposite the entrance is the "Chapel" which is ornamented with stonework very richly-'twas in this Castle that "Osceola" & "Wild Cat" were confined-Wild Cat & about 20 others made their escape through one of the "loop holes," which looked to me, too small for a man to get his head through-they tried to have "Osceola" escape at the same time, but he would not go, as he felt so bad to think that the *whites* captured him treacherously [*sic*] - he remained there, till he was removed to another *prison*, where he *died* of a "broken heart"-The Floridians say they (the Indians under "Osceola") were intending to take the whites tre[a]cherously, but prevented by the whites getting the start of them-they discovered the *plot* of the Indians in time to take advantage of it, and "turn the tables"- "Osceola" felt so bad (so they say) that he was discovered in his tre[a]chery, that *he died of a "broken heart"* - The Castle is not inhabited now, but is used as a *storehouse* for "Uncle Sam"-There is a "moat" or ditch all about it which can be filled with water in a very short time by means of a gate-there was a wall outside the moat-three gates & a drawbridge to cross the "moat" at the entrance, & over one of the gates & the entrance to the castle, there were the "Coat of arms" of Ferdinand VI.<sup>23</sup> Cut in stone and very beautifully executed too-probably they were made in Spain, and brought over, as the stone was different from any about these-the one over the gate is very much defaced by visitors breaking off pieces of it-'twas too bad to break it to pieces, as 'tis a beautiful piece of work-There is only one entrance to the Castle, and to gain admittance there, would be next to impossible, if the people in-

22. Actually, the "esplanade" is closer to twenty-five feet.

23. Ferdinand VI (1713-1759), second son of Philip V, ascended the throne in 1746 and under his regime the fort was finally completed.

side were against it, without the aid of Cannon or something that would have the same effect-Some of the rooms that I went into were *dark & damp*, and seemed *dreary* enough-Augustine was once a "Walled City" - the water extended around, naturally on three sides and the other the *south side* there was a ditch, with only one bridge, where there was a large gate & draw bridge-the gate itself was quite a curiosity-two towers each side-inside of each is a "sentry box" with two "loopholes" which commanded a view of the road leading to the bridge, for a long distance-the holes were through a wall *three or four feet* thick-there was a great deal of fancy work about the *gate* and it once must have been a very nice piece of work, but now it is in ruins -Prof. Wyman took a sketch of it-how many times I wished that I could take sketches-I would have liked very much to have taken sketches of the Castle & the "old Gateway" & perhaps would have tried, if I had stayed a little longer, and had the materials to work with-but I had neither *time, materials* or *ability* -so I guess 'twas just as well that I didn't try, for I should only have failed in the attempt and then I should have felt vexed with myself to think that I couldn't>About midnight, I was awoke by a lot of ladies and gentlemen talking in the yard to the Hotel-presently some one called out fire! fire! and commenced ringing the bell connected with the Hotel, and rang it some time, fairly soon I heard Mr. Wyman get up and run into the entry, and then I thought if 'twas anything serious he'd call me-then I heard them laughing in the yard, which made me pretty certain that 'twas only some fun of theirs, so I went to sleep again-The next morning the Landlady scolded well [?] about it-"Palm Sunday" April 4th. Went to the Catholic Church <sup>24</sup> in the forenoon and saw the *performance* - the reading, singing & Preaching &c was in Latin or Spanish-so that I could not understand much of it-the bells on the Church are rung by a boy with a stick, with which he strikes the bells instead of pulling a rope as we do-some of the time he'd "put in like a master," and make a terrible noise, then he'd seem to get out of breath and work slower, it did sound funny enough-part of the services were to distribute *palm leaves* to all who chose to go for them-

24. The Roman Catholic cathedral in St. Augustine was first built in 1791.

first went the white men, then white women, next white boys, young and old, next Negro men, next Negro Women and Children-the boys seemed to enjoy it right well-all the time of that Ceremony, there was chanting by the Choir & Priests-took a nap in the afternoon & in the evening with the Messers Wyman called on Dr. Peck's family, and had a fine visit-Dr. P. walked home with us, and as we were passing the Market house we saw a crowd of people, and went to see the cause of it-in the Market House on the benches were that party of Indians that we saw at Ft. Mellon-some of them looked sorrowful enough.<sup>25</sup> They said the Warrior tried to escape. At Palatka some body gave him a tinder box and a variety of things such as he'd want in travelling through the woods alone, but he was captured before he had got far, and after that they *chained him-Monday* April 5th. Started from Augustine at 5 AM-got the black Steward "Charly" to get me some breakfast, and he routed the Landlady so that I could pay her my bill-then started with two others, for Picolotta [*sic*] - Had a beautiful ride and saw any number of most beautiful flowers - Messers Wyman were not going to leave under about a week, and then were not going where I should want to go, not intending to go North till sometime in June, so that I had to leave them there and proceed alone -I wished I could have been gone longer, but I thought I must be getting toward home -before I left Augustine I sent some "Ancient Citys" home (newspapers)<sup>26</sup> - St. Augustine is the *oldest city* in the United States-waited about half an hour at Picolatta [*sic*] for Steamer "Welaka" - had a nice trip to Savannah -<sup>27</sup>

25. A report of General Hopkin's capture of the Indians was printed in the St. Augustine *Ancient City*, April 3, 1852.

26. The St. Augustine *Ancient City*, a Democratic Party newspaper, was founded in 1850. Its editor at the time was Sylvester Manucy.

27. The harbor of St. Augustine was inadequate for larger ships and, by the 1850's, had lost its significance as a port. "It was easier to reach the town from Charleston or Savannah via the inside passage and the St. Johns River to Picolata and thence overland by coach than to make the trip directly by sea." Twice weekly connections could be made between Savannah and Picolata. Edwin L. Williams, Jr., *Florida in the Union* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1951).