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A SOUTH CAROLINA LAWYER VISITS ST. AUGUSTINE - 1837

Edited by JOHN HAMMOND MOORE

JUST WHY HENRY SUMMER, a young South Carolina lawyer, journeyed to Florida in the winter of 1837 is not clear. This account, entitled simply "Journal &c. for 1837," indicates his purpose was to search court records in St. Augustine—perhaps for Judge John Belton O’Neill, a noted jurist with whom he was associated. Born in 1809 of distinguished German stock, Henry was one of six sons. One brother, William (1815-78), became a horticulturist of some note and gave the name Pomaria to the Newberry County community where he lived. Another, Adam (1818-66), was a well-known Columbia printer. As this narrative makes graphically clear, two other brothers, John and Nicholas, died at Tampa Bay in 1836.

Henry Summer was graduated from the South Carolina College in 1831, and he was admitted to the bar two years later. Following his return from Florida, he continued to build up his legal practice. In 1846, the year he married Frances Mayer of Lexington, South Carolina, Summer was elected to the first of two terms in the South Carolina lower house. There he distinguished himself as an outspoken advocate of public schools. Drawing heavily upon publications of Horace Mann and the prussian department of education, he leveled a scornful finger at the so-called "free school" system of South Carolina and denounced the "apathy" its citizens displayed toward education. Summer called for larger and more equitably distributed appropriations, compulsory attendance for children between the ages of seven and fifteen, and the creation of school libraries.

After leaving the legislature in 1851, Summer continued to labor in behalf of education and libraries, aiding Newberry College as both instructor and trustee and building up a personal collection of some 4,700 volumes. A staunch defender of state rights throughout the mid-nineteenth century, his last public

service was as a member of the South Carolina constitutional convention of 1865. He died four years later on January 3, 1869. Summer's journal which is now in the archives of the South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina, has little to say about education, books, or politics. It is merely the personal observations of a twenty-nine-year-old lawyer as he travels between his home in Newberry, South Carolina, and St. Augustine. Here in his own words is what he saw:

On the 2nd Feb [.] I left Newberry Ct [.] Ho [.] for Aiken [.] S. C. [.] where I arrived without any thing of importance occurring - On Cloud's Creek I noticed a remarkable quarry of Free Stone used mainly for mill pumice.

4th Feb. Arrived at Aiken - Stopped at Marsh's Hotel. A Mr. Ollcott, a phrenologist [.] was there - very zealous in the propagating of his sentiments - Said I had the organ of locality strongly developed - that I was fond of seeing difficult places - that Benevolence was strongly developed &c. The country is generally poor, timbered with however white pine. I went in company with Judge O'Neill from Newberry to Charleston, S. C. ¹

5th Feb. Left Aiken for Charleston on the Rail Road. ² What a triumph of art is that mode of travelling - Blackville & Branchville are handsome little villages. When we reached the Tanbark Swamp the Engine "Georgia," conducting a train of Freight cars [.] ran against our engine "Marion," conducting the passengers cars - The shock was pretty severe - Our Engine was disabled - A gentleman was hurt in his shoulder who jumped out of the passenger cars in which he was when the alarm was given - Two horses were somewhat injured. We were detained about an hour, and went on to the turnout with our Engine. At which place we took the "Georgia" and went on to Charleston. We reached there about midnight, and retired to rest about 1 o'clock. Judge O'Neill, Judge Butler, who got in

1. John Belton O'Neill (1793-1863) was a many-sided man-jurist, author, legislator, temperance advocate, and agriculturalist. A native of Newberry, he is perhaps best known for his two-volume *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1859).

2. The South Carolina Railroad, consisting of 135 miles of track from Bamberg to Charleston, was then said to be the longest line in the world. Presumably, although not on this trip, one could cover that distance in an astounding thirteen hours.

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the car at Blackville, and myself put up at the Carolina Hotel kept by A. Stewart.³

I remained in Charleston from the 5th to the 18th of Feb. I spent my time in reviewing the beautiful & various scenes of the city. I walked several times down on the Battery and saw the ocean heave its tides against the strong work of man there built. On Sunday the 5th I went to hear Mr. [Theophilus] Fisk. He is truly argumentive and convincing. I visited him frequently and am highly pleased with him. On Wednesday evening after I heard him again on the subject of *False Teachers*. This discourse was a triumphant refutation of the stale slander that Universalists are False Teachers, and was made to recoil with terrible efficacy on the heads of those who propagate it. On the 12th I heard Mr. Manly [,] the Baptist Divine -⁴ He was unwell- His discourse was a feeble one. On the day before I had visited the Steeple of St. Michael's Church- When I reached the platform above the hands of the clock I ascended no higher but viewed the city. It was spread before me like a map in miniature - The wharves lined with the shipping - the Battery against which the ocean dashed its waves - the streets on which many people are passing, but who appear like a pigmy race. Castle Pinckney, Sullivan's Island, Cooper and Ashley rivers, lying all before the spectator, fill the mind with feelings of which the best description is but a feeble effort to convey an accurate conception. To know that is felt, one must see and feel for himself. The view is grand & imposing- The outer edge of the ocean [,] that waste of waters on which float so many treasures [,] can be seen. You give 12¹/₂ cents to the boy who conducts you up the steeple.

3. Andrew Pickens Butler (1796-1857), an Edgefield resident who became a circuit judge in 1833, later was a U. S. senator. It was his speech on Kansas which provoked the celebrated caning of Charles Sumner by Butler's nephew, Preston Brooks. Both Butler and O'Neill went to Charleston to attend a session of the South Carolina Appeals Court which convened on Monday, February 6. Located on Broad Street, the Carolina Hotel later became "The Home for Mothers, Widows, and Daughters of Confederate Veterans." It is now an apartment house.
4. A North Carolina-born clergyman who was pastor of Charleston's wealthy First Baptist Church, Basil Manly (1798-1868) was later president of the University of Alabama from 1837 to 1855. He helped form the Alabama Historical Society and served enthusiastically as chaplain at the inaugural of Jefferson Davis in February 1861.

King Street is the most fashionable street in the city-by fashionable, I mean that most resorted to by different persons for walking or as it is fashionably termed "promenading" - for shopping. Some fine Book Stores are in the city, Breile & Babcock, McCarter & Greer, all separate establishments and in King Street - Berrett, Bruges & Stoff on Broad Street - and Riley on Church St. [,] all very good Book Stores.⁵ The printing Offices of the *Mercury*, *Courier*, morning daily papers, and the *Southern Patriot* - daily evening, are on East Bay St. To the different Hotels I did not pay much attention - The private buildings on the Battery, and on Cooper River are some of them splendid mansions - So much for Charleston at the present time. I saw many of my old friends and acquaintances there, and I must say that on the whole Charleston is an agreeable city.

19th Feb. I sailed on the Schooner *S. S. Mills* from Charleston for St. Augustine, East Florida, where I arrived on Sunday morning - and put up at Mr. Fontaine's - This occurred on the 21st February - 21st Evening.

The streets of Augustine are very narrow [and] the houses have the appearance of age imprinted on them- It has a venerable appearance. Many of the walls are built out of a kind of rock formed of shells⁶ & None of the houses are fine in outside appearance, but inside they are much better furnished than the outer appearance would warrant a South Carolinian in anticipating-at least such a backwoodsman as I, who would think from association of ideas, that a dingy outside would inside have nothing to recommend it. So much for appearances. As I came in, the Fort was passed, which is admirably situated for the defence of the town - As all vessels must pass it- I shall visit it before I leave. It must be remembered that this is a Spanish town - I will say more when I have looked more at this place.

The Capt. of the Schooner (Southwick) is a gentlemanly man. The company was agreeable-Capt. Whalton who resides at Key West, Tatun, [V.] Sanchez, residents of this place, Whittaker, Durant of Horry [,] S. C. [,] and two ladies composed the passengers. We passed the time very agreeably- Capt. W. had

5. Summer fails to mention one of the city's most prominent book stores -D. W. Harrison on Chalmers Street.

6. This material, made of lime, crushed shells, and water, was known as tabby.

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a prisoner on board who had been robbing the light ship stationed on Key West & was brought to this place to stand trial-which will take place some time in March.

22 [nd] Feb. Went into two offices, County Clerks' & that in which the Public records (Spanish & English) are kept. The latter is kept in better order than any public office I have ever seen. Neatness is the prominent characteristic. I have just seen the Flag of my country floating over the Barracks [.] What an association of circumstances rushes into the mind on sight of this. The Flag of the Free proudly waving its ample folds in the wind as if it would of itself gave safety & protection to the oppressed of every clime. Proud emblem of Liberty! may thy stars and stripes float forever over a people united, happy & free. Without these three firmly secured-freedom is an empty name. I saw also the Exchange, a place of common resort - It is opposite the court house. In the centre [*sic*] of the Square, and opposite the Roman Catholic & Episcopal Churches, stands a monument erected in memory of the Spanish Constitution (for this Territory, I presume) in the year 1812 with these words on each of the four sides "Plaza de la Constitution." I was informed that it is the only Spanish Monument standing in Florida. There is a peach tree opposite one window of my room in bloom-The young Orange trees are putting forth-but it will be several years before the Orange tree will be in the same flourishing state in which it was previous to being killed by the frost of 1835.⁷

I was informed today that Gen. Clinch had said in 1835 about six or eight months previous to the breaking out of hostilities with the Seminoles, that he was afraid there would be some difficulty with them: that he had informed the government that a strong force ought to be kept there, ready to be brought into action whenever they should be needed.⁸ This information

7. Two years earlier Florida suffered an unusually severe cold spell. See T. Frederick Davis, "Early Orange Culture in Florida and the Epochal Cold of 1835," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (April 1937), 232-39.

8. Duncan L. Clinch (1787-1849), a North Carolina native and veteran of the War of 1812. He later became a Georgia planter and represented that state in Congress. His grandson, Duncan Clinch Heyward, was governor of South Carolina, 1902-1906. For a general discussion of the causes of this war, see Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXX

Charles Lawton gave me- Have become acquainted with Wm. H. Williams, Mrs. Anderson, Genl. [Joseph M.] Hernandez, Antonio Alvarez, Mr. Woodruff and some others. All these persons appear to be kind & civil people. Mr. Fontaine with whom I board is from a short acquaintance, I think, a clever man when it [is] his interest to be so. I am in a town where I have been more disagreeably disappointed than I have ever been at any place whatever. Good society, the grand basis, on which, in the great proportion of instances, intercourse between man & man is rendered peculiarly agreeable [can be had]⁹ is accessible to a gentleman-and such as will render a man who can be contented, very agreeably situated. The Society in this place is good. Mrs. Anderson has two very agreeable daughters, Mrs. Shaw and Miss William, a singular name for a lady thought I. I spent the evening at Mrs. Anderson's-where I had the pleasure of being made acquainted with Gen. Hernandez-I saw one of his daughters-an agreeable and intelligent young lady. In passing along through life, I make my remarks upon people, and put the best construction upon the conduct of man that I possibly can, believing that it is better to lean to the side of charity, than to be strict in marking the faults of others- I wrote to Judge O'Neill, to my sister, and home and hope to receive an answer to each of them shortly-at all events before I leave this place - Gen. Hernandez says that 1000 pounds of cotton is a good crop here to the acre. The principal Spanish families here are almost all related to each other, by affinity or consanguinity.

Feb. 23rd Saw Judge Reed [Reid] today-¹⁰ He is quite a gentleman. Being in conversation, we fell upon the subject of Slavery - To show that none but Africans, except Minorcans, could endure the climate of the southern States he informed me that New Smyrna, south of this place [,] was settled by Mr. Turnbull, the ancestor of that family in Charleston - He

(July 1951), 1-115. For a life of Clinch see *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* by Rembert W. Patrick (Gainesville, 1963.)

9. Summer first wrote "can be had," but then deleted these words.

10. Robert Raymond Reid (1789-1841), was appointed federal judge for the eastern district of Florida by President Jackson in 1832, and was territorial governor of Florida, 1839-1841.

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brought Minorcans here, bound to him for 20 years.¹¹ He kept them at hard labor. They only could stand the severity of the climate - The result is a part of the town called Minorca or Minorcan town - the north [.] Their houses are inferior. I am going to visit the Fort this evening- Searched the records of Musquito County court - saw nothing there relating to my business- Such information as I have received, I have already communicated to Judge O'Neill by letter of yesterday.

Have been at the Fort (Marion it is now called). It is a strong fortress.¹² Mr. Davis [.] the Keeper of the Prisons [.] showed me the principal dungeons - the one in which McGirth [*sic*]¹³ was confined for several years was dark, with the exception of a little light that could penetrate it through a door which led from another dungeon in which last light was received through a window from the inside of the fortress. This is in the South East corner of the fort. The dungeons of the South west contain the Magazine of the U. S. In the North West there is a dungeon the light of which is from the door, and perhaps a little from the outer wall. From this there is a dark dungeon- the door to which was closed up until within a few years since- It is said in there human bones- or stones resembling those of man were found. Between this and the North East corner the Catholic chapel is- or rather it was used for that purpose when the Spanish had possession- I do not say that such was the use during the whole time. In the North East corner, there was a dungeon in which the prisoners were formerly kept, which had light only from a door leading from another dungeon. A fellow confined in it found his way out by digging thro' a wall where there formerly had been a door, and then between two walls by scaling the dirt back, he made his way to the top, which he broke

11. Dr. Andrew Turnbull (c. 1718-1792) brought some 1,400 Minorcans, Greeks, and Italians to New Smyrna in 1768. For details of this ambitious project, see E. P. Panagopoulos, "Background of the Greek Settlers in the New Smyrna Colony," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXV (October 1956), 95-115. After the collapse of his colony, Turnbull went to Charleston where he practiced medicine until his death in 1792. See also Carita Doggett, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Jacksonville, 1919).

12. For a survey of recent research at this fort, see J. C. Harrington, Albert C. Mauncy, and John M. Goggin, "Archaeological Excavations in the Courtyard of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV (October 1955), 99-141.

13. Daniel McGirt, colorful outlaw and leader of a gang of bandits, was imprisoned at the fort three times between 1784 and 1786.

through, and escaped. Then further in a door which had been walled up was discovered which led into another dungeon, in which I suppose no ray of light had pierced after it was built, until two years since when it was opened. It is a handsome place, were not such horrors associated with it. In a room between these and the chapel spoken of above, a well of water was discovered about 3 years since, which had been covered with plank, and then the floor made as the rest. Along between the N. E. & S. E. Corners is the place which was designated for baking and cooking, for food, &c. How many sighs have been sobbed in, how many, many groans have been heard by these walls, how many tears have flowed unseen by man [,] or if seen [,] unpitied they fell. Enough said.

Feb. 24th Dined out today- Had Garden Peas for Dinner- Spent time agreeably while there- Day cool. Heard that Oecola [*sic*] had been killed by his men.¹⁴ Don't know how the rumor reached Town, or what credit is to be put in it. Every body anxious to hear the result of the talk which was to be held about the 18th instant- Capt. Williamson's company from Darlington, stationed here - have been here for some two weeks- Sentinels are kept out every night and day- They hope soon to hear the good news that peace is made, and they discharged.

Feb. 25th Again visited the Fort, in company with Mons. Tatun, who interpreted to me the Spanish which shows the Reign and year in which the fort was built. It was built in the Reign of Fernando VI, King of Spain, in the year 1756.¹⁵ The Engineer who superintended the construction of the fort was Don Pedro Brozas Y Garay. Dined out today; met a very interesting old gentleman by name of [Moses E.] Levy-a learned man. Had an interesting account of the Battle of Dunlawton from Mr. Woodruff in the evening -¹⁶ He says that Abraham

14. Although never formally chosen chief of his people, Osceola (c. 1800-1838) was the leading personality of the Second Seminole War. See the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (January-April 1955), 161-305, for nine comprehensive articles on Osceola.

15. Construction of the fort began in October 1672, and continued for the next eighty-four years. Its formal completion in 1756, was marked by the erection of a tablet over the entrance to the fort.

16. The Battle of Dunlawton occurred in January 1836, when Seminoles overpowered some army units and burned "Dunlawton," a sugar plantation.

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the Negro has a powerful control over the Seminoles-¹⁷ Conversed on various topics connected with the war. Woodruff knows many the principal warriors-represents Micanopy as being very fleshy.¹⁸

Feb. 26th Heard with certainty this morning that there had been no talk with the Indians-and consequently no treaty made. The report of Ocoola's [*sic*] death unfounded. Jessup [*sic*] wants horses-¹⁹ Went to the Catholic Church at 10 o'clock, and saw the ceremonies of that church, which I confess I do not understand; but the whole of the ceremonies from beginning to end seem to me unmeaning [*sic*] - To see a man in the church cross himself-and when he walks off from the [church] house stagger with intoxicating drink argues very little for the good effects of his faith upon that man - I do not condemn the Catholics by the wholesale, but here take occasion to remark that it would be better for all sects if their conduct accorded better with the precepts of Christ. The ringing of the little bells, the holding of the Priest's robe &c. appear singular to me. The sermon was pretty good-

After service, I went to where two negroes were, who were brought in from the island by Capt. [James] Keogh-who pretended to say something about the movement of the Indians-but nothing very satisfactory can be gathered from their statements - One said that Phillips [*sic*] [,] a warrior [,] had 400 or 500 warriors on this side of the St. Johns.²⁰ These negroes were taken last night by Capt. Keogh, who thinks they may be spies from the enemy from the manner in which they came up to the place of his residence on Anastasia Island where he is engaged in working on the Quarry- He took the negroes and brought them to town this morning- Besides Capt. William-

17. See Kenneth W. Porter, "The Negro Abraham," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXV (July 1946), 1-43.

18. Micanopy, the lazy, fat brother-in-law of King Philip, was at this time titular head of the Seminoles.

19. Thomas S. Jesup (1788-1860), born in what is now West Virginia, was a veteran of the War of 1812 and earned considerable repute as a very able quartermaster of the U. S. Army. Except for service in the Seminole War, Jesup held that post for some forty-two years.

20. King Philip, also known as Emathla, was a brother-in-law of Micanopy. About sixty years of age, he was widely respected among the Seminoles and was one of the Seminole chiefs who had agreed to emigrate from Florida. For this, he was later slain in ambush, allegedly by Osceola. See Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXX (July 1951), 56.

son's company from Darlington, Capt. [James L.] Brown's from Georgetown & Williamsburgh [*sic*] is also stationed here. They are very impatient here [and] would be glad to have something to do or be discharged.

Walked with Judge Reed [*sic*] to his cottage out of town, his daughter, Miss Reid [,] & Mrs. Black, and Dr. Miles and Mr. Dancy were in company. It was agreeable- Crossed the Bridge over the River Sebastian where I saw some live Crabs- the first living I ever saw. A goodly number of oysters are taken at that bridge- In the evening I attended the examination of Ellick [Alick], one of the negroes above spoken of. It was conducted by Judge Reid- Instead of the 400 Indians being on this side of the St. Johns, Ellick stated that he saw that number of Indians last fall west of St. Johns under the command of Philip, a chief. He worked but little while amongst the Indians - His narration was somewhat interesting. I did not attend the examination of Stephen, the other negro. The negroes belong [to] Genl. Joseph A. Hernandez-

27th The morning was pleasant. The *S. S. Mills* left this morning with a fine wind - day cloudy some hours & sometimes fair - showery - Evening cool- Heard that Maj. Kirby had written that he had strong hopes that the war would soon be terminated - ²¹

28th The last day of this month - cool today [,] wore my cloak in the morning-thought of home and the charms that are there-hope in one month to be there, and see all my friends in good health. I have, since I have been here, become acquainted with Mr. Woodruff, who lived at Spring Garden - ²² He was in the battle of Dunlawton, fought at Mrs. Anderson's place. He has told me a good deal of the Indians and skirmishes. Today heard the particulars of John Caesar's being killed-Caesar was a negro - and had seven or eight others with him. Capt. [John M.] Hanson's company went out, come in contact [*sic*] with them-fired on them-killed three and took the guns

21. Major Edmund Kirby, a veteran of the War of 1812, had been chief of staff to General Winfield Scott. He later served in the Mexican War.

22. A Major Henry Woodruff of Spring Garden was killed by Indians in January 1836. See Jacob Rhetta Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, edited by James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1953), 292. This man was apparently a relative of the deceased.

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and clothes of the others who have never made their appearance amongst the Indians. Maj. Kirby stated in this letter, and I was informed, that the Indians were coming in & that from that circumstance, he came to the conclusion mentioned above.

Reflections on the Evening of the 28th. I have just returned from a walk on the beach. I have seen some splendid mansions in decay, which had heretofore escaped my notice. What has caused the melancholy ruins which stand in this place? Has desolation's blighting curse fallen upon this town, to wither and destroy! The walls of ruin stand next to the dwelling of man. What a contrast! The walls built of a rock formed of shells look melancholy- There is nothing which presents a gay appearance since the Orange Groves have been killed. I hesitate not in saying that in my opinion St. Augustine will never rise above what it now is. The river St. Johns lies west and will always afford good navigation and the produce of whatever kind made on that stream will be freighted to Charleston. This is the situation of St. Augustine as I saw it on the last day of February 1837.

March 1st Morning cool-day pleasant. Saw Leutenant [*sic*] Singletary & Leut. [*sic*] [Thomas R.] Greer, the last sick-but getting better as he thinks. I walked beyond the Fort and looked at Sergeant Williams ['] grave over which there is a slab on which is the following inscription, "In Memory of Orderly Sergeant John Williams of D. Company, 1st Artly [*sic*] who was shot while in performance of his duty by private Saml. Wright- This stone is erected as testimony of their esteem by the soldiers of his company." I counted full graves to the number of 25: they died perhaps without a tear of regret shed over their final bones as they were incorporated with their parent dust- No news from the army.

March 2nd One month ago I left Newberry Ct [.] Ho. Since that my thoughts have often reverted to home. The morning is quite pleasant. The peach tree near my window is shedding its blooms & putting forth leaves-some of which are nearly half grown. Received from Mr. J. Rodman a translation of the French Commercial Code, translated by himself, presented to me by him. He also presented me for perusal two pieces written by himself with translations of two Letters from distinguished gentlemen, relating to the wonderful effects of the "Curative Medicine" of Le Roy, a physician of France. Le Roy's work first ap-

peared about 1818 as well as I remember, though he had practiced upon this plan with brilliant success, for many years previous to the appearance of his Book on Curative Medicine. The Medicine is highly recommended, and has been ably vindicated from the imputation of Quackery- Such is the information I gather from these papers. Some of the medical Faculty instituted suits against him (as many as four or five) for quackery: but in every instance he was gloriously triumphant over his opponents; and, if his medicine be such as it is represented to be, he is worthy of a grand and increasing fame, as time moves on his steady and unaltered course. The morning was cool-toward the afternoon it began to cloud: and in the evening it was quite cloudy and cool. This evening walked with Capt. W. around the outside of town to where pine poles had been driven into the mote [*sic*], and where turf had been thrown up-walked the whole length of the mote which extends from the Fort to the Sebastian River. There is [a] gate through the mote about 300 yards from the fort - A sentinel is stationed there. Over the mote is a bridge-beyond which is the graveyard. It is locked. Some handsome tombstones, and monuments of the dead are there.

March 3rd Morning Rainy. By the mail which left here yesterday morning I wrote to Judge O'Neill & to my sister at Newberry Ct [.] Ho [.] - & to my father. I hope to receive information from home (including Newberry & my father) this evening- It has been cloudy and rainy the whole day- The sun has not shone out at all- Today I learned that a youth, not more than eighteen years old [.] robbed one of the South Carolina soldiers, near the market. He went up to the So. Ca. soldier & presented a pistol to his breast, and had a Sword drawn, and told him that if he did not give up his money he would kill him- And he robbed him on the spot, searching his pockets, and taking his money from him- This I have been informed is not his first step in crime. Nothing has been done with him as yet-as far as my information extends- I saw this afternoon several South Carolinians going down town who appeared to be in a riotous condition, to accomplish some object. It was said they were going down to the barracks being offended [*sic*] with some of the Regulars.

March 4th Last night rainy- The South Carolina soldiers did nothing in the matter referred to above. The youth above

mentioned was tarred & feathered, after his head was shaved- Today rainy - wind high - Have heard by express that Jumper [.] Alligator & Micanopy had come in to Jessup's [*sic*] camp, and had left hostages to the number of ten.²³ Oceola [*sic*] & Philip not heard from. This day is the last given by Jessup for the Indians to treat-

Van Buren is inaugurated President of U. S. today- If his administration be as subject to storms as this day here is, it will be tossed powerfully by the opposition. Heard that the youth who had stolen was whipped at the Fort by one of the South Carolina Soldiers -

March 5 [th] Day fair and cool- Had an excellent dinner -a fine Turkey-a fine pudding and finished the whole by drinking Champagne [*sic*] wine. Messrs. Alvarez & Capt. Whalton dined with us- After dinner put letters in the Post Office -and thence went to the Catholic Church-heard the full toned organ - beautiful - Did not hear from home by last mail. Nothing of importance transpired today-

March 6th The morning very beautiful, at Noon somewhat cloudy. This morning as well as yesterday morning, the Drummer & Fifer of the Regulars marched through town playing marshal [*sic*] music. This they have done almost every morning since I have been here. It is truly inspiring [*sic*] to hear the music of the free floating on the air. Some of the militia of this place start to Matanzas this afternoon in boats - the Cavalry go down between the St. Johns and the Matanzas River[s]. I hope to receive some information by letter from home as I have as yet heard nothing. Not a word, not the scrape of a pen have I received. The youth (Robert Bassakere) alluded to before has been robbing - even the man who took pity on him & took him home was robbed by him after the tarring & feathering. He robbed a drunken man too. Unless his course is checked, he will become a hardened wretch who will be stupendous in crime - No letters received.

March 7th Morning tolerably pleasant- The day was agreeable. In the afternoon visited the Seawall & fort-took a shot with a pistol at a mark-after having been with Capt. Williamson & Lejut. [*sic*] [John F. D.] Britton. Lejut. [*sic*] Greer

23. Jumper, confidant of Micanopy, was a lean six-foot warrior full of craft and cunning. Alligator was an intelligent chief who surrendered in 1838, and migrated to Arkansas.

shortly after came up- We took a stroll through town- As we passed Mrs. Whitehurst's, Col. Durant come into our company- We continued our walk. Went by the Barracks - returned to Livingstone's [*sic*] - ²⁴ here an amusing scene occurred - One of the volunteers wanted to fight another [,] pulled off his coat, and as he was staggering against his opponent, two men came on, on horseback-and the pony of one of them being frightened at the queer actions of our drunken cavalier, ran against him. This changed his anger against the man on the pony- He caught the skirt of the gentleman's coat-but was got off by the officers - who told him it was an accident. "Yes," says he, ["] an accident done on purpose - I'll knock up some of these trotters here yet," uttering several oaths and repeating odd expressions. This day two weeks since I arrived here and am anxious to return. Became acquainted with Judge Gould.

March 8th Morning cloudy; day through out partially so. The Schooner *S. S. Mills* appeared off the bar about 9 or 10 o'clock: but could not cross the bar. I understand that the So [,] Ca [,] Soldiers are to leave here to go South when the *Mills* gets in. Genl. Hernandez proposed to Capt. Williamson that the companies (his & Capt. Brown's) stationed here should be disbanded, and then enlist for six months. Capt. W. will not do this. Gen [,] H. might station them in the vicinity of his plantation, and by the protection afforded by the So [,] Ca [,] soldiers, his negroes might make a crop. This is what Capt. W. told me & the remarks he made-

March 9th Morning fair, beautiful & pleasant. Nothing heard of late from the Indians except what is stated above. Today the *Mills* got into the harbour- As I walked down to the wharf where she lay, the clouds appeared to threaten rain; and for a short time everything was obscured by a mist, seemingly about to rain instantaneously. In about 10 minutes the atmosphere was cleared of the mist, and the sun shone faintly [through] clouds, everything having much the appearance as before the mist. This was between 2 and 3 o'clock P. M. I learn that Jessup [*sic*] has extended the time for the Indians to come in.

March 10th Morning cool - wind from the North & cloudy. Today at one o'clock, the funeral possession [*sic*] attending the body of Leuit. [*sic*] McKay of the U. S. army who was

24. Summer refers to William Levingston, proprietor of the City Hotel.

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drowned about 2 months since, passed the barracks to the Grave yard- Muffled Drum & Fife- Oh how hard it is, how striking to my mind, does it bring to memory the melancholy fate of my brothers - dear, affectionate brothers, who are done with this world and its cares, and now rest upon a happier shore, where distress, and sorrow can never enter. They died in this Territory at Tampa Bay, far from Home, no relation's care, no mother's arms on which their languishing head might pillow- they sunk into the arms of death, and there their toils in this feverish state of existence terminated. We shall all meet again [,] dear brothers, in our Father's house above where there will be no more sorrow, nor grief, nor crying, and all tears shall be wiped away from off all faces: and in happiness which will never change nor terminate we shall repose forever, secure under the protection of Almighty God.

There was also another funeral this afternoon- A young lady departed this life on yesterday. We are all as water spilled upon the ground which cannot be gathered up.

March 11th Morning cool: but fair- Wind from the North- The *Mills* cannot get off today- Just received a letter from Newberry, dated 27th Feb. '37. From it I learn that Mr. Pratt had died since I left. This is the only letter I have yet received from any person in Carolina since I left.

I have heard it stated in town that the Indians are coming into Jessup's [*sic*] camp. But how long it will be before information which can be depended on will reach here it is impossible to say. It seems to be the general impression that the war will soon be terminated- Also heard that Gen. Jessup [*sic*] had retracted all that he had said against Gen. [Winfield] Scott as regards the conduct of the latter during his campaign in Florida. I suppose he has discovered that the Seminoles are not so contemptible an enemy as he had thought they were.

I hope that the *Mills* will soon get a fair wind for Charleston.

March 12th Have not been at Church today. Have heard that Gen. Jessup [*sic*] has commanded active operations against the Indians in as much as they had not come in. Just as I was penning the above, another funeral procession from the Barracks, with muffled Drum and Fife passed on to the Grave yard. The wound was opened afresh in my lacerated bosom as the fact was

forcibly brought to my mind how soon after each other, my brothers were taken away from this world. I can never forget my dear brothers. They have done with the cares, and turmoils and perplexities of the world. Wean my affections from all earthly objects, Oh God, and place them upon those pleasures which flow from thy right hand. Both my brothers were buried with military honours.

Nothing has been heard with certainty as to the issue of the war. Today the mate of the *S. S. Mills* was put in prison by the Captain for some misconduct I know not what. The mate's name is Day: he says he is related to Day the celebrated Blacking manufacturer of London.

March 13th Today put my baggage on the Schooner *Mills* - which did not sail- Heard that the Indians were making propositions of peace-that Micanopy, Jumper, Alligator & Abraham were in Jessup's [*sic*] camp: and said that they would have their Indians collected, in order to remove, at Tampa Bay by the 10th May. (It possibly could have been April.) Court met & sat today.

March 14th I write on board the *Mills* - The news above currently reported in town this morning- Nothing very certain as to the truth of the report so far as I have heard- Received no letters last night. The *Mills* will hardly sail today. I shall attend the Court perhaps today. This afternoon attended the funeral of one of So [...] Ca [...] volunteers - during which time it rained very hard- The soldiers of Capt. Brown's company marched with reversed arms- Drums muffled & the fife playing that mournful requiem over a soldier- When the procession arrived at the grave (which was just north of the Fort) the company to which he belonged (Capt. Brown's), after the coffin was let down, fired at the command of their Captain, three rounds of musketry-the two first, over the grave, and the last, after the company had advanced, was fired into the grave. Thus he reposes, far from home in the coldness of death.²⁵ I need not say what emotions I felt in my bosom on this occasion since they must be known to those acquainted with the melancholy & heart-rending fate of my brothers-

25. This was the funeral of William Alexander Calhoun of Georgetown District, South Carolina, who died on the thirteenth. His obituary appears in the Charleston *Courier*, March 21, 1837.

No further news from the war. The day rainy.

March 15th I do not know whether we shall get off today- Wind ahead- I am anxious to be on my way homeward. From several letters received in town today the cheering information has been brought here that peace is made between Gen. Jessup [*sic*] & the Indians. The treaty was signed on the 6th Instant. The Indians are to assemble at Tampa Bay by the 10th April prepared to remove to the West. All the chiefs are said to have come in except Ocoola [*sic*]. they [*sic*] promised to bring Ocoola [*sic*] in by that time, if he will not surrender. This information it seems can be relied on,

March 16th Wind ahead- No prospect of sailing today- I shall be content now, however anxious to be to go, to remain till Saturday the 18th.

I might as well make a memorandum of some curious things - There is a small man here about three feet four or five inches high - apparently aged - He walks on crutches- His voice is fine & coarse mixed- He has been married twice. His name is Barker. Mr. Jenks is a huge mass of flesh. The largest man I have ever seen - would weigh I suppose about 400 pounds. I saw a negro whose legs were off just below the knees- He went on crutches - the stumps of his legs being on the ground - Also a man whose knee (right) is stiff and the joint crooked. These are some of the remarkable things I have seen in Augustine, which by the bye is an extremely dull place. Attended court today & heard an able argument from Mr. Douglas [,] the District attorney-on the point whether a prisoner would be triable, if an indictment were quashed after trial & *verdict* & before the rendition of judgment, when the motion to set aside the verdict for informality in the indictment, originated from the prisoner's counsel: he having filed a demurrer to the second indictment and plead former conviction . . . is difficult to determine which will be relied - ²⁶ Mr. Drysdale's reply tomorrow - Andrew, a negro owned by Mr. Gue, was taken last night, and today was introduced into court & sworn & sent before the grand jury- His testimony will doubtless criminate [*sic*] some of the free negroes of this place. ²⁷

26. Summer has deleted some words here, and the sense of the original is not clear.

27. Andrew, a runaway, had joined the Indians and had been active with John Caesar and other renegades.

March 17th Wind still ahead. The morning more pleasant than yesterday- No prospect of sailing today. I hope I may receive some letters this evening by mail- This evening received a letter from home dated 7th instant- Was in Court today & heard a part of Drysdale's argument-ingenious and well managed. Jessup [*sic*], it is reported, has given orders that no man claiming negroes shall for some time yet come into his camp. This may be done to prevent any obstructions to the fulfillment of the Treaty.

March 18th Wind fair-there may be too much water on the Bar to cross today: but I hope we may get off. At 10 o'clock this morning we sailed and just as we were on the point of sailing we heard that Picolata on the St. Johns River 18 miles from St. Augustine had been attacked the night before by the Indians and that they had taken a few horses from the garrison-Capt. Hanson's company was preparing to leave for the purpose of scouring the country between St. Augustine and St. Johns- We crossed the bar in fine style, and I had the pleasure of being most gloriously seasick that day.

19th March Sunday - made not much progress - day passed off agreeably -

20 [th] March- Nothing remarkable during this day - in the evening at 8 o'clock landed at Charleston - & Stopped at Shelton & Cook's Hotel in King St. Saw several friends from Newberry. ²⁸

22nd Remained in Charleston. Saw Dr. Andrews today-became acquainted with Dr. Semple & Dr. McKay- Visited friend D. Cooke this evening.

23rd Left Charleston this morning on the rail road to Branchville-at Branchville took the Stage to Columbia-where I arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock in the morning-

24th Reached my father's that afternoon & Staed [*sic*] all night.

25th March Arrived at Newberry Court House today-and found my friends generally well- Mumps prevalent. I hope I may escape.

28. The Charleston *Courier*, March 21, 1837, noted the arrival of the following passengers on the *Mills*: "Col. W. W. Lurant and lady, S. Northrup, lady and child, S. Andrews, H. Summer, J. J. Hedrick, V. Sanchez." Captain Southwick also brought a copy of the St. Augustine *Florida Herald*, March 15, 1837, a letter from the *Courier's* correspondent, and news of the recent attack which Summer mentions. Southwick told the *Courier* that he learned of this outbreak just before sailing and that "a bugle was sounding as the *Mills* was leaving the harbor. . . ."