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CONTENTS

Map of Florida, 1840 (frontispiece)

The Dade Massacre

ALBERT HUBBARD ROBERTS

Fort King

FREDERICK CUBBERLY

Notes on Reconstruction in Tallahassee and Leon
County, 1866-1876.

The Society's Relics-I. The Bell of a Florida Spanish
Mission

EMMA ROCHELLE WILLIAMS

The Patriot War-A Contemporaneous Letter

Book Review

Edwin Mims, *The Advancing South*

E. MERTON COULTER

Notes and Comment

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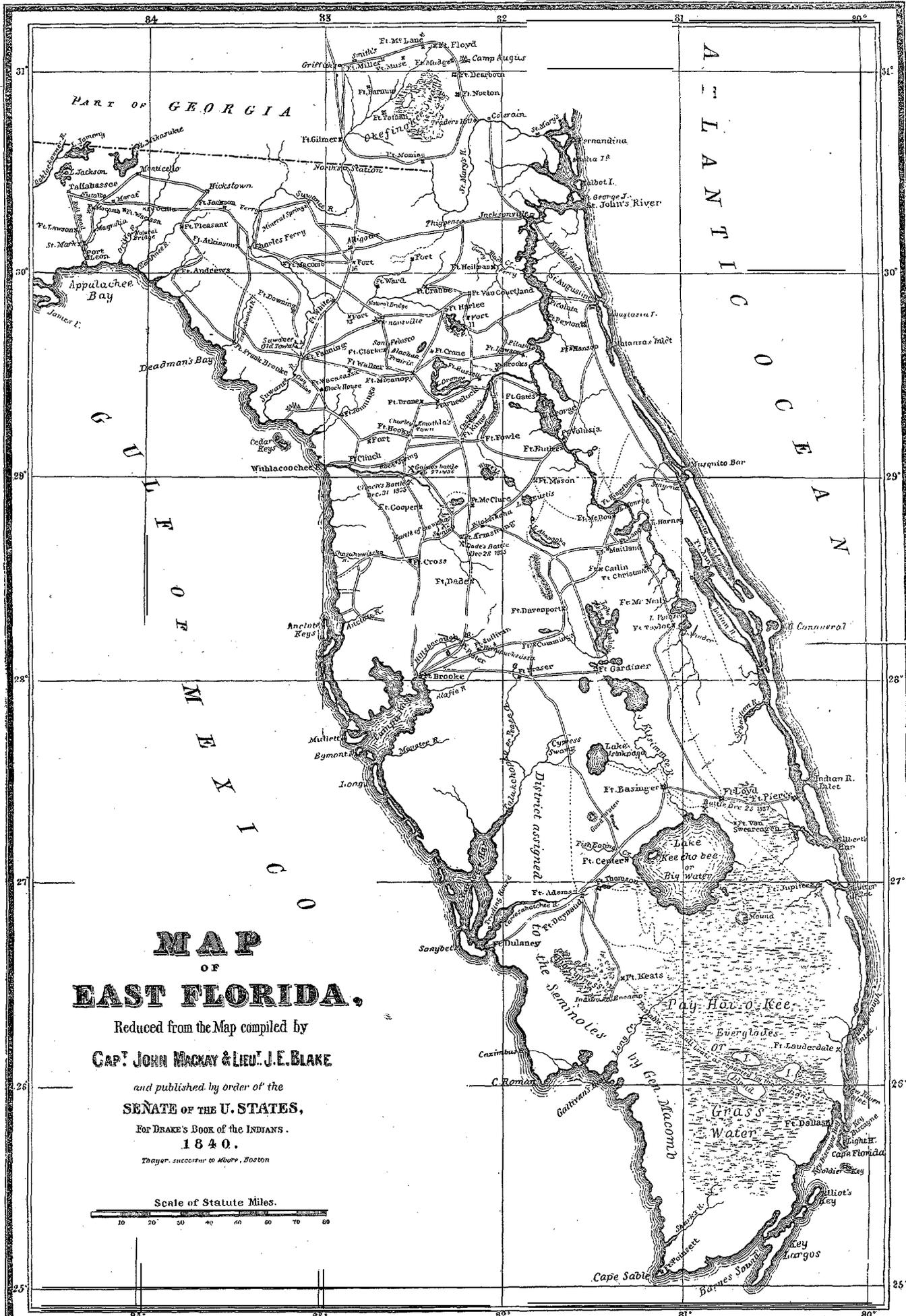
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* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written, to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS.

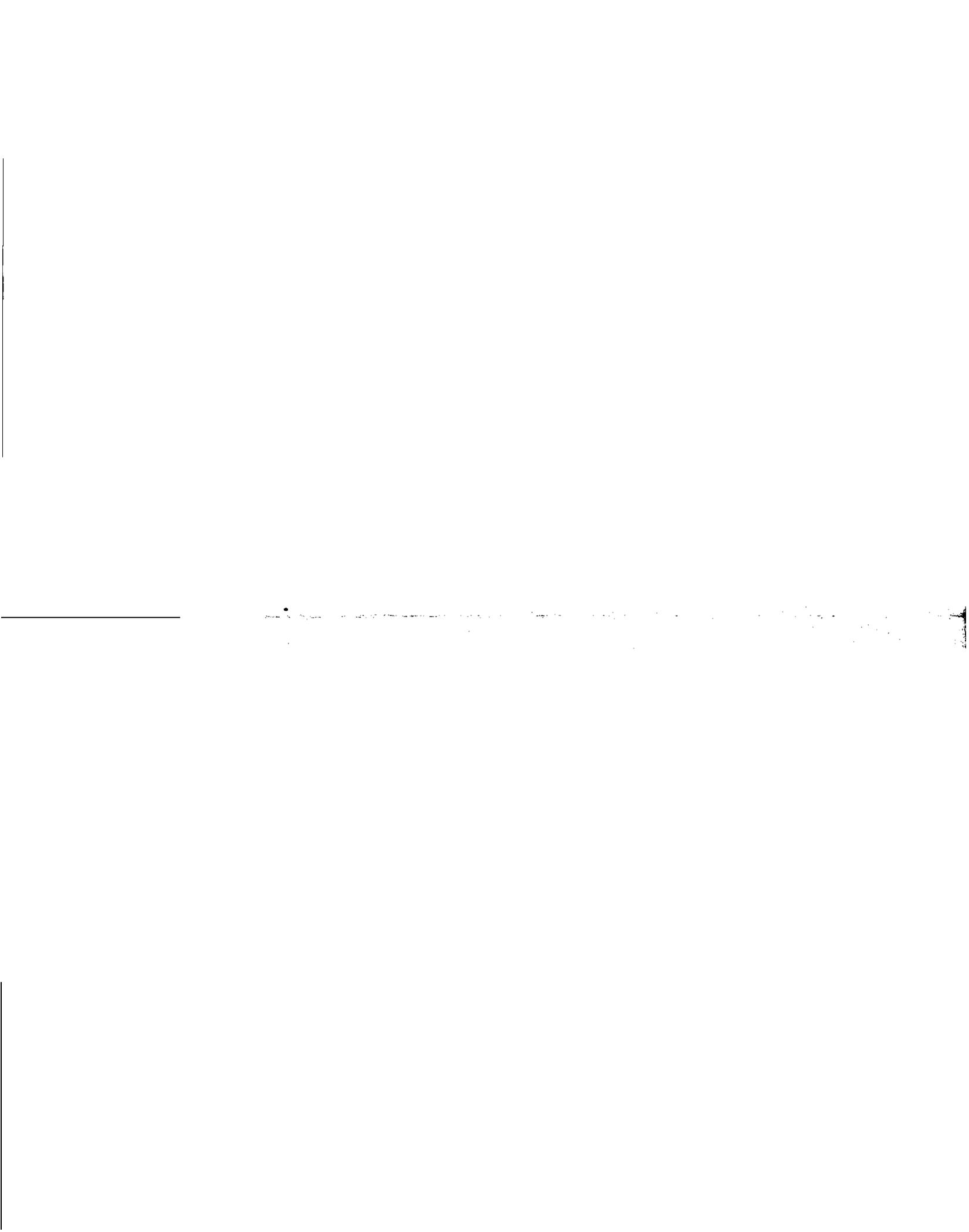
Saint Augustine, April, 1857



MAP
OF
EAST FLORIDA.

Reduced from the Map compiled by
CAP. JOHN MACKAY & LIEUT. J. E. BLAKE
 and published by order of the
SENATE OF THE U. STATES,
 For **DRAKE'S BOOK OF THE INDIANS.**
 1840.
 Trayer, successor to Moore, Boston





THE DADE MASSACRE

One who would write again of the Dade massacre, ninety-one years after its occurrence, must forego the expectation of discovering any great wealth of original data, and content himself in the main with the assembling of facts already published, and the elimination of more or less doubtful detail that has crept into former narratives, in an effort to bring into stronger relief a more or less neglected story of the American soldier's courage and fidelity unto death. Every school-child has been taught the story of the Alamo, a tragedy enacted a scarce two months after the massacre of the Dade command, and of the slaughter of Custer's cavalymen forty years later. But even Florida histories have not given full prominence to this disaster of territorial days, histories of the United States scarcely mention it, and the story is not to be found in any encyclopedia. Yet while the loss of life was less, because the number engaged were fewer, the men who fought and fell on the Dade battlefield, in the first daylight annihilation of American soldiers by Indians, are deserving of as high honor in the hearts of their countrymen, as the soldiers of Custer or those of Travis.

Resistance on the part of the Seminole Indians to their prospective removal from Florida to a western reservation, under the treaties of Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson, having made it evident that a show of military strength on the part of the Federal government would be necessary to enforcement as construed by the administration of Andrew Jackson, and the military forces in the peninsular of Florida during 1835 being limited to seven companies with perhaps

two hundred and fifty men in all available for service, six additional companies were ordered to Fort Brooke, on Tampa Bay ; the first detachment, Company B, 4th Infantry, thirty nine strong, under Brevet Major Francis L. Dade, arriving on the government transport *Motto* from Key West December 21st, 1835.

On December 23rd a detachment consisting of parts of four companies under command of Major Dade and numbering eight officers and one hundred and two non-commissioned officers and men (including several musicians and artificers), ¹ began their march to Fort King (near the present city of Ocala), something more than one hundred miles northward, where the Superintendent of Indian Relations, General Wiley Thompson, had his headquarters, and whose small garrison was recognized to be insufficient even for defensive purposes. The detachment made slow progress over the primitive road, and was delayed by the burning of the bridge twenty miles from Fort Brooke over the Hillsborough river. Major Dade, a veteran of the War of 1812, apparently had little conception of the actual perils of the expedition, though being a prudent and cautious officer by nature, he sent out an advanced guard and flankers on the march until the

¹ The early accounts vary as to the exact number of men in the command. Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Inspector General of the Gaines command, which came upon the battlefield February 20, 1836, reports that they found the bodies of eight officers and ninety eight non-commissioned officers and men; four are known to have left the battlefield, three reaching Fort Brooke *and one* being slain en route; not including the guide. These figures are accepted as correct, and there is no question as to the identity of the eight officers. The published list of officers and men who were killed or died of wounds or disease as a result of their service in Florida contains only ninety four non-commissioned officers and *men* of the Dade command, though the documents deposited in the Dade monument at West Point account for two more. Such discrepancies, even *in* the earliest and official records, increase the difficulties in the way of absolute accuracy in a narrative of the Massacre. For location of the forts and route see frontispiece *map*.

forks of the Withlacoochee River had been crossed and took all necessary precautions for the protection of his nightly encampments from a surprise attack.

It was not until the morning of Monday, December 28th, 1835, when the expedition had traversed two-thirds of the distance to Fort King, that Dade relaxed his vigilance and, as results proved, at the fatal time. Though he sent forward an advanced guard as usual, he had no reason to apprehend a daylight attack from Indians in the open pine woods, and omitted the flankers, thereby exposing his column to an enfilade fire from their Indian foes secreted behind the pine trees² and in the tall grass and clusters of palmettoes to the left (west) of the Fort Brooke - Fort King trail along which the detachment was advancing in double file. Major Dade, on horseback, followed the advanced guard. The morning being chilly" the men had their overcoats buttoned over their ammunition boxes, and were entirely unprepared to meet the unheralded attack which burst upon them about eight o'clock. The most detailed and authentic account of the battle is from Ransome Clark, a private of Company B, 2nd Artillery, who escaped from the breastworks about nine o'clock in the evening of the massacre. He was the only survivor who witnessed the entire battle," though

² At the present time there are a number of beautiful oaks in the Dade Memorial Park. They must have attained their growth since the battle, as neither the map of the battlefield nor a single contemporary account makes reference to any trees excepting the pines, and the battlefield is uniformly spoken of as a "pine barren."

³ Although thousands of southern volunteers enlisted in the war which followed the Dade Massacre, very few of the regulars who participated in that battle were of southern birth, many, in fact, were of foreign birth, the Irish predominating. The sensibility of northern people to their first touch of Florida cold is proverbial, and the troops who had recently come from Key West, on the border of the tropics, must have felt the need of overcoats, even while on the march.

⁴ Clark, who apparently was the last surviving soldier of

two others, John Thomas of Clark's company, and Joseph Sprague, Company B, 3rd Artillery, escaped during the fighting and returned to Fort Brooke ahead of Clark, all horribly wounded.⁵

In his narrative of the battle and the subsequent massacre of the survivors,⁶ Clark states that he heard

this battle, was honorably discharged from the service and granted a pension of eight dollars a month by the government, dying in York, N. Y., in November, 1840.

So far as is known, the man, regardless of race, who longest survived this massacre, was Luis Pacheco, the mulatto guide employed at Fort Brooke to conduct the expedition to Fort King. It can hardly be doubted, though he denied it in his last years, that he revealed the line of march to the enemy and perhaps furnished other information that made the ambush possible. Feigning death during the battle, he was taken by the Indians, and was eventually sent west with Wild Cat whom he followed into Mexico. A bill to compensate his former owner, Antonio Pacheco, for his loss, which was defeated by one vote, furnished the first instance in which a minority report was made by a Congressional committee adverse to slavery. (House Document No. 187, Thirtieth Congress, First Session.) This is discussed at length in *The Exiles of Florida*, by Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, a strong anti-slavery representative in Congress at the time.

Although a slave, Luis Pacheco was a hard student and it has been said that while members of Congress were discussing the monetary value of his bones and sinews, he could probably read and write more languages with ease and facility than could any member of the house. He returned to Florida fifty-seven years after the Dade Massacre, longing for the scenes of his youth and the hospitable home of his "Old Missus", dying in Jacksonville at the age of 95 years, in January, 1895. (*The Seminoles of Florida*: Minnie Moore-Willson.)

One account has it that Thomas fell into the hands of a friendly Indian, who permitted him to escape in consideration of his friendship and six dollars which the soldier had about his person. To Reverend John Chipman, a former Floridian, now of Pascagoula, Mississippi, the writer is indebted for the entirely credible tradition that one of the survivors concealed himself amongst the lily-pads in the pond on the battle-field, until his escape into the woods. No record available to the writer at this time throws any light on the subsequent career of Thomas and Sprague, and it seems most likely that they must have succumbed to their wounds and privations after reaching Fort Brooke, although their names do not appear in the published lists of the dead. One of the three survivors, presumably Clark, accompanied the army of General Gaines to the battlefield two months later.

⁶This narrative of Clark's is given in considerable detail in *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, by M. M. Cohen, an

a rifle shot in the direction of the advanced guard, followed by a musket shot from that quarter, and before he had time to think of their meaning a volley was poured upon the column from the front and all along the left flank. Half the command went down at the first fire and several other volleys had been fired before he could see an enemy, then only their heads and arms from out the long grass and from behind the pine trees. Major Dade and Captain Fraser were killed by the first volley, and Lieutenant Mudge mortally wounded ; Lieutenant Henderson had one arm broken, while both of Lieutenant Keais's arms were broken. Only Captain Gardiner, Lieutenant Basinger, and Dr. Gatlin were untouched. Lieutenant Henderson, though wounded, managed to load and fire his gun repeatedly, cheering the men until he was shot down toward the close of the second attack; but Lieutenant Keais, with his arms bound up and in a sling, was too severely wounded to take any part in the ensuing battle, unconscious or nearly so, he reclined against the breastworks constructed during the lull in the fighting, until he died.

The men threw themselves behind trees and opened a sharp fire of musketry and Lieutenant Basinger fired five or six rounds from the six-pounder, which apparently did little physical damage but frightened the Indians into withdrawing over a hill half a mile or more from the battlefield, after they had fired some twelve to fifteen rounds. While some of the men went about the field gathering ammunition and assisting the wounded, others began to fell the larger pine trees, from the logs of which they constructed the rude breastworks, three logs deep with the main wall on the

officer of the Left Wing, published in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1836, a copy of which is to be found in the library of the Florida Historical Society.

west, the direction from which the attack had come, and the northern and southern walls converging toward the trail and the pond in a triangular form. They had barely raised the fortification knee-high, when the enemy returned to the attack, spreading themselves from tree to tree to surround the soldiers when within a long musket shot. The latter immediately extended themselves as Light Infantry, opening a brisk fire from cannon and musketry. By two o'clock in the afternoon, after five hours of steady fighting, allowing three-quarters of an hour's interval between the first and second attacks, all had been cut down. Captain Gardiner, after being severely wounded toward the end of the battle, cried out, "I can give you no more orders my lads, do your best!" Dr. Gatlin, kneeling behind the breast-works with two double-barrel guns beside him, took satisfaction in the fact that he had four barrels for the enemy. Lieutenant Basinger, severely wounded, told Clark to lie down and pretend himself dead. With none left to resist, the Indians then charged into the works and, either believing all to be dead or unwilling to crown their victory with a cold blooded butchery, stepped about carefully, quietly removing the arms and accoutrements and without offering indignity retired in the direction from which they came, leaving the bodies of some thirty men lying side by side along the north and west walls of the breastworks, their arms extended in the directions they had fired their last shots.

The slaughter, of the wounded, which justifies the appellation "massacre" to what up to this time had been a legitimate ambushade, skillfully planned and daringly executed, was committed, not by the Seminoles, whose better nature was manifested in their hour of victory, but by forty or fifty negroes who galloped up on horseback, and with vile derision began to

despatch the wounded with axes and knives.⁷ Lieutenant Basinger, hearing them butchering the wounded, at length sprang up and asked them to spare his life.⁸ "They met him with the blows of their axes, and their fiendish laughter," is Clark's statement. Clark himself, wounded in five places and with two bloody scratches on the head which gave him the appearance of having been shot through the brain, owed his life to the stupidity of a negro who caught him, by the heels and then threw him down again, saying, "d-m him, he's dead enough!" Joseph Wilson, a private of Gardiner's company, crept from under the dead bodies after the negroes left, apparently unhurt and, having asked Clark to return with him to Fort Brooke, jumped over the breastwork, only to be shot down by an Indian who sprang from behind a tree.⁹ Clark then

⁷ Though many of the negroes were nominally the "slaves" of the Seminoles, they were in fact rather the retainers and allies of the Indians, with whom they had intermarried, and over whom they exercised a remarkable influence. These negroes were either fugitives themselves or descendants of escaped slaves, and it was their violent opposition to being sent West, where climatic conditions were less favorable to an easy livelihood, with the danger of being reclaimed by *former* masters amongst the whites en route or amongst the Creek Indians who had already emigrated, which caused the Seven Years War with the Seminoles, rather than the devotion of the Indians to their native Florida, however strong that affection may have been.

This plea of Lieutenant Basinger's loses the stigma of weakness when it is recalled that he was now, the only surviving officer and that as such it was his duty, if possible, to save the lives of his men. Basinger had directed the fire of the six-pounder throughout the two engagements and his last words, (attributed to an eye-witness, who must necessarily have been Ransome Clark, by a correspondent writing to the Darien Telegraph from Fort Drane, February 27th, 1836, reproduced in the Courier, Charleston, of March 11th, 1836,) were, "Come boys, let us sell our lives as dearly as possible!" His conduct throughout the battle, so far as we have any reason to believe, had been conspicuously and uniformly courageous, the cannoneers being especially marked by the Indian sharpshooters.

This may have been the soldier referred to in Alligator's narrative, who refused to surrender, seized a gun from an Indian, Jumper's cousin, and dashed out his brains; to be pur-

lay quiet until nine o'clock that night when he and Edward Decourcey¹⁰, a private of Company B, 2nd Artillery, slipped from the breastworks and, having seen the enemy retreat northward, decided to attempt the long journey back to Fort Brooke rather than the shorter one, over an unknown route, to Fort King.

"My comrade and myself got along quite well until the next day," says Clark, in concluding his narrative, "when we met an Indian on horseback, and with a rifle, coming up the road. - Our only chance was to separate-we did so. I took the right, and he the left of the road. The Indian pursued him. Shortly afterwards I heard a rifle shot, and a little after another. I concealed myself among some scrub and saw palmetto, and after awhile saw the Indian pass, looking for me. Suddenly, however, he put spurs to his horse, and went off at a gallop towards the road."¹¹

"I made something of a circuit before I struck the

sued at a safe distance by Indians on horseback after jumping over the breastworks, and shot to death. Clark, feigning death under the bodies of his comrades, could not have seen or heard all that happened.

¹⁰ Incorrectly given as "D. Cony" in Clark's narrative as published.

¹¹ Thus Providence intervened to save for history the sole survivor of Dade's command who could tell the story of the entire battle. It was not the intention of the Indians that this Thermopylae should have its messenger of defeat. The plan of battle which was contrary to the usual Indian methods of warfare, reveals a three-fold purpose: a fire from ambush that would either destroy the enemy at one volley or reduce their number to the point of hopeless resistance; a fight in the open woods that would prevent the escape of the survivors; and a safe retreat for the Indians themselves, into the Wahoo Swamp, if for any unexpected reason the battle should go against them. The plan must have owed much to the military genius of Osceola, though the latter was not a participant in the fight, being engaged in a smaller and somewhat private massacre at Fort King the same day, in which the principal victims were the Indian Agent, General Wiley Thompson, whom Osceola hated above all men, and Lieutenant Constantine Smyth. Osceola and his followers joined the other Indians that night after their return to the Wahoo Swamp, where they jointly celebrated the day's slaughters.

beaten track again. That night I was a good deal annoyed by the wolves,¹² who had scented my blood, and came very close to me ; the next day, the 30th, I reached the Fort."

The other narrative of the battle by an eye-witness, is that of the Indian chief, Halpatter-Tustenuggee, or Alligator, given to Captain John T. Sprague of the United States Army and recorded in *The Florida War* of which Capt. Sprague was the author. Its tendency is to corroborate rather than to discredit Clark's story in any material way. Alligator gives the number of Indians and negroes engaged in the battle as one hundred and eighty, and their losses as three killed and five wounded. They had been planning the attack for a year, he said. When all was ready, the chief Jumper gave the war whoop,¹³ and Micanopy fired the first shot,¹⁴ followed by the volley that laid low half

¹² Lest this reference to wolves in Florida should tend to discredit Clark's narrative, it may be mentioned that in 1832 the territorial Legislature authorized a bounty for the killing of these animals, and they are represented as being found in all unsettled parts of the territory, by John Lee Williams in his *The Territory Of Florida*, published in 1837.

¹³ This statement may be accepted with reservations. Clark says nothing about hearing the war whoop, an indescribable yell that would have been too terrifying for a young soldier hearing it for the first time to have forgotten. It may have followed the opening shot and have been drowned out in the roar of the accompanying volley.

¹⁴ Micanopy, the head chief, was reluctant to begin the battle, and was practically forced into action by Jumper, Alligator and the negro interpreter, Abraham. In some accounts Micanopy is credited with having fired the shot that killed Major Dade, when that officer passed in front of the tree behind which he was hidden. Although not certain, this is not improbable. Alligator in his narrative states that Micanopy recognized the officer at the head of the column as "the Captain," saying that he had known him and had been his friend at Tampa Bay. Major Dade was unquestionably at the head of his troops, excepting for the advanced guard, but as Dade had reached Tampa Bay from Key West only two days before beginning the march to Fort King, it would seem more probable that the officer recognized by Micanopy was Captain Fraser, who according to Ransome Clark, had just ridden forward when the firing was heard in the vicinity of the advanced guard.

of the Dade command. The men shouted and whooped, the officers shook their swords and swore, especially one officer, a little man, and a very brave man, who shook his sword at the soldiers and said "God-dam!" and whom no rifle ball could hit.

It is to be regretted that the identity of the officer whose bravery won the admiration of his Indian foe is lost, perhaps forever, to history. Logical deduction leads to the conclusion that it was Captain Gardiner,¹⁵ the ranking officer of those who escaped the first volley unharmed, and upon whom, Major Dade and Captain Fraser having fallen, the command of the shattered detachment devolved, and who directed the hopeless defense until mortally wounded near the end of the second battle-his dead body, found outside the breastworks whose construction he had ordered, and at its most exposed angle, bearing silent but indisputable testimony to a courage that did not falter in the face of death itself.¹⁶ It has been generally assumed

¹⁵ George Washington Gardiner, born in the District of Columbia, was appointed from the District to the United States Military Academy at West Point September 2, 1812, during the second war with England; commissioned 3rd Lieutenant 1st Artillery March 11, 1814; 2nd Lieutenant May 1, 1814; transferred to corps artillery May 12, 1814; commissioned 1st Lieutenant April 20, 1818; transferred to 1st Artillery June 1, 1821; transferred to 2nd Artillery August 16, 1821; brevet Captain April 20, 1828 for ten years faithful service in one grade; commissioned Captain November 3, 1832. *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, by Francis B. Heitman. For this record the writer is indebted to Dr. James A. Robertson, corresponding secretary of the Florida State Historical Society, Takoma Park, Maryland.

¹⁶ The map of the battlefield in the Dade Monument at West Point, shows that Captain Gardiner fell outside the breastworks, at the northwest corner. This map, accompanied by a brief narrative of the battle with other drawings and the roll of Major Dade's command is published in connection with Frederick Cubberly's *The Dade Massacre*, Senate Document No. 33, 67th. Congress, first session, under resolution introduced by Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, of Florida. See frontispiece map for location of the battlefield. See also illustrated pamphlets descriptive of Dade Memorial Park, two and one half

that Major Dade was ordered from Key West to Tampa Bay for the purpose of leading this particular expedition, but there is credible evidence that Captain Gardiner had been first chosen for the command, which he yielded to Major Dade under circumstances highly creditable to them both.¹⁷ It was Gardiner's company

miles west of Bushnell, the county site of Sumter county. These pamphlets were prepared respectively by A. D. Powers, of St. Petersburg, and J. C. B. Koonce, now of Tavares, who, as a representative in the Legislature in 1921 introduced the bill whose passage made possible the purchase of the eighty acres of land including and surrounding the Dade battlefield, its dedication as a park, and the erection of the monuments and buildings therein.

¹⁷ Cohen's *Notices of Florida*, published in 1836 and to which reference has already been made, quotes the following from a letter written by Lieutenant B. Alvord, of Major Dade's company, from Fort Brooke, to Lieutenant R. C. Buchanan, the Adjutant of his Regiment, (the 4th Infantry,) at New Orleans.

"Major Dade took command of the detachment under circumstances which reflect upon him the highest honor. Capt. F. S. Belton, of the 2nd Artillery, commands here. Gen. Clinch had ordered the commanding officer at the post to detach these two companies on their arrival. They arrived several weeks since, but being very weak, and the other companies ordered not having arrived, the accounts received at this time, of the hostile intentions of the Indians, was such as to induce Capt. B. to postpone the march. On the arrival of our company from Key West, the two companies were strengthened from, the whole command, so as to make them 100 strong. Mrs. Gardiner was exceedingly ill, and it was supposed that if her husband left, she would not live. Nevertheless, Capt. Gardiner (who was to command the detachment) prepared to go, and at reveille, on the morning of the 23rd, he mounted his horse in front of the detachment which was about to start. Major Dade made a proposition to the commanding officer to take Capt. G's place, on account of the situation of Mrs. G. The proposition was accepted, and the command commenced its march. Before they had proceeded many miles, Capt. G. ascertained that the U. S. schooner *Motto* was about to sail for Key West, for the purpose of bringing two twelve pounders from that post, ammunition, &c. His children, with their grandfather, were already there, and he concluded to send Mrs. G. to Key West in the *Motto*, and thus gratify his earnest desire to go with his company; (and on joining his company, the relation in which he stood to Major Dade, of course induced him not to demur to his continuing in command, and proceeding to Fort King)-they took along a six pounder, from the belief that it would produce a panic among the savages. But they seem to have assembled in such numbers, as to render the stout defense of the unfortunate troops quite unavailing. One hundred of the Indians are said to have

which formed the principal unit of the small battalion,¹⁸

been mounted." See also A Late Staff Officer (Woodbourn Potter), *The War in Florida*, Baltimore 1836 p. 102.

Jefferson B. Browne, in his *Key West, The Past and the Present*, says that both Major Dade and Captain Gardiner were well liked there, and that Gardiner's wife and children were the recipients of great sympathy from the people of Key West.

¹⁸ The "two companies" referred to by Lieutenant Alvord were evidently Gardiner's and Fraser's, which made up nearly two thirds of the Dade command. The officers of the detachment were, Brevet Major Francis L. Dade, 4th Regiment Infantry; Captain U. S. Fraser, B Company 3rd Artillery; Captain G. W. Gardiner, C Company 2nd Artillery; First Lieutenant W. E. Basinger, 2nd Regiment Artillery; Second Lieutenant R. R. Mudge, 3rd Regiment Artillery; Brevet Second Lieutenants R. Henderson, 2nd Regiment Artillery and J. L. Keais, 3rd Regiment Artillery; and Assistant Surgeon J. S. Gatlin, of the Medical Staff. Of the non-commissioned officers and men, including several artificers and musicians, 34 were from Gardiner's company and 32 from Fraser's; 11 from B Company, 2nd Artillery; 11 from B Company 3rd Artillery and 11 from Dade's own 4th Infantry (Company B;) a total of 107 officers and men, leaving three of the entire detachment whose names do not appear on the Roll before referred to. All were from artillery units excepting Major Dade himself and his eleven infantrymen, who probably constituted his advance guard at the time of the attack. With only one six-pounder, however, practically the entire command marched and fought as Light Infantry.

Ransome Clark, on his return to Fort Brooke, brought in a cleft stick left in a stream, a message from Captain Fraser for Major J. Mountford, urging him to press forward. Major Mountford and his company arrived at Fort Brooke about noon Christmas day, and hearing that Major Dade had been delayed on the road twenty miles distant on account of the bridges having been burnt, prepared to march the following morning. During the night, however, news arrived that Dade had proceeded on his way, and (not knowing of Fraser's message,) it was determined to adhere to the original plan and await the arrival of A Company, 2nd Artillery, under command of Lieutenant Grayson; a decision that saved Mountford's company from sharing the fate of Dade's. A letter from Major Mountford to Putnam P. Rea, dated January 1st, 1836, and published in the Florida Herald (St. Augustine,) February 6th, 1836, though brief, was the first narrative of the events surrounding the Dade massacre reduced to writing, and confirms the return of three soldiers from the battlefield, all "horribly wounded." Major Mountford states in this letter that the whole force at Fort Brooke was entrenched within the pickets and block house, the men hard at work, day and night strengthening their fortifications; fatigued but in good spirits, their whole soul seemingly wrapped up in the desire to revenge the blood of their comrades. The force consisted of about 200 officers and fighting men, with a party of "Citizen Rangers" about 30 strong,

and it was Gardiner upon whom the responsibility fell of conducting the desperate defense through five long hours. Dade's name has been deservedly preserved in more than one memorial, while the one honor given Gardiner was to name for him a small military post on the banks of the Kissimmee river, (Fort Gardiner) which has long since been obliterated. Perhaps the future may make some amends for this neglect of the past.¹⁹

On Saturday, February 20th, 1836, the command of General Edmund P. Gaines, en route from Tampa Bay to Fort King, halted at the Dade battlefield and, the officers having each been identified by some article of clothing or valuables about his person, (the Indians had not robbed them of their personal property) were buried in a trench beyond the eastern end of the breastworks, and the soldiers in two trenches inside, all with military honors ; the six-pounder, recovered from the pond where it had been thrown by the Indians, being placed at the head.²⁰

and about 100 friendly Indians headed by their Chief, Black Dirt

¹⁹ The battlefield now most appropriately bears the name "Dade Memorial Park." The monument erected at West Point in 1845 by the officers and men of the 2nd and 3rd Regiments of Artillery and the 4th Regiment of Infantry and by the Medical Staff, in memory of their comrades of the Dade command, is also known as the Dade Monument. Dade county, of which Miami is the county site-the county as originally created in 1836 contained practically all of the mainland of Florida south of a line drawn from Lake Myakka to the Potomac, or Hillsborough River, on the Atlantic side-Dade City, not many miles from the battlefield, Fort Dade, for many years an important fortification commanding the entrance to Tampa Bay; all pay deserved honor to the gallant leader who died at the head of his troops at the first fire; but only the tribute of silence to the one who directed the long fight to its foreordained conclusion.²⁰

²⁰ A letter from Jacksonville, published in the Courier, Charleston, S. C., April 13, 1836, says:

"During the course of the funeral honor paid to the companions of Major Dade a most affecting scene was witnessed. Having deposited the bodies in their lone graves, as the men

There the remains rested through the long war which followed. As it drew to a close, officers and men of the army were invited to contribute each a day's pay for the purpose of removing the remains of the Dade command, together with other officers who were killed or died of wounds or disease in the service, and of a number of non-commissioned officers and privates who had met death under circumstances of unusual gallantry, for permanent burial in St. Augustine.²¹ This was accomplished Monday, August 15th, 1842, nine days before the cessation of hostilities had been declared-six and a half years after they began.

With great solemnity and all the honors that the army and the citizens could render, the remains were brought into the city in wagons-"each covered by the American flag as a pall and drawn by five elegant mules," say the contemporaneous accounts-to the wail of music and the booming of guns they were carried to the garden of St. Francis Barracks-now the St. Augustine National Cemetery-and there in-

marched around the simple mausoleum, the proudest, hardest heart was melted to tears. No eye was found which could refuse this sincere tribute to their memories. There was no earthly pomp, no vain pageant to detract from the solemn realities before them. In the wide wilderness the scene of their heroic valor, their gallant, tragic death, they were paying those last sad rites to their slaughtered brethren. The canopy of heaven above, the forest stillness around-imagination cannot well picture a scene more sublimely solemn. The inspiration of a Sigourney or a Lee might here find a theme, might here pluck the flowers of the wilderness to deck the grave of that Spartan band who though 'unknelled' should not be 'unhonored and unsung.'

The official report of Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Inspector General of the Gaines' expedition, who observed the battlefield and made a written report at the direction of General Gaines, appears in Sprague's *The Florida War* and is a most valuable contribution to the meager records of the day.

²¹ Circular dated Cedar Keys, June 13th, 1842, signed S. Cooper, Assistant Adjutant General, and Orders No. 25, (Colonel Worth) dated Cedar Keys, July 25th, 1842.

tered in three vaults under the "Dade Pyramids." Catholic, Protestant, and Anglican services were held over the graves, with a Masonic address in the Presbyterian church.²² A list of the officers and men buried in the vaults was read to the assembled throng, and deposited with the garrison for permanent keeping.²³

²² Through the courtesy of Miss Marie B. Waties and Mrs. J. H. Cook, daughter and niece of the late Mrs. Mary Christina Waties. (daughter of Major John Beard, Jr.,) the writer has been permitted to copy the following from a letter from young Mary Beard to her sister, Elizabeth, then in Salisbury, North Carolina, written from St. Augustine September 3rd, 1842:

"The remains of the officers and soldiers were brought in the 15th of last month, and we all went up to the Barracks to see the procession, and from there we went through the Barracks garden to the graves. An address was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Watters of the Catholic Church, and Papa read our service as there was no Episcopal clergyman here. They had two bands, Capt. Gwinn's and Colonel Worth's. Major Graham, who belongs to Colonel Worth's regiment, brought the band to play for us twice and I do not think I ever heard such delightful music."

Mrs. Waties, who died in Tallahassee on September 6th, 1926, at the age of 98 years, was the last survivor of this ceremony which took place 84 years before, and she frequently referred to the event which made a strong impression upon her youthful mind.

Full accounts of the burial, published in the St. Augustine papers of the time (*Florida Herald*, Monday, August 15th, 1842, and *The News*, August 20th, 1842,) and incorporated in Sprague's *The Florida War* and Sergeant G. M. Brown's *Ponce deLeon Land and Florida War Record*, mention also Rev. Henry Axtell as one of the clergymen taking part in the obsequies, and D. W. Whitehurst as pronouncing a monody on the dead, at the Masonic services. The procession was under orders of Major Belknap, Captain Gwynne, 8th Infantry, commanding the escort and Lieutenant A. T. Lee, Acting Adjutant.

Though accounts, published at the time state that the remains were conveyed to the Barracks in eight wagons, it was the recollection of Mrs. Waties that there were twenty four such wagons in the procession.

²³ To Miss Emma Rochelle Williams, of Jacksonville, assistant secretary of the Florida Historical Society, the writer is under deep obligations for her patient research in the United States War Department and the Library of Congress, without which this article would have been impossible; as well as for locating the original list of United States soldiers who died at Fort King between October 9th, 1835 and June 29th, 1842, and who are interred under the Dade Pyramids in the National

“The whole was a grand and imposing spectacle. We had the opportunity of viewing from an elevation, the procession as it moved across the causeway of St. Sebastian River towards the city and to our eye nothing could be more grand than the military phalanx as it stood out in bold relief from the surrounding objects. The fine bands of the 4th and 8th Infantry playing soft and plaintive airs and the slow tread of the soldiery with their colors shrouded in, mourning told the spectators that this was no ordinary occasion and that their visit here was one of funereal solemnity, and that they were engaged in paying the last tribute of honor to their deceased compatriots who had fallen in the battle field in their country’s cause.

“It must be a gratification to the relatives and friends of these honored remains to know that a permanent resting place has been prepared for them and they deposited in it no more to be disturbed until that day when earth and sea shall be called upon to yield up their dead.

“The monuments are simple mounds of earth surmounted by pyramids in the Egyptian style, very plain and neat. The remains are deposited in vaults beneath.”²⁴

ALBERT HUBBARD ROBERTS.

Cemetery at St. Augustine. This list includes the name of First Lieutenant Constantine Smith, Company F, 2nd United States Artillery, who was killed, with General Wiley Thompson, the Indian Agent, in the attack headed by Osceola on the same day as the Dade Massacre, and the names and other data concerning 33 non-commissioned officers and privates, including one Musician, whose remains were similarly interred.

²⁴ The *Florida Herald*, St. Augustine, Monday, August 15th, 1842.

FORT KING

Unmarked and almost forgotten the site of Fort King, one of the historic spots of Florida, is to be found three miles east of Ocala. Established about one hundred years ago, the place was for many years the center of affairs concerning the Florida Indians. For many months during the year 1835 news from Fort King was anxiously awaited in Washington by the Administration and to this point the President of the United States and his Secretary of War dispatched many messages, or talks as the Indians described them ; and from Fort King came back the reports from the Indian Agent that the Seminoles were in a rebellious mood and war was possible.

At the present time this bygone storm center is dotted with giant oaks and pines with nothing to indicate to the visitor that it was once the place of stirring scenes incident to the pioneer days of Florida. The red man no longer breaks the silence of the hammock with his war whoop, but one who stands on this historic spot may easily imagine the hardships of those who endeavored to discharge their official duties as soldiers and officers of the government in their difficult dealings with the Seminoles and Micasukies.

When, in the year 1821, Spain ceded the Floridas to the United States, the Indians occupied much of the northern part of the newly acquired territory and it was the recommendation of General Andrew Jackson that they be removed in order that the public lands there might be sold and the country settled by white people. The most numerous tribe in Florida were known as Seminoles, a branch of the great Creek nation to the north. Under the leadership of Secoffee,

a famous chief who seceded from the Creeks and with his followers invaded Florida prior to the year 1737¹ and had established himself on the plains of Alachua (Alach-way, Lauchua, Louchie, Alach-chu-waw), they had by force of superior numbers overawed the Micasukies or Florida Indians.

The Seminoles claimed the country and resented the idea that the King of Spain could sell them and their lands without their consent. This situation called for negotiations and in 1823 a treaty was signed at Moultrie Creek, near St. Augustine.² James Gadsden, William P. Duval, territorial governor, and Bernardo Segui were the commissioners on the part of the United States.

By this treaty³ the Indians agreed to leave their homes in the western and northern part of the territory and remove into a district set apart for them, the northern boundary of which was in the neighborhood of the present city of Ocala. Included in the treaty was an agreement on the part of the United States that an agent of the government was to reside among the Indians, look after their affairs, and superintend the gunsmith and blacksmith shop to be established for the benefit of the Indians. Governor Duval was ex-officio Superintendent, of Indian Affairs, and spent much time and energy endeavoring to reconcile the Indians to their new location. He made a personal investigation of the country and explored it rather thoroughly. The lower part of the peninsula, with the exception of a few spots on the coast, was not used by the Indians except for hunting purposes. Governor Duval seems to have entertained a very poor opinion

¹ Coe, *Red Patriots*, Cincinnati., 1898, pp. 7, 8.

² *American State Papers. Indian Affairs*. Vol. II. 437.

³ This treaty complete appears in Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*. New York, 1848, pp. 20-22.

of the fertility and resources of the country allotted to the Indians. In the course of his explorations it was found that the hammock lands in the neighborhood of Ocala would not fall within the boundary established and surveyed by Colonel Gadsden and a request was made by the Indians, with the approval of the agent and Governor Duval, that the northern limit of the reservation be extended. This matter being presented to the President of the United States the boundary line was duly extended and Governor Duval, finding a suitable place a few miles to the eastward of the military road running from the Georgia boundary to Fort Brooke at Tampa, located the Indian agency there and it was named Camp King.

In 1822 Colonel Gad Humphrey, a former resident of New York; was appointed Indian Agent and for some time after his arrival in Florida spent much of his time at Tampa Bay and on the Apalachicola and St. Johns rivers discharging the duties of his office. The exact date of the selection of the site of the agency cannot be determined from records now available, but in a letter of Thomas L. McKinney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the War Department, dated February 25, 1825, addressed to Governor Duval, it would appear that the selection of the site for the agency was made about that time. Mr. McKinney says in his letter, "You can now advise Colonel Humphrey, the agent, in regard to, a selection of the location for the agency, about which it appears owing to the want of a salubrious spot within the heretofore ceded limits he found some difficulty."

Then, a few months thereafter, we find Colonel Humphrey writing letters from the "Florida Agency". A little later the sum of \$2,000.00 was allowed for the erection of a council house to be used for holding meetings with the Indians. In one letter Colonel Hum-

phrey was commended for his intention to cultivate ground adjacent to the agency, for the reason that his example would be a good one for the Indians to follow. It is evident that the site selected had at one time been used by the Indians for crude farming operations, and this fact probably influenced its selection. Records of the War Department show that Fort King as a military post was established in March, 1827. Governor Duval had repeatedly advised Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, that a military post be established "on the Southern frontier of Alachua" and it is probable that this advice resulted in the establishment of a military post at the agency.

A few years after the tedious process of removing the Indians from their homes and farms in northern and western Florida to the new reservation had been accomplished, General Jackson was elected President of the United States. It appears that the policy of his administration was to further harass the Florida Indians and if possible to remove them to the West, and this in spite of the fact that the treaty of Camp Moultrie had provided that the Indians, if they moved to the lands allotted to them, should remain unmolested for twenty years. In order to carry out this plan Colonel James Gadsden was again commissioned to treat with the Florida tribes. He sailed South with a schooner loaded with provisions, presents and a goodly quantity of rum, and entered the St. Johns River and thence went into the Ocklawaha where he negotiated what is known as the Treaty of Payne's Landing.⁴ This treaty provided that the Indians should be removed at the expense of the United States to the West, and that they were to leave Florida forever. It was also provided that a delegation of the Indians should

⁴ This treaty also is in Sprague, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76.

visit the, West to inspect the lands on which it was proposed to settle them. There is much doubt as to whether the rank and file of the Indians understood the agreement, and it was the misunderstanding and disagreement about its validity that brought on the Indian war and caused Fort King to be the center of activities in the long negotiations over the treaty dispute.

Prior to the time of the treaty many subjects for discussion came up to be heard at Fort King. Among these was the demand and claim for damages made by white people against the Indians for alleged depredations and the demands from Georgia and further north for fugitive slaves supposed to be within the Indian reservation. The Indians were reluctant to enter into council meetings, as many demands were made upon them. An example of the feeling of the Indians is the following extracts from remarks made at a meeting held at Fort King Agency on January 14, 1829. Tokose Emathla, generally known as John Hicks, said in part: ⁵

Our great father in Washington is our friend. He is our brother. I wish to send a few words to him from my people. . . . We want no long talk. We wish to have it short and good. We are Indians and the whites think we have no sense, but what our minds are we wish our big father to know. . . . I was told that if one man kills another we must not kill any other man in his place, but to find the person who committed the murder and kill him. . . . A black man living among the whites has killed one of my people *and* I wish to know who is to give me redress; will my big father answer? When our law is allowed to operate we are quick, but they say the black man is subject to the laws of the white people. Now I want to see if the white people do as they say. . . . We wish our big father to answer whether he will have the black man tried for the murder of one of our people. If he will give him up to us, the sun shall not move but he has justice done to him. We

⁵ Sprague, pp. 66-67.

work for justice as well as white people do. I wish my friend and father to answer. I agreed to send away all the black people who had no masters and I have done it, but still they are sending to me for negroes. When an Indian has bought a black man they come and take him away again, so that; we have no money and negroes. The white man sells us negroes and then turns around and claims them again, and our big father orders us to give them up. My big father is living and has not forgotten the talk we had but we have to make talk over again. . . . The white people say we owe them - it is not true. . . . We understand that Mr. Bellamy has received from the governor, \$1600.00. What is it for? The Indians do not owe him anything. He has lost no property by us. We have taken none of his cattle. If a tiger has killed one it is charged to the Indians. If they stray away and are lost for a time it is charged to the Indians. He has lost nothing by us, but my people have suffered by him. He has taken all the Indians' hogs he could lay his hands on. He has taken hogs from me. Will our great father see that this man restores to us what he has unjustly taken from us, for we look to the big father to fulfill his promises? We understand that Colonel Pyles has received some of the money that is due us; he is a good man, when we were perishing with hunger he gave us to eat and drink. He is entitled to what he received. . . . By stopping our money (annuity) the Governor has prevented our paying just debts, the debts we owe to the licensed Indian traders who have trusted us. . . . I am getting very old and I wish my bones to be here. I do not wish to remove to another land. Why does Colonel White plague me so much about going over the Mississippi? We hurt nothing in this land. I have told him so before.

Colonel Humphrey resigned his position as Indian Agent in 1832 and was succeeded by Major John Phagan, who accompanied the Seminole delegation to the western country. From the record left by Major Phagan he was not a success as an Indian agent and the Indians, supported by white, witnesses, charged him with rather shady practices in his dealings with them.

General Wiley Thompson of Georgia was appointed agent during the year 1833 and served as such until his death at the hands of Osceola, or Powell as he was known to the whites.

The occupation of the post by the military was not continuous as is shown by a resolution of the Legislative Council of 1832 requesting the Secretary of War "to order a company of United States' Troops (mounted if practicable) to be stationed at the military post, known formerly when garrisoned, as Camp King."⁶

During the administration of General Thompson many councils were held at Fort King in the years 1834 and 1835 relative to the proposed removal of the Indians to the West. Thompson, like Humphrey, seems to have been a man of good intentions and honest in his administration. He was disposed to be friendly and just to the Indians, but both Thompson and Humphrey had to contend with a certain element of the white population who were bent on claiming negro slaves of the chiefs, and with another class of whites, the whiskey dealers and unlicensed traders, who hung about the borders of the Indian reservation and whose presence and influence with the Indians caused trouble for the well-behaved Indians and the Agent.

It is in this period that Osceola, the celebrated Indian, appears on the scene. Many writers have described the conduct of Osceola⁷ and the councils held at Fort King. One incident is described as follows: "Here Osceola, hot-blooded young chief of the Seminoles, drew out his knife and stuck it into the table crying 'The only treaty I will ever make with the whites is with this.'"⁸ But a careful search of the correspondence from officials at Fort King to the author-

⁶ *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1832, p. 47.*

⁷ Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, Charleston, 1836, pp. 233-237.

⁸ Coe, *op. cit.* p. 51; Sprague, p. 80; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, Philadelphia, 1871, p. 283.

ities at Washington covering this period fails to disclose this alleged dramatic conduct of Osceola.

In a letter⁹ dated June 3, 1835, General Thompson gives an account of the arrest and confinement in irons of Osceola thus:

A few days ago Powell, one of the most bold, *daring* and intrepid chiefs of the Nation, and one who has been more hostile to emigration and has thrown more embarrassments in my way than any other, came to my office and insulted me by some insolent remarks. He had done so before and I then apprised him of the consequences, should he venture to do so again. He apologized and I forgave. In this connection I confined him in irons as I was fully satisfied the crisis had arrived when it became indispensable to make an example of him. On the next day after he was arrested, he sent to me a proposition to sign the acknowledgment of the validity of the treaty and begged that I would release him. I informed him that without satisfactory security that he would behave better and prove faithful in the future he must remain in confinement. He sent for some of the principal chiefs and begged them to intercede for him. They did so. I then informed him that I would put his sincerity to the test by releasing him and relying on his word to come in a few days, meet these friendly chiefs and in council subscribe to the acknowledgment of the treaty. He replied that he would not only do it himself, but would bring others with him. . . . True to his professions he this day appeared with 79 men of his people and redeemed his promise. I now have no doubt of his sincerity.

On December 26, 1834, at a council with the Indians, Osceola for the first time, as it appears from the record, addressed the Indians, and General Thompson, in a letter to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, states:¹⁰

After the business was disposed of Powell, a bold man and a determined young chief who has been perhaps more violently opposed to removal than any other, made some remarks in the council, evidently under excited feelings. I at once entered into a very forceful conversation with him in which I expressed my regret that a chief who had acted so manly and correctly in all other matters should have acted so

⁹ 24th Congress, 1st Sess., Executive Documents 638.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

unwisely in regard to the Treaty of Payne's Landing. He replied that he looked to the Camp Moultrie treaty as the one in force. Osceola said that as Thompson had to obey the President, so he, Osceola, was bound to obey the chiefs over him. I then asked him if any act of mine had shown any unkindness or want of friendship toward him or his people. He with emphasis replied, 'I know that you are my friend, friend to my people. . . .' The result was that we closed with the utmost good feelings and I have never seen Powell and the other chiefs so cheerful and in such a fine humor at the close of a discussion upon the subject of removal.

In the fall of 1835 it became apparent to the authorities that the Indians would not submit to removal without a struggle. Charley Emathla, an Indian who lived northwest of the agency and who had agreed to remove, was murdered by Osceola and his followers¹¹ in fulfilling a threat that they would kill any Indian that would agree to remove, and thenceforward the Indians declined to enter into council meetings ; some of the friendly Indians going to Tampa Bay to await transportation to the West by water, and others retiring into the swamps of South Florida prepared to resist the forces of the Government. There was only a small force of soldiers stationed at Fort King, and General Clinch, commander of the United States forces in Florida, recommended an addition to the forces at Fort King and elsewhere in the State for the purpose of making an impression upon the Indians and for the protection of, the inhabitants. At that time General Clinch owned a plantation, near what is now Fairfield in Marion County, known as Lang Syne plantation and afterwards as Fort Drane. Major Dade was ordered from Key West to Tampa and from Tampa to Fort King to reinforce the garrison there and on December 28, 1835, while on the march to Fort King he was at-

¹¹ Staff Officer (Woodbourn Potter), *The War in Florida*, Baltimore, 1836, pp. 96-97.

tacked and practically his entire command destroyed.¹² On the same day Osceola, lurking in the neighborhood of Fort King with a small band of followers, ambushed General Thompson, and thus had his revenge for his arrest and detention by the General.¹³

Lieutenant Harris in a letter to the Commissary General relates the facts of the death of General Thompson as follows:

I regret that it becomes my first duty on my arrival here to be the narrator of a story which will be, I am sure, as painful for you to hear as it is for me, who was almost an eye witness to the bloody deed, to relate to you. Our excellent superintendent, General Wiley Thompson, has been most cruelly murdered by a party of hostile Indians, and with him Lieutenant Constantine Smith of the 2nd regiment of artillery, Erastus Rogers, the sutler of the post, together with his two clerks - a Mr. Hisler and a boy called Robert.

This occurred on the afternoon of the 28th instant, between three and four o'clock. The troops, with the exception of Captain Lendrum's company of the 3rd artillery, had been withdrawn on the 26th to reinforce General Clinch at Lang Syne plantation, preparatory to his striking a blow at the families of the Indians supposed to be concealed in the swamps and hammocks of the Withlacoochee River, with the hope of bringing on a general engagement. The departure of the detachment had rendered precaution more necessary, and all those attached to the fort or agency had been required to *move* within the picketing. General Thompson slept within the defenses and passed the greater part of the day at the agency offices, about one hundred yards beyond the works. The sutler had moved his goods into the fort, but was in the habit of eating his meals at his house, some six or eight yards off, skirting a thick hammock to the northwest of us. His clerks ate with him.

On the day of the massacre Lieutenant Smith had dined with the general, and after dinner invited him to take a short stroll with him. They had not proceeded more than three hundred yards beyond the agency office when they were fired upon by a party of Indians who rose from ambush in the hammock,

¹² Cubberly, *The Dade Massacre*. (67th Cong. 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. 33)

¹³ Potter, *op. cit.* pp. 109-111.

within sight of the fort and on which the sutler's house borders. The reports of the first rifles fired, the war-whoop twice repeated, and after a brief space several other volleys more remote and in the quarter of Mr. Rogers' house were heard and the smoke of the firing seen at the fort.

Upon the first alarm Captain Lendrum drew in his men, who were for the most part busily engaged without the pickets securing the defenses, expecting an assault from the hammock immediately fronting and flanking the fort, and not then knowing of the absence of General Thompson and the others, thinking the firing was but a feint to draw him out to be cut off. Shortly, however, the fact was made known to him, and about the same time several whites and colored people, who had escaped from the sutler's house, came running in and apprised Captain Lendrum that Mr. Rogers, his clerks, and themselves, had been surprised at dinner, and that the three former had in all probability fallen into the hands of the Indians.

It was at this moment that Lieutenant Colonel Crane, of the army, and myself, with an escort of six mounted militia upon jaded horses, arrived at the fort by the rear of the hammock from which the ambush arose. A command was instantly dispatched to succor and pursue if not too late. But the butchery had been as brief as it was complete, and the last war-whoop that had been heard was the signal for a precipitate retreat, and the savage perpetrators were already beyond the reach of our small force.

The bodies of General Thompson, Lieutenant Smith and Mr. Kitzler were soon found and brought in; those of the others were only discovered this morning. That of General Thompson was perforated with fourteen bullets, and a deep knife wound in the right breast. Those of Lieutenant Smith and Mr. Kitzler had each received two bullets, and the head of the latter was so broken that the brains had come out. The bodies of the two found today were most shockingly mangled; the heads of each very much broken, the body of Mr. Rogers was penetrated by seventeen bullets, and that of the boy by two. All, saving the boy, were scalped. The remains of these unfortunates were decently and properly interred today.

The cowardly murderers are supposed to be a party of the Mickasookee tribe of forty or sixty strong, under the traitor Powell, whose shrill peculiar war whoop was recognized by our interpreters and the one or two friendly Indians we have at the fort, who know it well. . . .

Two companies have been daily expected at this post from

Fort Brooke for some time past and four in all are now hourly looked for. It is strange they have not arrived before. I was ordered by General Clinch to accompany Lieutenant Colonel Crane to this post with the hope of finding this reinforcement already here, and to aid in bringing it up to form a junction with the combined forces of himself and General Call upon the Withlacoochee. The present strength of these generals amounts to something upwards of 200 United States troops and 500 mounted militia. In consequence of the non arrival of the companies from below, and the weak condition of Fort King, Colonel Crane and myself *are to* remain here until further orders.

The reinforcements mentioned in the letter of Lieutenant Harris were the troops of Major Dade. In February, 1836, General Gaines arrived at Fort King from Tampa Bay with a large force of men and from thence marched to the Withlacoochee where he engaged the Indians and was beseiged for several days, the command suffering for want of supplies until relief came through General Clinch, who brought supplies and reinforcements from Fort Drane where headquarters for the army had been established.

Shortly after this Fort King was abandoned as a military post and then re-established, only to again be abandoned.¹⁴ In the official communications we find one from General Jesup in December, 1836, in which he states that Fort King is out of position but will be re-established if he can spare the troops. The following summer fifty men were assigned to duty at the fort. Again in February, 1837, General Jesup notifies the Washington authorities that he reserves the right to re-establish Fort King, and in May, 1837, the garrison at Fort Armstrong was transferred to Fort King.¹⁵ The Indians having retreated southward the field of operations of the army was in that quarter and Fort King was practically abandoned as a military post.

¹⁴ For these and the following statements see various reports in American State Papers, Indian Affairs and Military Affairs.

¹⁵ See frontispiece map in this number, on which most of the military trails of this district radiate from Fort King.

Meanwhile many efforts were made to end the war by negotiations with the Indians and we find from the official reports that Major General Macomb, a veteran of the War of 1812 and known as the Hero of Plattsburg, came to Florida for this purpose. On May 18, 1839, he issued a proclamation¹⁶ from Fort King, at which point he had induced many of the leading Indians to meet him, as follows:

The Major General commanding in chief has the satisfaction of announcing to the army in Florida, to the authorities of the territory, and to citizens generally, that he has this day terminated the war with the Seminole Indians by an agreement entered into with Chitto-Tustenuggee, principal chief of the Seminoles, and successor to Arpeika, commonly called Sam Jones. . . .

By this arrangement the Indians had agreed to accept the territory assigned to them, which was to extend from Punta Rassa to Lake Istopoga. However, this arrangement like the one previously made by General Jesup on the Withlacoochee at Fort Dade was not lasting, for in July the Indians made a murderous attack on Colonel Harney and his command near Fort Myers. Toward the end of the war we again find Fort King established as an important post on the military road leading from northern Florida to Tampa Bay and the south, but at the close of the war in 1842 it was finally abandoned by the government.

The site then seems to have been taken over by the civilian population, and it may be said that it was the location of the first white settlement in Marion County, for we find that in 1844, two years after the close of the war, a convention of the inhabitants of East Florida was held at Fort King for the purpose of discussing the admission of Florida as a state. Upon the establishment, of Marion County the legislature provided

¹⁶ Sprague, *op. cit.* pp. 228-229.

that the first county seat should be located at Fort King ¹⁷ until a permanent seat should be designated by the voters of the county at an election to be held for that purpose. Shortly afterwards the election was held and the county seat was established at Ocala.

At the present time the site of Fort King is in part embraced in a farm, but traces of the stockade may be found. A faint sandy trail connects the historic spot with a paved highway not far away. Beautiful oak trees surround the, pretty knolls on which the stockade stood. An old graveyard may be found; and nearby the spring from which the Fort and settlement obtained water still flows as in the days of Osceola.

FRED. CUBBERLY.

¹⁷ *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1844, p. 44.*

NOTES ON RECONSTRUCTION IN TALLAHASSEE AND LEON COUNTY, 1866-1876

The soldiers who came back in 1865 found peace and security at least, and for a time there was business activity in Tallahassee. The nightmare of Reconstruction did not begin at once - not until the United States Army took the reins of government, and that other army of carpet-baggers and camp-followers came from everywhere like buzzards collecting.

The city election of 1866 might have been one before the War, for Francis Eppes was chosen intendant (mayor), and the councilmen were : F. H. Flagg, S. W. Myers, R. H. Gamble, P. T. Pearce, George Damon, John McDougal, Charles E. Dyke, and T. P. Tatum.¹ Most of these were reelected the following year with D. P. Hogue as intendant.

In 1869 the cloud was there but long habit persisted and many former slaves still looked to their old masters for leadership :

"Yesterday's municipal election was animated. Although there was a so-called Republican ticket in the field, a large number of colored voters supported that headed by Tatum."²

Elected: mayor, T. P. Tatum ; councilmen, G. H. Meginniss, T. J. Rawls, John Pratorious, L. E. Johnson, I. W. Bowen, F. H. Flagg, B. C. Lewis, C. E. Dyke ; clerk, J. L. Taylor; assessor, G. A. Ball ; marshal, A. L. Woodward.

But negroes were fast collecting in Tallahassee, and state politics influenced city elections ; so C. H. Edwards, with a Republican council, now governed

¹ The records of the city government for this period have been lost or destroyed. These notes are from other sources, mostly contemporaneous newspapers.

² *Floridian*, Tallahassee, Jan. 5, 1869.

the town for several years, and a colored preacher, Rev. W. G. Stewart, was appointed postmaster.

There was a respite in 1874 when D. S. Walker Jr. was elected mayor by a small majority, with the following aldermen : Henry Matthews, Geo. Fitzgiles, Ben DeCoursey, Henry Hicks, J. J. Williams, W. R. Wilson, R. A. Shine, Daniel Vaughn, Jacob Burkhim; with R. B. Gorman, clerk; Henry Sutton, marshal; P. L. DeCoursey, tax assessor. But the next year Samuel Walker was elected mayor with the whole Republican ticket.

State affairs during this period were of greater moment and were in worse condition than those of the town. When the clouds began to gather on the horizon a determined effort was made to prepare for the coming storm :-

"We were present at a large and respectable meeting of the best citizens of Leon County (held August 10, 1868) of men of standing and influence in the community, and representing all shades of old party politics. Old issues were forgotten and -all united, cordially, in a unanimous call for a County Convention. . . . Federal and ex-Confederates, white and colored, all seemed intensely interested *in this* effort to bring together the true representatives of the PEOPLE'S interests."

Signing the call were:

F. R. Cotton	Chas. W. Wylly	W. W. Smith
Solomon Sills	A. J. Peeler	W. F. Shine
J. L. Taylor	P. B. Brokaw	T. W. Brevard Jr.
G. A. Chaires	John Maige	E. Y. Gallagher
James Lee	Jno. Jo. Williams	Wm. Germany
Chas. Munde	G. W. Scott	R. N. Gardner
John Evans	F. H. Flagg	C. E. Dyke
Otis Fairbanks	R. G. Shepard	L. M. Butler
J. Q. Cromartie	J. D. F. Houck	A. B. Stonelake
Jacob Triest	A. M. Anderson	A. A. Fisher
J. C. Barineau	A. M. Scott	I. W. Bowen
Hugh Archer	R. S. Lester	M. Lively
J. L. Demilly	Thos. W. Ross	Ed. Bradford Jr.
J. S. Lester	S. W. Myers	P. L. Barineau
J. B. Oliver	W. J. Atkins	G. H. Meginniss

Parker Levy	L. H. Kirksey	J. H. Humphries
J. C. Rouse	P. Houstoun	John D. Perkins
Furman Chaires	Geo. Wilcox	Sam Humphreys
Arthur Macon	B. Chaires Sen.	A. Y. Caldwell
D. W. Gwynn	T. P. Tatum	F. H. Hall
W. A. Bull	W. W. Childers	R. B. Gorman
W. R. Wilson	J. F. Demilly	J. Pratorius
P. L. Pearce	R. A. Shine	D. B. Maxwell
T. H. Hale	R. B. Patton	Philip Walter

A *Constitution Union* Club followed from this meeting with Col. A. A. Fisher as president. This organization was active for awhile; but the outlook through the ballot-box grew so hopeless from the flood of negro votes and Radical fraud that the whites of Leon could not be induced to register, and for a time elections went almost by default.

Here should be mentioned a leader of the Conservatives, the best known of all Florida editors of any period, Charles Edgar Dyke, of the Tallahassee *Floridian*.

"For upwards of forty years he has been the intimate friend, confidant, or adviser of nearly all public officials . . . knowing all the secret and unwritten history of the state."³

When the conservative old *Sentinel* was sold in 1868 and had hoisted the flag of Radicalism, a neighboring editor wrote :

"To this misfortune we can in some measure reconcile ourselves when we remember the proximity of the grim old battery Dyke, whose pluck and ammunition will in any event be equal to the emergencies of any assault of the *Sentinel*."⁴

Unlike the majority, Dyke never lost heart during these years which, to Tallahassee, were worse than the War. When, at the election of 1874 for congressman, the Conservatives of Leon polled one-third less votes than they had in the previous election he was outspoken as usual:

³ Barbour, *Florida*. (New York, 1882), p. 81.

⁴ *Jefferson Observer*, (Monticello ?) , June, 1868.

"The falling off in Leon was discreditable, and has exposed the Conservatives of the County to just but mortifying criticism."

But the white population was actually less in 1875 than it was in 1870. Many, disheartened or disgusted, had gone to live elsewhere-mostly to Texas.

Census, Leon County-

1870	white ---	2895	1875	white ----	2576
	colored ---	12341		colored ----	14839

These figures show also that the flocking of the negroes to the Capital and its vicinity from all over the State after the War was still going on. In 1850 the population had been - 3240 free; 8273 slaves. (The free negroes were all but negligible.)

In 1875, 41,000 acres were planted in cotton (a decrease in the five years of more than 2000 acres), 43,000 in corn, and 600 in cane.

Tallahassee was one of the first towns of the old Confederacy to observe Memorial Day and year after year, from 1867 at least, on the 26th of April the ladies of the *Memorial Association* covered the graves of the soldiers who had died in the hospital during the War with a sheet of spring flowers. Usually there was an address ; Dr. R. B. Burroughs, Col. T. W. Brevard, and Richard Call Long being among the orators. The activities of the association were varied. An annual charity ball was held in the Capitol at which several hundred dollars was often raised for the benefit of the families of deceased soldiers and for disabled soldiers themselves. Before 1867 more than one hundred persons had received material assistance.

There was a rift in the overhanging cloud of Reconstruction with the election, in 1875, of Charles W. Jones to the United States Senate.

"Tallahassee was literally ablaze with excitement and enthusiasm last Thursday evening over the grand termination of the Senatorial election. Without doubt the largest indoor meet-

ing ever held in this city gathered at Gallie's Hall to do honor to the Senator elect. There were representatives from all parties - political friends and political enemies: Gov. Stearns, Sen. Conover, and Congressman Purman. . . ."

So there was hope at last through the medium of the ballot box, and the Conservatives of Leon, in preparation for the ever-memorable struggle of 1876, organized a *Reform Club* with George P. Raney, president; and the following executive committee: A. L. Randolph, Tallahassee ; H. N. Felkel, Centreville ; W. D. Bloxham, Tallahassee ; S. J. Fleming, Lake Jackson ; D. S. Walker Sr., Tallahassee ; Alex Moseley, Iamonia; Henry Perkins, Miccasoukie ; R. H. Gamble, Tallahassee ; R. C. Parkhill, Station 1; John Maige, Fort Braden ; Jackson Moody, Munson's Lake ; J. J. Williams, Tallahassee ; R. B. Hawkins, Tallahassee.

(From *Floridian*, Tallahassee, November 14, 1876) -

LAUS DEO!

Stearns [Rep.] 3,029; Drew [Con.] 1,010.

This was a remarkable vote, considering that the colored population of the county outnumbered the white six to one, and that the vote in the last election had been 2395 to 496. Drew was elected, the State reclaimed from spoliation, and a large part of the battle had been fought and won in Leon.

Looking backward over the trials of Reconstruction all was not black. Though many of, the United States Army officers seemed to relish trampling upon the conquered, others, whose purpose seemed always to be reconciliation, were considerate of their feelings.

Colonel F. F. Flint:

Colonel: We the undersigned, representing the entire voice of our people, have heard with deep regret of your early departure from our State. We bear . . . cheerful testimony to your courteous bearing as a gentleman and to your high-toned,

honorable and impartial administration- during your stay in Florida. . . . Rest assured, Colonel, that in leaving Tallahassee you and your esteemed family carry with you the love and respect of this community. Farewell.

(Signed) D. S. Walker, W. D. Bloxham, G. A. Chaires, T. P. Tatum, D. B. Meginniss, Geo. A. Groom, (and nearly one hundred other residents of Leon County).

Doubtless the contrast of Colonel Flint's conduct with that of some other officers increased the respect in which he was so widely held.

With the return of the Conservatives to power it seemed that a military force under that authority was desirable. In June, 1877, a militia company was organized under the name *Governor's Guards* with these officers: Captain, W. I. Vason; 1st Lieutenant, W. H. Butler ; 2nd Lieutenant, F. P. Damon ; 3rd Lieutenant, Ed. Lewis; Orderly Sergeant, A. H. Munde.

A reawakening in other directions followed the return to normal political status.

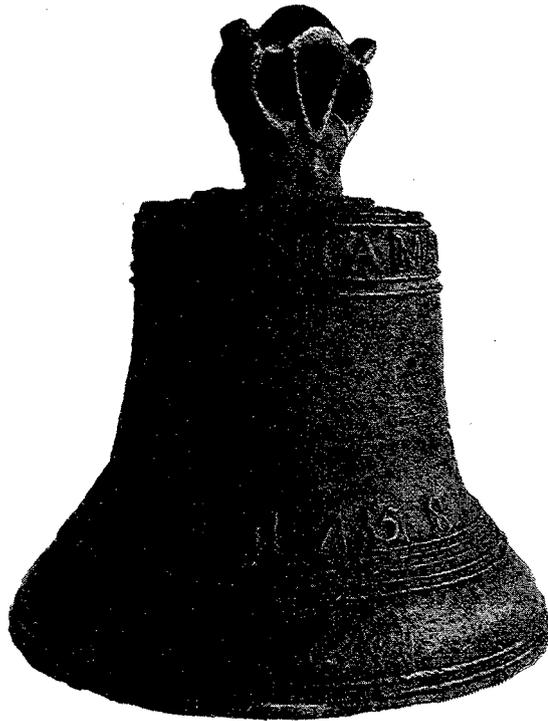
"The citizens of Tallahassee have struck the key note. A large and enthusiastic meeting . . . was held . . . to take into consideration how we shall promote the best interests of the city and county. It was a real old-fashioned talking meeting, in which everybody took a part and gave their views freely in regard to how we should act in regard to our best interests, socially and financially. After many measures were proposed and freely talked over a Board of Trade was organized. The time has come for action, so let us with a united front strive to make Tallahassee the most beautiful State Capital in the Union and the most flourishing inland city on the continent. Among those present were: Governor Walker, Messrs. Poole, Chaires, Winthrop, Edmondson, Bernard, Hilton, Wilson, Williams, Slusser, Rippey, Gamble, Oliver, Purdy, Lewis, Burkhim, Ball, Meginniss, Rawls, Britton, Cohen, Hawkins, Kemper, Cobb."⁵

⁵ *Floridian*, Tallahassee, March 16, 1875.

100

100

100



THE SOCIETY'S RELICS
I. A MISSION BELL, 1758

THE BELL OF A FLORIDA SPANISH MISSION ¹

In the museum of the Florida Historical Society, at 7 West Forsyth Street, Jacksonville, there is an old bell of Spanish origin which is one of the very few existing relics of the missions established by the Roman Catholic church in colonial days throughout the territory now embraced by the State of Florida. The bell was cast of an alloy of tin, copper, and silver; it is eighteen inches in height, measures four feet around the base, and bears the inscription *SANTA MARIA ORA PROBONIS*, with the date *ANO 1758*, and a raised cross composed of twenty-four eight-pointed stars. It is a remarkably well-preserved specimen of Spanish workmanship.

The bell was found near Madison, Florida, about 1840, and was secured in 1906 by Governor Francis P. Fleming, then president of the Florida Historical Society, through Judge E. J. Vann, of Madison. The following letters tell of its discovery.

² Taylor Co. Fla. 11-12-1906

. The old Spanish Bell was given to me by my Father Mr. T. J. Cobb. Judge Vann was an old friend of my Father's and I let him keep the bell for me. Now in reply to the offer you make me I will except same on the account that you want it for the Florida Historical Society and that by selling it to the Society it will be preserved for generations to come.

History of the bell as was told to me by my old and greatly esteemed friend Judge Perry, of Madison Co. He was a great surveyor and spent much of his life surveying for the government. As was related to me by my friend-In and about the year 1840 *a man* by the name of Bell was fishing in a **Pond** and was wadeing and came in contact with this bell - he stumbled over it and stopped and found that it was a bell - so I was

¹ Descriptions of other relics will appear in future issues.

² These letters are in the files of the Society.

told a few years after that the clapper was dug out of a mound in Gee Hammock not a great ways from where the bell was found. (signed) J. W. Cobb, Perry, Taylor Co. Fla.

² Madison, Florida, Aug. 20, 1925.
 Judge Vann thought the bell a prize and so did Gov. Fleming. It was found in a lake near Madison and was in Judge Vann's office for several years. The last time I saw Gov. Fleming he was en route to the R. R. station & sitting in an old hack & he had that old bell between his knees as if fearful that some calamity would happen to his treasure if he took his hands away from its support.

(signed) Mrs. E. J. Vann.

The discovery of this bell within the territory lying east of the Apalachicola River and west of the Suwannee places it in the Apalache country which, records show, was inhabited by a tribe of Indians of that name as early as 1612. Desirous of receiving the same attention from the white invaders as had been bestowed upon the neighboring tribes of Timucans and Yamasees, the Apalaches, in 1633, requested that missionaries be sent them. Ready acquiescence on the part of the Spanish church led to the establishment of numerous Catholic missions, some of which William Roberts in his *Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida* (London, 1763) locates thus :

Ocon is fifteen miles from St. Marks, and ten miles beyond is Ayavalla fort; twenty four miles further is Machalla, and eleven miles from that is San Matheo; both these are situated on branches of the Rio Vasisa which is about eighty miles *in* length and enters the Gulf of Mexico fifteen miles southeast from St. Marks.

From this, and from the map of Florida drawn by T. Jeffreys soon after its cession to Great Britain and published in Roberts's work, it would seem that the Rio Vasisa was the Aucilla River, and the mission of Machalla would fall within the bounds of Madison County, forty-nine miles by road from St. Marks.

In 1635 middle Florida was pretty thoroughly Christianized,³ so thoroughly that over a century afterwards the remnant of the Apalache tribe preserved something of the Catholic faith. In 1684 troubles began for these thriving missions ; the Yemassees invaded the territory and plundered and ravaged all that fell in their path. In 1702 and 1703 there followed a series of inroads into the province of Florida by Governor Moore of Carolina whose persistent attacks resulted in the laying waste of most of the country. Fourteen hundred native Indians were carried to Georgia where they were sold as slaves at Savannah. The final death-blow of the missions came with the British occupation of Florida in 1763. Between the time of Governor Moore's devastating excursions and that of the British regime attempts were made with more or less success to reestablish the missions, and it was during this period that the old bell now in the possession of the Florida Historical Society found its way into the Apalachee country.

The glamour of romance surrounds it, for one can visualize the kneeling band of red men who at its peals of invitation had come to pay homage to the Great Spirit who knows no race or creed.

EMMA ROCHELLE WILLIAMS.

³ Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886, p. 163. At this time 5000 Apalache Indians had been baptized, and the number of converts in Florida was estimated to be 26000.

THE PATRIOT WAR, A CONTEMPORANEOUS
LETTER ¹

St. Marys, Apr., 1, 1818

Sir, As I am ignorant that any direct agent of the Government has communicated to the Department of State the present situation of this Frontier and the adjoining province of East Florida, and though I believe it is not customary for a person holding a situation like mine under the administration to take upon himself such responsibilities, specially when there are officers more immediately connected with the Government whose particular duty it is to acquaint it with all matters of fact which may transpire within their knowledge, I have taken the liberty of making the following communication which I believe under the present state of things it is my duty to do as a private individual.

Much has been said with regard to the people called Patriots and the Government is possessed no doubt of all the important information concerning them, yet the following facts I think are of as much consequence though I have never seen them stated ; at least, on this frontier we feel deeply interested in their result.

Before the arrival of General MacGregor at Amelia Island in the month of June, last, the Province of East Florida was in a disorganized state, especially that part of it which is situated between the rivers St. Johns and St. Marys. There were only three small military establishments in the whole country, one at St. Augustine, containing about 200 men, one on the

¹ This letter is one of a series on the same subject, the others of which have appeared or will appear in the QUARTERLY. The original of this one is in the Bureau of Index and Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

waters of the St. Johns at a place called the Cow Ford containing about 80 men, and the last at Amelia Island where there were stationed 50 or 60 invalids, as they might be with every correctness called, for they were soldiers completely worn out with the service, some of them having been in the Spanish Armies for 30 years. The whole of the above force was poorly fed and clothed, - and all in efficient strength was not equal to half the number of young and well fed men. The actual control of the Spanish authorities in the Province of East Florida was therefore quite, small and extended but a little distance from the lines of the different fortifications. The people who inhabit the Territory which lays between the two rivers mentioned before are a hardy and desperate set of men who generally possess but little, if any, property except a rifle, a horse, and perhaps a few cattle or hogs - and whom the barrenness, extent and nature of the country have served to assimilate in character to the aborigines of America, or the tribes of wandering Arabs who roam about Africa. These men who had generally been engaged in the Insurrection which took place in the country in the year 1812 absolutely put the Spanish authorities at defiance from that time till sometime in the year 1816. During the time of their complete Independence they established a kind of Government amongst themselves, having found it impossible to live in a complete state of nature - and as but a few of them had any inclination for agriculture, the general poverty of the soil of the country not being adapted indeed to afford any considerable prospect to the honest and laborious husbandman, it being principally that description of land called Pine Barren which this people live on and which is only fit for grazing, they subsisted chiefly by aggression on the property of the people who were well disposed to the Span-

ish Government and under its authority - negroes and cattle were what pleased the rapacity of this people most as they were able to turn the above description of property to a better and more speedy account than any other kind. The former they generally carried to the back country where people are too anxious to obtain that description of property that they rarely troubled themselves about the title of the seller whether just or unjust - and with the cattle they have helped to supply our markets in these frontier counties with beef - not a single individual's property in that country was safe who was not inimical to the Spanish Government. A number of plantations were indeed entirely broken up and the least connection with the constituted authority was sufficient to provoke aggression on their part (as specially aggressor was so much to their interest) against any individual who was unfortunate enough (I may say) to be any considerable proprietor of negroes and cattle. There has been too for a long time another source for the active exertion of this people and which kind of depredation has been carried to a very great extent by this and another set of unprincipled men belonging to our country ; it has been bringing Indian cattle from the Atlotehawa Territory where they were obtained without a purchase. It is presumed a number of 1000 head of cattle have been taken in this manner which have generally been driven into the U. S. and here disposed of in the same way as the same kind of property belonging to the peaceable inhabitants of the Province has been. This kind of injustice with which the Indians have been treated has no doubt more than any other aggression provoked the vengeance of that misguided people and has been the primitive cause of involving this country in the present war with them. With this horde of men at last the Governor of East Florida was obliged

to humiliate himself so far as to enter into a negotiation and make peace with, having found it impossible with his slender forces to reduce them to a state of subjection. The Treaty was principally made in consideration of the deplorable situation of the people belonging to the Province who were disposed to live quietly. The conditions of which were that the Insurgents should consent to be at peace with the rest of the Province for which concession on their part they were invested with the right of trying their own criminals, of making their own laws, and of regulating themselves generally as they pleased, but what those Insurgents principally gained and what was the only cause, I presume, that they were willing to conclude in a treaty (when war on their part was in many respects so much more advantageous) was that the Spanish Government agreed to perfect their different titles to the lands they occupied which they knew in case of a change of Government they held by a somewhat precarious tenure. As to the depredations committed on the Indians by stealing their cattle, they still continued. The Spanish authorities were happy, I presume, that they had averted mischief from their own dons and did not provide for this irregularity tho of so much concern to us. And indeed it was not in their power to have made any stipulation on that subject which would have been effectual, for nothing would have enforced it but a garrison on the confines of the Indian Territory sufficient to have kept the people who had been engaged in this illegal traffic in awe. But even under this state of affairs, things were far better than before. The Province was gradually improving and perhaps in time especially in that country, it would have become tolerably organized. When General MacGregor took possession of Amelia Island the Spanish force on the St. Johns was then withdrawn

and marched into St. Augustine. The People of the country were accordingly left without protection or control except immediately under the guns of the fortification in that place and on the north part of Amelia Island. When General MacGregor commanded for a time every thing went on more quietly than could have been expected under the new state of affairs and the disorganization that prevailed through the whole country, indeed the people of that part of the province to whom I am referring, were even quiet during the whole of his administration (which though tis true was short) and were even more obedient to the Spanish authorities than they had ever manifested themselves to be before, having not much confidence perhaps in General MacGregor's final success ; or probably fearing that such an event would lead to a cession of that country to the United States, an event from which they know they have but little hope. But the subsequent government of General Aury quickly wrought a change in the face of affairs. The people who had been quiet under the Insurgents, quickly returned to all their original habits which his administration gave them an opportunity of following to the greatest pecuniary advantage. It is conjectured that during a short time that General Aury was in command at Amelia that more than a thousand Africans were illicitly introduced into the United States and chiefly by the people who live on the other side of the St. Marys river. They bought their negroes of General Aury's Patriots and carried them upon that side of St. Marys river 50 or 60 miles to avoid the vigilance of the revenue officers of the place and finally sold them at a very great advance in the back parts of this state or some of the adjoining ones. Nothing could have caused these people to become more depraved than they now manifest themselves to be. But this

traffic in human blood they are unwilling to relinquish, tis so profitable a business since General Amy's government has been discontinued - not a free man of colour is safe even on this side of the river. The agents of these people are continually endeavoring to inveigle them away that they may seize and kill them, nor is the private property of the above description on any plantation near this frontier safe. There is no doubt that as many, if not more, Africans would have been introduced into this country by the way of Amelia Island if General MacGregor or Aury had never taken possession of that Island as have been introduced into the United States under' the Administration of the last mentioned commander of that place. Arrangements were made to introduce a very great number from the Island of Cuba which arrangements were completely frustrated by the occupancy of Amelia Island by General MacGregor, tho there is no doubt that the Province of East Florida would have been better organized than it is at present had the patriots, as they are called generally, never become possessed of Amelia Island. To conclude, Sir, there will never be safety on this Frontier till that part of East Florida that I am referring to is under the control of some Government by being occupied by a body of troops numerous enough to awe the people who at present inhabit it.

I am, Sir, your obt., servt.

To The Hon. John Quincy Adams Belton A. Copp.
Secretary of State

NEW BOOKS

The Advancing South. Stories of Progress and Reaction. By Edwin Mims.
 (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1926.
 Pp. xx, 319. \$3.00.)

Here is an unusual book which will make glad the hearts of some and make angry others. Were the author not a Southerner, it would be dismissed by too many as merely another Yankee fulmination. As it is, most likely Professor Mims will be charged with courting Yankee favor at the expense of betraying his native land. The book seems to have certainly as one of its purposes the heartening of the young generation in the South which is just now beginning to shed its swaddling clothes and begin to enquire what it is all about, now and then shocking its elders by rejecting too many things just because they do not happen to be true. In addition to bidding this generation godspeed, the book has the distinct value of filling that gap in the past which is too recent to get properly written up in the regular history books and is yet too far back to be remembered by the younger group.

Professor Mims shows how the South is making commendable progress in spiritual and cultural ways as well as along economic and material lines. It has not been one continuing line of victories ; there have been many setbacks and these are the events that have been heralded far and wide. This book attempts to enlighten the world on the victories. Under the chapter heading, "Broomsedge and Life Everlasting", agricultural and rural emancipation is set forth and in "Looms and Furnaces" industrial progress and social betterment are brought out. But the story is

chiefly concerned with the emancipation of the mind from all the hampering traditions, social, political, racial, religious, literary. Progress along these lines is indicated in such chapter headings as "Pens that are Swords", "From Romance to Realism", "The Revolt against Chivalry", "The Ebbing Tide of Color", and "Ecclesiastics and Prophets".

Professor Mims has largely lived the period with which he is dealing, and, therefore, writes much from the fulness of his experience. Also he has not failed to use the periodicals and newspapers that have mirrored the times. He has had the additional advantage of consulting many of the actors who play important parts in his story. An index is included which is valuable for the names of persons more than for subject-matter.

E. M. COULTER.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Few of the present generation know, or likely care, that some thirty-five years ago there were more than six hundred local and county organizations (Alliances) comprising the Florida Farmers' Alliance, and that for a short time, the membership of that body included nearly one-half of the voters of the State. This widespread movement—a mighty manifestation of a long-continued discontent, another peak of which seems to be here to-day—reached Florida about the middle of 1887. An account of its swift rise in the State and its still more rapid decline is set down with care and in some detail by James O. Knauss in *The Farmers Alliance in Florida*, a noteworthy article in the July number last of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Records and other material relating to the subject have become meager and scattered, but Dr. Knauss has gathered those available and they are enough for a paper of great value.

Nor can many recall that one of the first nationwide gatherings to assemble in Florida was the National Convention of the Alliance of 1890, held at Ocala on December 2. The meeting drew attention as well as delegates from all parts of the country and was of distinct advertising value to the State. This convention proved to be an important event in the career of the national as well as the state alliance. The city's name came to be used in connection with the radical declaration adopted there, and the "Ocala Demands" mark this mile-stone in the history of the national organization.

Ocala is one of the old towns of Florida. While it was not in existence during territorial days (apart from Fort King), it came into being with the State, hence but few are older, and its history holds many events and points of interest. Among these is the establishment there of the first State school, the Academy East of the Suwannee, which can be looked upon as the beginning of the University of Florida: An account of these happenings is in preparation for publication in the *QUARTERLY* by Mrs. Roy V. Ott of Ocala. Should any reader be able to assist Mrs. Ott in gathering facts on early Ocala or through the loan of documents or other historical material, such help would be highly valued by her and by the Society.

Any among the members who feel an especial interest in the history of their own locality and who would collect and record its facts, which are now so rapidly being forgotten, for publication in the *QUARTERLY*, are urged to write to the editor.

But a small part, comparatively, of Florida's history has been written, and records and other materials for the larger portion are not extensive, but those of pioneer days are still being added to and it is hoped that much else is yet to be brought to light telling us of our early years. Such material of genuine value is *East Coast Florida Memoirs, 1837 to 1886* gathered and recorded by Robert Ranson of St. Augustine. These relate to the settlers on Indian River, about the year 1842, under the Armed Occupation Act, and especially to Mills O. Burnham, Henry Wilson, and Douglas Dummitt (the latter became a member of the Florida Historical Society on its organization in 1856). This recent publication is privately printed, and contains forty-three pages with portraits. Copies can be had from Mr. Ranson.

Upon the invitation of President Hamilton Holt and Professor A. J. Hanna, extended at St. Petersburg last year, the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held at Rollins College, Winter Park, on February 17. Will you not come. Doubtless you have an idea that some time in the future you will attend an annual meeting of the Society. Now is the time. The College and Winter Park are attractive, and adjoining is Orlando, the most beautiful city of Florida. If education appeals to you - and who is there to whom it does not in some degree - the work which Dr. Holt has begun there must interest you keenly, for Rollins is becoming unique as well as eminent among the smaller colleges of the country. Professor Hanna is one of the Active Members of the Society-and in his case the adjective is literally true. His forte and province is history, so you are sure to be interested by the program he has planned.

The following have become members during the past quarter, their membership and the interest it indicates is highly valued and is an encouragement in the work of the Society:

Barrs, Burton	Jacksonville
Blue, Victor	Fort George
Biggar, D. D.	St. Petersburg
DeFuniak Public Library	DeFuniak Springs
Daniel, Richard P.	Jacksonville
Edmonds, Richard H.	Daytona
Edwards, Frederick	Cassadaga
Englehardt, Father Z.	Santa Barbara, Cal.
Fuller, W. A.	Gainesville
Graves, John Temple, II	Jacksonville
Hoffman, George E.	Pensacola
Holmes, Robert S.	Daytona Beach
Ott, Mrs. Roy V.	Ocala

Pennington, Edgar L.	Jacksonville
Public Library of Cleveland	Cleveland, Ohio
Perry, John H.	New York, N. Y.
Ranson, Robert	Miami
Stockton, Mrs. Florence O.	Jacksonville
University of Chicago Library	Chicago, Illinois
Whitaker, Arthur Preston	Tallahassee
The Library, University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia
Newberry Library	Chicago, Illinois
The Library, Yale University	New Haven, Conn.

A complete list of the members will appear in the next number of the *QUARTERLY*.

Donations:

By Fred W. Hoyt,

Tri-Weekly Sun, Jacksonville, Jan. 22-July 22, 1876. 1 Vol.

Fernandina Observer, June 5, 12, Sept. 11, Oct. 2, 1875; Jan. 29, Feb. 12, 1876.

Premium List, Nassau County Agricultural Society, 1875.

Guide for Travellers, 1875.

By Francis, P. Fleming,

Daily Florida Sun July 10-Sept. 24, 1905. 4 Vols. do. Oct., Nov., Dec., 1904 ; Jan. 1905. 1 Vol. (irregular).

By C. Seton Fleming,

Stephen R. Mallory, Memorial Address in United States Senate.

William Jennings Bryan, Memorial Address in, United States Senate.

By Miss Lucy Abbott,

Confederate Veteran, 6 nos.

- By the author, Joseph Y. Porter,
*Additional Scraps from Memory's Storehouse of
Sanitary Deeds in Florida During the Past
Half Century.*
- By Robert Ranson,
Copy of map of Florida, 1821.
- By Miss E. M. Rorabeck,
Index to List of American Prisoners of War of
1812-1815.
- The loan of a portrait of Governor Harrison Reed
owned by Charles W. Kinne, of Jacksonville.
- By Edgar L. Pennington,
Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida. Journals
of the Council (annual) 1905, 1928, 1924,
1925, 1926.