

\*\*\*\*\*

# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXVI

OCTOBER, 1957

NUMBER 2

---

## CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1957

BLOCKADE RUNNERS.....*Alice Strickland*.... 85

THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF  
AUGUST HENRY MATHERS.....*Franklin A. Doty*.... 94

CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND  
AROUND PENSACOLA.....*Edwin C. Bearrs*.... 125

### BOOK REVIEWS

Carter, The Territorial Papers of  
Florida, 1821-1824.....*Dorothy Dodd* .... 166

Maclachlan and Floyd,  
The Changing South.....*C. W. Tebeau* ... 170

Peithmann, The Unconquered  
Seminole Indians.....*James W. Covington* ... 171

NEWS AND NOTES..... 172

CONTRIBUTORS .....177

New Members ..... 177

---

COPYRIGHT 1957

by the Florida Historical Society. Reentered as second class matter July 2, 1956  
at the post office at Jacksonville, Florida, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

OFFICE OF PUBLICATION, CONVENTION PRESS, JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA



## BLOCKADE RUNNERS

by ALICE STRICKLAND

**D**URING the Civil War Confederate blockade runners played a dangerous and exciting game of hide and seek with Union gunboats off the Florida coast. President Lincoln had proclaimed the blockade on April 19, 1861, with the intention of closing the Atlantic ports of the Confederacy to trade with other nations. The South, therefore, was faced with the problem of running the blockade in order to bring in the necessities of war.

At first, due to its policy of isolation, the United States Navy had few ships with which to enforce the blockade, but by the end of the war the Federals had six hundred vessels at their command. The Confederacy was also short of ships and began blockade running with old sailing vessels and small schooners, but as the war progressed swift iron steamers were made in Liverpool for this trade and eventually a steel ship, the *Banshee*, was built, and was the "first steel commercial ship to cross the ocean and the second one ever to be built.

The many inlets, lagoons, rivers, and bays of the Florida coast were ideal for the purpose of the daring blockade runners who made the thrilling, danger-packed dash to the ports of Nassau or Cuba and delivered cotton in exchange for arms and ammunition. Two Union blockading squadrons patrolled the waters of the Florida coast in an effort to halt this defiant running of contraband. The South Atlantic Blockading Fleet patrolled the ocean from Cape Canaveral north, and the East Gulf Blockading Squadron kept a vigilant eye on the waters from Cape Canaveral south, and to the west coast as far as St. Andrews Bay.

The Federals early in the war captured Pensacola, Cedar Key, and Fort Myers on the west coast of Florida, and Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine on the east coast were occupied by the Federals in order to close these important ports to the Confederates. Key West at the southernmost tip of Florida had been occupied by the Federals early in the war and was headquarters for one of the Federal blockading squadrons. Un-

daunted by the strangle hold the Federals had on their most important ports, the Confederate blockade runners, stripped down to sleek swiftness, and often camouflaged in an eerie off-white paint, continued to make successful trips to Nassau, Havana, and Bermuda.

It has been estimated that a blockade runner made about three or four trips to sea before capture, but, several unusually lucky ships made eighteen runs. If a blockade runner sighted the smoke or sail of a Federal gunboat, orders were given to pile on the coal for a speedy departure from danger. When, as sometimes happened, the coal ran out and the Federals were still in close pursuit, the captain of the blockade runner would order the cargo of cotton to be soaked in turpentine and used as fuel. This would give intense heat with little smoke. When the cotton was used up it was not uncommon to use as fuel every piece of available wood on board, including the main-masts and deck cabin. If captured, the crew of a blockade runner were treated as prisoners of war. However, if they resisted, "even a single blow, or shot, against the Federals, was considered an act of piracy upon the high seas, and death was the penalty if blood was shed." The blockade runners who could not outrun the Federals tried to scuttle or fire their ships and put out to sea in small boats. It was reported that the captain of the blockade runner *Elizabeth*, captured in Jupiter Inlet, escaped up the river in a small boat, taking with him his own small prize of a bag of coffee and a case of gin.

The Federal policy was not to sink or destroy blockade runners if they could be captured without resistance. Each man on a Union ship had a share in the captured Rebel prize, which was turned over to the Union Navy or sold by the Admiralty Court in Key West. The captured ship, the *Memphis*, paid \$510,914.07 in prize money to her Union captors, and the *Banshee*, captured by the *Fulton* and *Grand Gulf*, paid \$104,948.48 to their lucky crews.

Some of the captured Rebel ships were taken to Union-held Key West to await buyers, not only from the north but from the West Indies. Many mysterious transactions occurred at Key West when captured blockade runners were sold. Sometimes the ships would disappear for a time, then turn up later

as blockade runners again, in the service of the South. It was reported that one blockade runner, the *Dart*, was captured twice by the Federals, and each time returned to sea under Confederate command, as a blockade runner. During the Civil War the Federals captured over one thousand prizes and about one seventh of these were taken along the Florida coast.

Some of the blockade runners took great risks to run the blockade, especially if their ships carried highly explosive ammunition. If they tried to outrun a Federal gunboat and were fired upon, one well-placed shot would blow them to eternity. However, for their patriotic services, if successful runs were made, they received high wages and great profits. According to "The History Of Our Navy" by John R. Spears, the captain of one blockade runner received five thousand dollars per month; first officer, six hundred dollars, second officer, two hundred and fifty dollars; third officer, one hundred and seventy; the engineer and three assistants received thirty five hundred a month and the cook received a hundred and fifty dollars. Added to these handsome wages were the profits received from privately owned cargo. One firm, the Frasers of Charleston, are said to have cleared \$20,000,000 from blockade running.

Many northern interests secretly entered this profitable "three-cornered trade", as it was often called, (meaning the South, the West Indies and Europe or the North"). The manufacturers stamps on northern goods were covered with the stamps of English manufacturers and thus entered the blockade trade. Ship loads of pistols from Boston were often packed in barrels of lard. Besides a cargo of arms and ammunition many of the blockade runners carried luxury items such as fans, parasols, cloaks, childrens toys, ladies shoes, and other commodities which yielded enormous profits. This "luxury trade", and indeed, blockade running itself, was condemned by Governor Milton of Florida. He believed it, "tended to lower the value of Confederate securities; that it took from the South much of wealth of primary importance to exchange for articles of luxury, that it encouraged speculation in trading detrimental to social welfare . . . that it invited invasion in retaliation by the Federal Government." In spite of Governor Milton's hostile view of blockade running,

the Confederate government favored it, as it was an indisputable fact that the blockade runners were the only source of trade bringing in desperately needed arms, ammunition and medicines, without which the South could not fight.

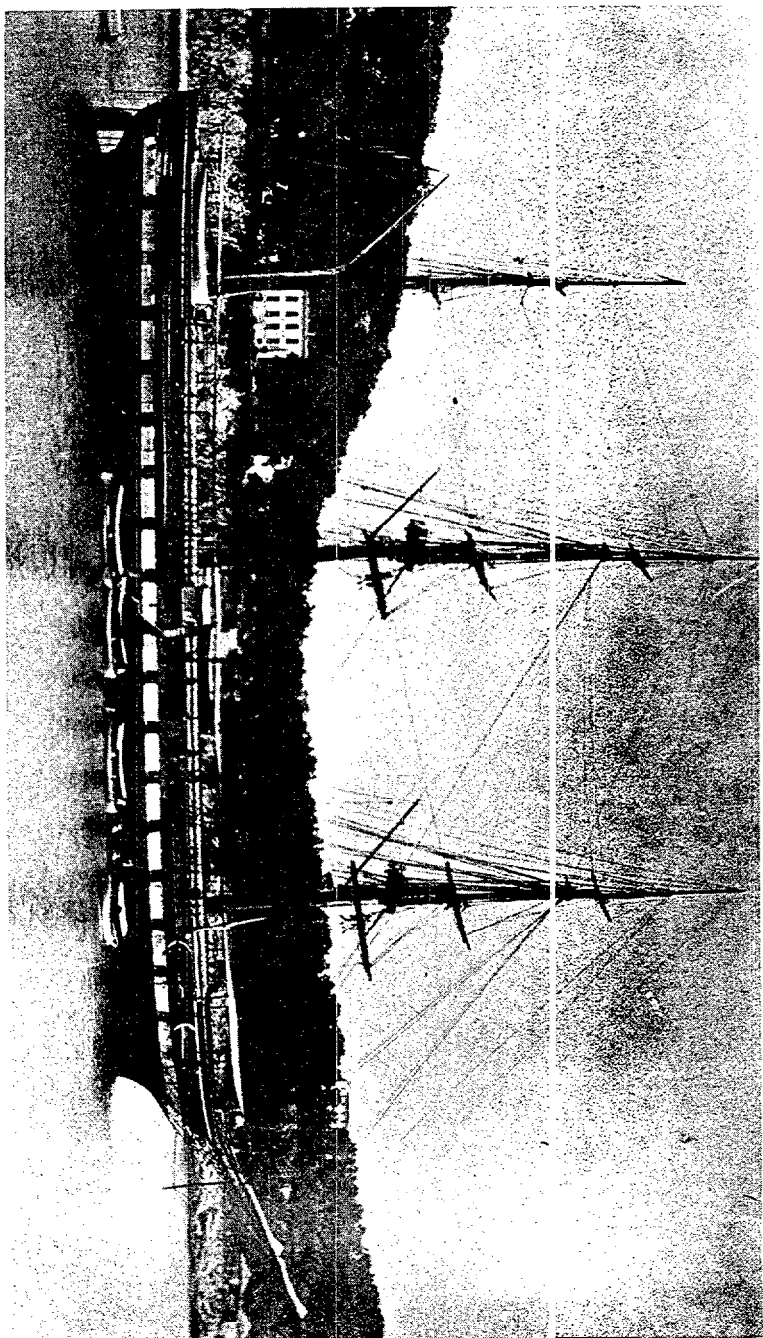
Not all the vessels engaged in blockade running were sleek, swift ships of special design. Some of them were small boats no larger than a whaleboat, manned by brave men whose only purpose was to serve the Confederacy. One example of these patriotic and heroic men was Henry Sheldon of New Smyrna on the east coast of Florida who sailed a small boat from Mosquito Inlet, (now Ponce de Leon Inlet), to Nassau, with a cargo space which only permitted the carrying of one bale of cotton. This could be sold in Nassau, and in exchange Henry would bring back quinine, needles, and other necessities.

It was at Mosquito Inlet on the east coast of Florida that the Federal South Atlantic Blockading Squadron under the able command of Commodore S. F. Du Pont, kept a vigilant watch. Into the inlet slipped blockade runners carrying arms and goods for the South. After being unloaded there the cargo was hauled in wagons to the St. Johns River. From the St. Johns it was put on small steamers which proceeded up the winding Ocklawaha River to Fort Brooks. From Fort Brooks the arms and ammunition went by wagon to Waldo and from there to Georgia and other parts of the Confederacy.

A blockade runner, the *Carolina*, while anchored inside the bar at Mosquito Inlet, near New Smyrna, was having her cargo removed when the Federals received word of her presence. Taking four small boats from the steamers *Penguin* and *Henry Andrew*, manned by forty-three men, the Federals planned to take over the *Carolina* and destroy the salt works south of New Smyrna. The Confederates, warned of their presence, abandoned the *Carolina* and prepared an ambush for the Federals. The unsuspecting sailors from the Union gunboats placed a prize crew aboard the *Carolina* and then proceeded up the river, never knowing that the Rebels were watching from their hiding place. Returning from their successful destruction of the salt works, the sailors attempted a landing near some earthworks. They never completed their mission for suddenly the hidden Confederates fired upon them with such



COMMODORE SAMUEL F. DUPONT; U.S.N.



FEDERAL BLOCKADE SHIP, U.S.S. *Wabash*



disastrous effect that seven sailors were killed, three made prisoners and about thirty were wounded, (according to Confederate reports.) Some of the sailors managed to get the boats away with the exception of "two launches in which all were killed or disabled", which drifted some distance from shore. An Irishman on the Confederate side asked permission to swim out and bring them in. In one of the boats the lucky Irishman found a keg of whiskey and it was reported that it was a long time before he could be induced to bring in the captured boats.

The bodies of two of the Federal officers, Captain Budd, and Lieutenant Mather, were returned under a flag of truce to the gunboats, and some of the Federal dead were buried by the Confederates. A runaway Negro slave who had acted as pilot for the Federals was captured and hung. Years later one of the surviving seamen from the Federal gunboats wrote that he was wounded in the skirmish, and that a Rebel, believing him to be dead, cut off his belt in order to steal his money, and almost buried him alive. The sailor's groans as he returned to consciousness startled the Confederate who muttered, "This son-of-a-gun ain't dead", as he dragged him from the premature grave.

In retaliation for the Federal losses at New Smyrna, "the fleet drew off and shelled the town and drove all the people out." This was the first shelling of New Smyrna, and on July 26th, 1863, the Federal ships, *Sagamore*, *Wabash*, *Beauregard*, and *Oleander*, came in to the inlet and also shelled the town. This time the shelling struck the Sheldon House which was built on top of a shell mound. The house consisted of about forty rooms and was used as a hotel. It was owned and occupied by the widowed Jane Sheldon and her family. The late John Sheldon, her husband, had been a scout for the army during the Seminole Indian War. Their crippled son, Henry, was the daring young blockade runner who sailed his small boat, loaded with a bale of cotton, from Mosquito Inlet to Nassau. It was reported that the Sheldon family were just being seated for dinner when a shot from the gunboats crashed through the house. Fortunately, none of them were harmed but they fled outside and sought shelter in the woods. It began to rain and a fire was lit which attracted the attention of the gunboats, and again

the Sheldon's were subjected to fire from the Union ships and they were forced to flee once more.

Not satisfied with the shelling, the Federals sent in two boatloads of sailors who completed the destruction of the Sheldon House by setting it on fire. However, before firing it they helped themselves to some of the furnishings, but on their return to the boats with their loot, hidden Confederates opened fire on them and they were forced to drop everything and run for their lives.

During the shelling of New Smyrna another small drama was taking place. A young man from New York, eighteen year old Jacob Harry Dressner, who had been working in Tallahassee, had arrived in New Smyrna, seeking a possible means of returning to his home in the north. He had worked his way down from far-away Tallahassee by boat, walking, or begging rides on wagons. As the shelling ceased for a time he waded out into the river, waved his shirt to attract the attention of the *Oleander*, and then waited anxiously for some sign that he had been seen. Eventually the *Oleander* put out a small boat which picked him up and took him aboard the gunboat. On board he was summoned into the captain's presence and given a severe reprimand for signalling the boat. The captain explained that a firing squad had been lined up on the deck ready to fire at any Rebel who might put in an appearance, and it had just been luck that the captain had looked through his glass and discovered that it was only a boy who was signalling the ship. Just in time the captain had ordered the firing squad to hold its fire.

Young Dressner was thoroughly questioned and finally allowed to return as far north as Charleston on the *Oleander*. On the trip northwards Dressner either lost some of the gold and money he had hidden on his person, or it was stolen from him by some of the Negro crew aboard. Later some of it was recovered and returned to him by one of the sailors from the *Oleander*.

Another member of the intrepid Sheldon family of New Smyrna, Rolly Sheldon, was returning in his small boat from Nassau with a cargo of quinine and needles when he was captured by a Union gunboat. So small was Sheldon's boat that it

was easily lifted to the deck of the Union ship and its cargo disposed of. Then without further ado, Sheldon, still in his boat was put overboard and left to the tender mercies of the wild Florida coast, of which a Federal officer had once said, "The greatest punishment for a blockade-runner would be to take his vessel and put him ashore in the state of Florida." Rolly Sheldon eventually made his way back home safely.

Brief skirmishes occurred between Federals and Confederates along both Florida coasts during the war. In 1863 the blockade runner *Scottish Chief* and the sloop, *Kate Dale*, were destroyed by the Federals in the Hillsborough River by an armed expedition from the U. S. Gunboats *Tahoma* and *Adela*. The gunboats opened fire on the fort and town of Tampa in order to divert attention, while a small force was dispatched, under cover of darkness, to destroy the *Scottish Chief* and *Kate Dale* as they were being loaded with cotton. The Federal force made a circuitous march, (to avoid houses and creeks), and arrived on the river bank, opposite the unsuspecting blockade runners. When the Confederates discovered they were prime targets for the Federal guns they yielded to a demand to send over a boat in which the Federals could bring back prisoners. However, several of the Rebels managed to escape and give the alarm to the Confederate garrison. After setting fire to the blockade runners the Federals with their prisoners started back to the *Adela* and *Tahoma*. When nearing the beach an armed group of Rebels attacked them. A brief skirmish ensued and the Federals captured two prisoners. The beach was finally reached and while waiting for boats to take them back to their ships the Federals were again attacked by a detachment of Rebel cavalry and two of infantry. Under fire from the Rebels the Union sailors and their officers eventually returned to the *Adela* and *Tahoma* after suffering some losses.

When not chasing blockade-runners or destroying salt works the Federals found blockade duty a tedious, boring, and sometimes dangerous job. For days and weeks Federal gunboats would lie at anchor near an inlet or in some lonely river waiting for their prey. They in turn became prey to the hordes of mosquitoes and sandflies which often brought fevers and death. For recreation, and a chance to add variety to their diet, the

officers and men from the Federal gunboats made forays ashore to hunt and bring back game and livestock. The Federals came to appreciate the splendid beds of oysters in Apalachicola Bay and other Florida waters, and there was always grumbling when the gunboats lifted anchor and sailed into less profitable waters.

During the hot summer months fevers killed many men aboard the Federal ships, and there is a tragic account of one of these fever ships lying at anchor off the Indian River. Nearly every man aboard was ill or dying of a mysterious fever that the ship's doctor could not diagnose or treat effectively. Finally a boat from Key West went to their rescue with doctors and ice but one of the men who had survived the horrors of those terrible weeks on a fever-ridden ship went mad, jumped overboard, and was drowned.

One of the methods for fumigating a Federal ship against the ravages of yellow fever was described by an officer as follows: "hatchways of ship all closed up tight and the ship thoroughly fumigated with burnt tar by sticking hot iron pokers into buckets of tar every few days, and when we came to open the hatchways there would be such a thick black smoke of tar about that one would almost think the ship was on fire. Kept up this fumigation for some time, it being considered a great purifier, and we thought it drove the yellow fever from the ship."

In direct contrast to the lonely and monotonous existence of most of the men of the Union Blockading Fleet was the gay and exciting life of the adventurers, spies, blockade runners, and cotton buyers, in the suddenly teeming port of Nassau. Into the safety of Nassau's blue-green harbor came the daring blockade runners, sometimes with a Federal gunboat snapping at their stern. Cotton was king in Nassau, and "warehouses, old buildings, and even porches were bulging with it." On the famous wide verandas of the luxurious Royal Victoria Hotel, guests played toss-penny with gold eagles. Amongst the colorful, restless crowds, Federal spies sought to discover the sailing time of blockade runners, and agents from the cotton mills in Lancashire bid eagerly for cotton for their firms in England. From this Caribbean glamour port the blockade runners began their short but dangerous return journey to the Florida coast. As they set sail for the west,

the feverish gaiety of the port they had left behind was soon forgotten. Ahead of them were dangerous waters where a grey trail of smoke on the horizon might mean a matter of running or hiding, of life or of death. As he grimly scanned the sea around him the blockade runner may have thought of the warning in the verse which was popular in those times and read as follows:

Stand firmly by your cannon  
Let ball and grape-shot fly,  
And trust in God and Davis,  
But keep your powder dry.

## THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS HENRY MATHERS, ASSISTANT SURGEON, FOURTH FLORIDA REGIMENT, C.S.A.

*Edited by* FRANKLIN A. DOTY

THE WRITER of the letters which follow was born in Monticello, Florida, on April 25, 1825, the son of William Henry Mathers, Jr., and Elizabeth Clarke Mathers. The details of his early education are not known. He was married on October 28, 1848, to Mary Ann Cooper, daughter of Dr. James A. Cooper, originally of Farmington, Georgia, and Elizabeth White Cooper. The young couple lived a while in Madison, Florida, before removing to Micanopy where Mathers, together with his father-in-law, opened a drug store in 1853, known in later years as the "Old Reliable Micanopy Drug Store."

During the winter term of 1857-58, Mathers studied at the Augusta Medical College in Augusta, Georgia, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Pharmacy in March, 1858. He thereafter practiced medicine in Micanopy in addition to his interest in the drug store. During the war Mrs. Mathers remained in Micanopy and all of these letters were addressed to her there.

Enlisting in Company F, Fourth Florida Regiment, in June, 1861, Mathers served until honorably discharged on April 17, 1865. At the end of the war he resumed practice in Micanopy, but around 1900 removed to Tampa, Florida, and opened the Nebraska Pharmacy there. His health failing, he arranged to return to Micanopy only ten days before his death on April 14, 1914.<sup>1</sup>

Although Surgeon Mathers spent the entire span of the war years in the service, only the letters here reproduced, dating from September 12, 1861, to February 27, 1862, are extant.

1. The biographical information was obtained from Mrs. Catherine Mathers Simpson, of High Springs, Florida, who is the granddaughter of Surgeon Mathers. The editor is deeply grateful for Mrs. Simpson's kindness in making these letters available for publication and for her assistance in establishing the surgeon's background. Mrs. Simpson's scrapbooks contain a printed flier advertising the opening of the drug store in 1853, a certification of the surgeon's enlistment and honorable discharge, together with his pension claim number as well as dozens of other family letters and memorabilia of the ante-bellum period.

One of them contains a postscript written by Louisa (Mrs. William L.) Fletcher, Mrs. Mathers' sister. She, with her children and her colored cook, accompanied her husband to the same encampment near Cedar Key where Mathers first served. Only one letter from Mrs. Mathers to her husband written during this period is extant, and it is inserted at the appropriate place. So far as is known she did not follow her husband's suggestion, in the letter of January 27, 1862, to visit him in the camp at Fernandina.

In view of the presentation of these letters as source materials, their transcription to the printed page has been made with a minimum of alteration or modernization. Surgeon Mathers' consistent use of the upper case in initial C, K, S, V, and Y is preserved, and his spelling has not been altered. Since his initial M's and W's lie somewhere between upper and lower case, these have been transcribed as modern usage would indicate. In a few instances letters have been added in brackets where an unusual but habitual misspelling or elision occurs for the first time. Periods and commas are virtually indistinguishable, coming from his mid-nineteenth century pen-point, and here again modern usage and the context have been the guides. No punctuation has been added.

The annotation of the letters has been held to a reasonable minimum, on the assumption that the general reader is attracted by the letters themselves and not by their historiography, and on the further assumption that the scholar can discover for himself as much more collateral information as his research objectives demand. Wherever possible, individuals have been identified.

It would be superfluous to evaluate these letters or even to recapitulate their contents. Their intrinsic worth to the reader, whether historian or hobbyist, will become apparent upon perusal, and they will have varying significance according to the point of view and the purpose of anyone using them. Since they were obviously written without a view toward publication, they are characterized by the intimacy and frankness one would expect in a husband's letters to his wife. The ideas and attitudes in them range from the petty to the sublime. They certainly have the virtue of immediacy and directness, and there

seem to be no inhibitions in the expression of opinions on officers, enlisted men, the Confederacy, the top management, conditions of life in camp, and scores of other items. Given unity by the recurrent theme of familial affection, they contain, in spite of their brief compass, a remarkably detailed and varied over-view of the first war-time year on the Florida front.

\* \* \* \*

Sea Horse Key <sup>2</sup>  
 Surgeons Department  
 Sept 12th 1861

Dear Wife

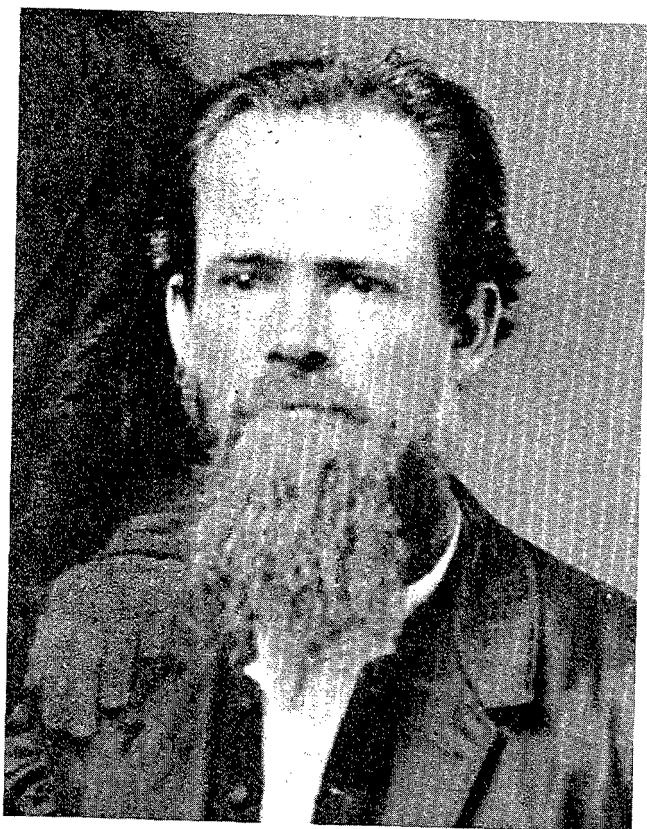
Thinking that You would like to hear how I Stood the trip, this will inform You that I am at my post feeling Verry well Stood the trip fine, and think that I will improve The boys met me at the depot and brought me over with out Stopping the[y] all Seem glad to See me, their is none Sick except chill and a Verry few have that. I have not yet Seen the battery as it is two warm for me to go down. They have one gun mounted and will mount annother this-evening their is one 12 lb Standing out in front of the light house movable Colo Hopkins left here a few days Since by Command of the General. <sup>3</sup> I hope

2. The 4th Florida Infantry Regiment was mustered in on July 1, 1861, with Edward Hopkins of Jacksonville as Colonel, M. Whit Smith of Lake City as Lieutenant-Colonel, and W. L. L. Bowen as Major. Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil, and Spanish American Wars* (Live Oak, Florida, n.d.), 118. (Hereafter cited as *Soldiers of Florida*.) In October, 1861, Governor John Milton wrote that "there were but eight imperfect companies when he [Hopkins] was elected," although the muster rolls of ten companies appear in *Soldiers of Florida* and their various locations are mentioned below.

Surgeon Mathers went first with Company F to the encampment on Sea Horse Key named after Colonel Hopkins, off Cedar Key, but later removed to Fernandina to which place the bulk of the regiment was transferred. He remained at this post during the period covered by these letters.

3. Brigadier General John B. Grayson had been ordered to assume command of the Department of Middle and East Florida on August 21, 1861. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1894 ff.) Series I, Vol. VI, 267. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.) He made his first report from Fernandina on September 13, but shortly thereafter became so ill as to necessitate his being relieved of command. General E.





AUGUSTUS HENRY MATHERS



he will bring things right Well he was ordered to pensacola as the enemy is Sounding in the harbor for an entrance. It will not be long before we will be safe from an attack John Riggs has bin appointed chief Carpenter. as Soon as the batteries and the magazine is don[e] then the Hospital And my room will be attached. I will have it fixed good and Comfortable If You Can Secure me a few Blanketts do So as I will have to Rough it until my Room is don. You may rely on Some fish as Soon as possible Bill <sup>4</sup> Seems to be Verry well though he Says he has had fever - he looks well Their is a pleasant breeze here now though the Sun is quite hot. All enquired after You and Lou <sup>5</sup> Your old friends they were glad You were better. I will write You again Soon a longer letter as I have not the time now Kiss Coop <sup>6</sup> and my Love to all Your husband

A H M

Assistant Surgeons Depart  
Fort Hopkins  
Novr 4th 1861

Dear Wife

I am Sorry that I have not bin able to write You before this but things have transpired that prevented me. In the first place I have had the Chills again. on my way home Wednesday it took me in the Cares [cars] but was Verry Slight not enough to be noticed but Friday it Shooked me well while the Storme was raging not Such an one as the first but pretty hard. Sunday I tooked medicin to break it up but failed and the piperine Verry near run me crazy. this morning (Monday) I feel Verry well but no appetite. I forgot to State that while [I was with?]

---

Kirby Smith was assigned to the Department on October 10, but did not actually assume command, and in his place General James H. Trapier was appointed on October 22. Until Trapier's arrival, Colonel W. S. Dilworth, commanding the 3rd Florida Regiment at Fernandina, assumed Departmental Command. Upon Trapier's removal on March 19, 1862, Dilworth again succeeded to temporary command, until relieved by Colonel Joseph Finegan on April 8. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 276, 293, 413, 430; J. J. Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, in Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History* (Atlanta, 1899), Vol. XI [Part II], 26.

4. Mathers' brother-in-law, Captain William L. Fletcher, commanding Co. G, 4th Regiment.
5. Louisa Fletcher, Mrs. Mathers' sister, and wife of Captain Fletcher.
6. Surgeon Mathers' son, James Cooper Mathers, born in 1852.

You Verry near all the men in Camps had had Some Kind of ailding Consequently Bill Mc was glad to See me Some of the me[n] were Sick Dysentary is the disease <sup>7</sup> John Riggs is quite Sick now and two others the ballance are better half cured Beef I think is the Cause that being the oneley meet they have had until Yesterday (Sunday) Nothing worth Your attention transpired on my trip to Fernandina I was invited by Dr. Hill <sup>8</sup> to go around with him which I accepted and Spent a Verry pleasant time meating old friends and School mates Dr. McCants Conducted me all around the fortifications which I do not think Verry formidable for the time they have had to build them. <sup>9</sup> I Suppose You Know by this time that they have Sent back for the hands <sup>10</sup> to go back and mount some guns. Now just think of twelve hundred men at one place and being fed at a heavy expense as lazy as they Can be and doing nothing not even Standing Guard and then You have a fair Specimen of the Sol-derey at the above named place. <sup>11</sup> except the Marion Dragoons <sup>12</sup> 28 on Guard day and night Those are the Kind of men that they Send out in the Country for hands to work for. Their is no

7. For a generally non-technical discussion of the casualties from sickness and disease among Confederate troops, see George Worthington Adams, "Confederate Medicine," in *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (May, 1940), 151-166. Surgeon Mathers' comments on this subject generally corroborate the conclusions in this article except, perhaps, for his greater concern for measles.
8. Surgeon with the 3rd Florida Regiment. *Soldiers of Florida*, 100.
9. General Grayson had written earlier to L. P. Walker, the Secretary of War: "I have pulled down much of the battery and magazine. . . . The batteries are incorrectly put up and not finished. The enemy can land where they please." Grayson to L. P. Walker, Fernandina, September 13, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 276.
10. A reference to the use of slaves for manual labor in the camps. Although Surgeon Mathers deprecated the practice, the use of slave labor in non-combatant capacities was common enough. In a notice in the *St. Johns Mirror* (Jacksonville) of May 7, 1861, a Captain Holmes Steele invited "the contribution of slave laborers, for a week or ten days, for most important work on the Fort at the mouth of our river," and the editor of the paper added: "Now that so many of our citizens have able-bodied hands thrown out of employment, it would be no less a relief than, under present circumstances, it is a patriotic duty" to comply. (Microfilm, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville.)
11. That is, at Fernandina.
12. A reference to one of the earliest cavalry units in Florida, organized by William A. Owens, and "composed of the chivalry of Marion, Alachua and other counties." See Mary Elizabeth Dickson, *Dickson and His Men: Reminiscences of the War in Florida*, (Louisville, Kentucky, 1890), 10, 91.

reason nor Sence in it. The men are not healthy at that point. I think on account of not having Substantial food enough beef five times pr week and that a good many times bad. Dr. Hill wants to Chang[e] places with newson and hinted Strong at me. The Marion Dragoons is located about the middle of the place their parade Ground is the public Squair. About as much use for them their as a waggon has for five wheels. The people of the town Say So. a great many of the boys would Stay at home (now if they were their. I Could not go every where and Consequently did not go to the hospital. You Know Cobb. Him and Wife is Steward and Stewardess they returned their from Lake City and they are their now in that Capacity I did not See them but was told So just before I left. About the time I was Stepping in the Cars Some on[e] tap[p]ed me on the Shoulder I turned around and behold Capt Hardee <sup>13</sup> with his red Shirt was at my back. I did not have time to talk with him. Now I must Stop by Stating that on my arrival here I found myself turned out of the room we were in and all my medicin locked up. So now I onely have access to it in the day-time and have to Sleep in the tent and fa[r]ther I find that a mattrass is indespensable and no moss Can be procured here. So if I Stay here with the pressent bad arrangements I must have Some moss. Other things I have plenty. We have had two Very Cold nights. I have not Sleeped well bin Cold but maybe I will get used to it. I think if Lou was not here they would have, or try to take, the whole house. Lou has improved the most You ever Saw the children are as fat as they Can be. Lou will write Kiss Coop for me and give my Love to all Oh! Cook was So Drunk in the Cars when we met, he did not Know me Say nothing. he has returned I Learn

Assistant Surg Depart  
Fort Hopkins  
Novr 10th 1861

Dear Wife

This leaves me Verry well The Chills have quit me for a while at least and I feel as well as ever. Their has bin more

13. Probably Charles Hardee, a surgeon with the 3rd Florida Regiment. *Soldiers of Florida*, 102.

Sickness in Camps for the last ten days than all the ballance of the time that I have bin here principally Diarehea and Dysentary. I believe it will run through the Camps before It Stopes. I have not lost a Case Yet My Success has bin beyon[d] My expectation. Mary [,] Lous Cook [,] is now in bed Sick and will be for Several days I think. The weather is So Cheangeable and So Suden that nothing els Can be expected. I hope it will Cease Soon. I received fathers letter wishing the fish Sent by the last of the week I found more difficulty in getting Salt than I anticipated and hence Could not get them as Soon as I thought Though now I have procured the Salt from Mr Fields and the barrrell out of the Comisary So the fish will be at Gainesville by the last or middle of next week. but however I will write You by the Same train So that You will Know. It is impossible to get Salt here at anny-thing like a fair price. Their has bin as high as ten dollars bid for the Salt here, and when it is Sold, their is no telling what it will bring.

We learn that their has bin a fight at Brunswick Georgia if that be the Case Lou will be at Micanopy Soon on her way home as She Says that She is going home when She leaves here Dick Stephens is here Came over on a fishing expedition She Speaks of going back with him. I do not Know what is their intention Mrs. Crowson is here Yet Wiley Curry and Several others Colo Smith <sup>14</sup> will not allow anny-more furloughs neither will he let the men go to Ceader Keys unless on Special Business (Good) We have thirty days provisions once more and I think they will not fail again, as it was in part the neglect of the officers of the different Companies which Occasioned the delay. I would be glad to See You but it is not to be So. Write Soon My Love to all Kiss Coop and Accept the Love of Your Husband

A.H.M.

---

14. Lieutenant-Colonel M. Whit Smith, second in command of the 4th Regiment. His name appears as a colonel among the staff officers in the Indian War in 1855, and also as the editor and publisher of the *St. Johns Mirror* in 1861. *Soldiers of Florida*, 12, 118, 119. In the latter reference, however, his home is given as Lake City, Florida, in 1861.

Night 8 Oclo[ck]

P S Have just Seen Some four or five Vessles lying off We do not Know as Yet what they are they made their appearance about Sun down. our Glass (as you Know) is not good So many in one bunch is a little Suspicious Lieut House <sup>15</sup> has gon[e] over to inform the Colo of the fact, So I anticipate quite a time tonight. The Guards have bin posted double and I presume every precaution will be taken to prevent a Supprise Colo Whit will be over I presume and an opportunity will be offered for him to Show Some of his militarie. Although I must Say that it is Suspicious. Yet it may be that bowen <sup>16</sup> is bringing his prises here for Safe Keeping, though they are in a good direction for Key West They Cannot Come in tonight for their is no wind and the tide is running out. I will write You more in the morning if I have the Chance

Assistant Sur Depart  
Fort Hopkins  
Novr 12th 1861

Dear Wife

Having missed one mail with my letter, I have Concluded to write You and Send all together. On Sunday evening about 4 oclo their made appearance off about fifteen miles five Sloops and Schooners. We did not have time to See them well but made Sure of a fight. Consequently a messenger was dispatched to the Keys to inform the Colo The result was an Order to imediately move all the women and children off the Island and of all the fixen and bustle You ever Saw it was here with Lou and the Children all asleep and had to be waked up and dress[ed] (Mary Sick You Can well immagin how it was Now about 11 oclo at night. Well it was assigned to me to go with the woman over to Way Key We left about the time above mentioned and landed at one oclock. I Soon had them a room and Comenced my journey back Via Ceader Keys for Som Caps and powder. I had no difficulty passing double Centrys on the Keys

15. Samuel O. Howse, later a captain of Company G, 4th Florida Regiment, presumably succeeding Captain Fletcher.

16. Major Wiles L. L. Bowen, in command of Company K, 4th Florida Regiment, stationed at Tampa. *Soldiers of Florida*, 119.

found all the famileys up and all the boats and liters that Could be Started at the warf, I Suppose to Convey the Citizens off in the event of a fight Now I had the Same amount of Centrys to pass at Sea Horse at which place I expected trouble, but I found a man on post that I Knew well And I Soon landed in Camps once more at four oclock in the morning After taking a Short Knap I got up looked out and Sure enough their was two Schooners three Sloops making up to Sea Horse on the gulf Side, in full Sail with a fair wind. Now Come the exciting time The men all formed the Drum and fife going a Special detale loading the Cannon the Six pounders wheels greased and place[d] in the most favourable position in fact every thing made ready as well as Could be with the means. By this time the Small fleet had Come within about one and one half miles. However they had thrownd to the breeze one flag which was a Confederate We were not Satisfied with that. So all at once one of the Guns at the battery belched fourth and Send her missel of death right across their path which brought them to a halt. It was not until now that we Suspected friends the more So for the flags were hoisted in all directions, and they Soon launched their Small boats to Send ashore. A Special messenger was dispatched to Capt W L Fletcher from Maj Bowen asking leave of his eighteen pounders to pass into port The facts were these. Bowen had left Tampa with two Schooners, prises that he had taken with the prisoners on his way to Tallahassee and on his way had Captured three Sloops. Hence his little fleet made quite a formidable appearance These Vessels are principally fishing Smacks and hail from Key West except one Schooner She is maned by Yankees and hailes from the north <sup>17</sup> They have any quantity of fish mostly Groupers. I will send You Some if they can be got the finest fish I ever Saw. My fish arrangement has failed and I have Concluded to Send the fish packed down in Boxes and You must pickle them at home their is no other Chance I have a man out now So I Can Send You a box by the Same train that Conveys this letter. And I will Continue to Send them until you have enough. Their is no other Chance unless I pay \$18 pr Barrell and they not half put up at that. Lou and Mrs. Crowson are at Way Key Yet I do not Know how long they

17. For Major Bowen's report of the capture of the two schooners a month before, see *Official Records*, Ser. I. Vol. VI, 294-5.



will Stay Bill will not let Lou go home Yet. they are uncertain  
I will write a little from Way Key and let You Know what I  
Send

[The following is added on the same sheet:]

Way Key Nov 13th [1861]

Dear Sis

As Gus has left me a small Space I will Say a few words  
to you with my pen. I would rather See you and talk with  
you, for I could tell you 'lots,' you will learn from Gus that we  
are at Way Key, where I expect we will be likely to Stay Some  
time unless we have Some worse trouble. Gus has told you all  
about our running from the Supposed Yankees. it was a time.  
we got here at two instead of one oclock. we had Wiley and  
Mrs Crowson with us and they were considerable help in taking  
care of the children, but they all went to Sleep and were not  
much trouble. it would make you laugh to know all. We are  
all well. Mary has been quite Sick, but is up again. I am  
better Satisfied than I expected to be. I have a large room.  
Sand flies and muskitoes very few, and I will see Gus or William  
one, nearly every train. Gus sends you, a box of oranges, nice,  
also a box of fish. He has some Mullett, and is going to try to  
get Some groupers and Snappers from off one of the Captured  
fishing Smacks. I want to write to you Soon and tell you  
all the news. My love to Pa Jimmie Cooper and yourself.

good-bye,

Lou

Assist Surgeon Depart  
Fort Hopkins  
Decr 2th [sic] 1861

Dear Wife

Not hearing from home (except by Some passing) has  
made me feel Somewhat uneasy Mr Fergerson leaves here  
today and I write by him Onely to let You Know that I am  
well And Send by him one hundred fish in a box together  
with the Roes I will perhaps Send another box before leaving,  
though it will be uncertain, for if we recive Orders tonigh[t]

we will leave on Thursdays Train. I do not Know how things will work I have friends trying to get me a Sittuation in the regiment Their is no Surgeon <sup>18</sup> Davison has resigned and I do not Know who will get the appointment.

[fragment]

Assistant Surg Depart

Decr 10th 1861

My Dear Wife

They are all out drilling and I have Concluded to write You. I recived Your letter of Sundy and was delighted to here from home. it made me Sleep Sound. And indeed would I have bin glad to have bin at home last Sunday, for truly it was a loneley time on Sea Horse, but more than all am I glad that You are all well. We are all well here, and my health is better than it has bin for a long lime. The fish was not burned as luck would have it, all that prevented, was, that I Could not get over to Send them off, and Consequently they were left, and I was glad that it turned out as it did. You Should have recived them last Satturday Night. I sent them to the Care of Mr Walker, and requested that he would take them on the Stage and you Should have had a letter at the Same time. You said nothing about either and hence my Conclusions are that You did not get them. Such are the ways of the world I hope to be at home on Satturday at which time You shall have two Gallons Oysters and sixty five good mullett. I think perhaps I Can Carry them Safe I hope the others have reached You ere this. Their is nothing of importance transpiring at this point except the fitting out of those Vessels for Sea. They leave this point for the purpose of trying to run the blockading Vessels. They expect to trade at Havanna I think it rather hazardous, becaus there is now a great

18. Mathers' appointment as regimental assistant surgeon was made on December 22, 1861. See letter of that date below. When the 4th Regiment was ordered to Virginia in the late Spring of 1862, Mathers was transferred to the camp at Sanderson, Florida, and served there, under the command of Captain J. J. Dickison, until the end of the war. He was paroled at Waldo, Florida, on April 17, 1865, according to an affidavit he made in 1909 when applying for a pension. The same affidavit also states, however, that he was at home in Micanopy on sick leave on this date. Photostats of affidavit and pension applications in possession of editor.

manny war Vessels of the enemy floating round. We here of them often but do not See them The Companys that are here now fitting out is the Same one that Came into Jacksonvill a Short time Since. They are all an out-landish Set that I have no Confidence in principally Jews that had as Soon betray us as not if they make money at it They are loading with Spirits Turpentine now at Way Key warf. We have with us Lieut Bobo as drill officer You Know the one that John was flying-round in Madison She married Walker. her Son. he has bin to Virginia and his health failed, had to return. he went from Texas as Capt of a Company. he Says that Richmond is worse than Sodom and Gommorow More profligacy and immorality than he ever Saw. Such is the Commencement of the Confederate States of America and I predict its downfall. Sam Rogers Driving round in a Coach and four and Cant pay his debts at home. he fa[r]ther States that their is not less than twenty five thousand office Seekers in the City. Now what does all this Say. Can anny-thing good Come of all this. then I am decived. Colo Smith is not here neither has be bin here in two weeks and the post would not be worsted if he never Came back it would have gotten rid of annother drunken-no-Count-man, for such he is <sup>19</sup> I do now Know at what time I

19. Governor John Milton described both the ranking officers of this regiment most unfavorably in his letters to Jefferson Davis. Lieutenant-colonel M. Whit Smith, he informed the president, "is said to drink to great excess." Of the commanding officer he wrote: "Hopkins, whom I now believe most honestly to be too irritable, involved himself in difficulties at Appalachicola, and was ordered by General Grayson to remain on Saint Vincent's Island, with his three companies, but left without permission and came to Tallahassee. . . . I have reason to believe if he [General Grayson] had lived he would have had him dismissed from the service." Milton to Davis, Tallahassee, October 29, 1861, in *Official Records* Ser. I, Vol. VI, 301. Two months later he reported to Secretary Benjamin that "much has been accomplished by the forces in service by State authority since Colonel Hopkins was ordered from and left there, who is in Confederate service; and immense expense has been saved. . . ." Milton to J. P. Benjamin, Marianna, December 29, 1861, in *Ibid.*, 354.

The tone of these letters can be explained in part by Milton's misgivings regarding the military appointments and arrangements made by his predecessor, Governor Madison S. Perry. His military thinking was also somewhat strained by the dichotomy he tried to maintain between state forces answerable only to himself and those in the service of the Confederacy. In the same letter to Benjamin he wrote: "It is extremely difficult to associate forces in the ser-

Shall be at home it would be a greate pleasure for me to See You all Christmas but it Cannot be under the Circumstances allthough, I had the right and have it now but do not like to exercise it perhaps I will See You Soon, but You must be patient. if I had the Chance to Send You Some money I would Send three hundred dollars but I will bring it when I Come.<sup>20</sup> I wish You to Send by S O House my Pockett Case, I mean that with the Vials it will be Verry useful at present as my walking is So extensive until it is inconvienient my feet is So worn out at night that I Can hardly Stand - also Send the best old pair of Boots that is their. You Cannot get them at anny reasonable price neither is their anny to get their is no goods in this place one dollar pr pound for Black Pepper 75c for Soda Such is the low prices Old Hopkins has not treated me right and now I am independant of him. The onely hard part of this Service is Staying from my family the ballance is easey and the money Comes in a large pile - perhaps my business is Suffering Some but I hope not as Mr. Falkner Said it looked like Sunday every day in Micanopy<sup>21</sup> Write by Oliver and write often. do You think it does me no good to hear from home. Surely it does do write. My pants is about out and You must if You Can get me Some Goods Blue Sattinett if possible So when I do Come we Can make them Tell Coop father wants to See him bad and that he must Kiss Ma for father My Love to all and ac[cep]t all the Love of Your husband

Guss

---

vice of the Confederate Government and those serving the State authority harmoniously." This attempted distinction was to plague the military effort of the Confederacy during most of its existence. Colonel Hopkins, as will be seen, was in charge of the evacuation of Fernandina in March, 1862, although he was then, apparently, in "Confederate" service.

20. The pay for assistant surgeons with less than five years' service was \$110 a month. *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol I, 129.

21. This implies that there was not much business any day.

## Micanopy Sunday night

Dear Gus

I have just lurnd that you have gone back to your post. I was fixing a box of sompthing to eat for you. Mr Edwards told me he would carry it to you tomorrow as he was going back to the Keys tis no use for me to send it by the stage unless some one was in the stage that would look after it for nothing seams to go safe all is confusion. tis very straining that you did not get my letter written by Mr. Feester. I thought you would be more afit [?] to get it that way than by mail but in your last letter you say nothing about it. I have been very much troubbled ever since I got your last letter saying that William was sick do try and make him take care of himseft for you know how imprudent he is poor Lou is almost crazy about him She thinks he will never come home again. I never did read such sad letters as I get from her tis a grait trouble to me for some times I think my own troubles is as much as I can beare tho I try to bare it the best I can, thinking thare is a better day coming, but I shall stop this for I will not write a sad letter and make you feel sad. Well now about the cloaths. my darling I have told you and told you we had nothing of the kind in Micanopy that you want in the way of most I do not know what you will do for cloaths if you could come home probably we might contrive some way to fix up some. Jim an[d] Cook say they are going off after goods soon if so prehaps I can get them to bring you sompthing. I will send you a box of sompthing to eat the first chance. you know if I send it and it is delayed on the road it will spoil. Sue Colding sent a box to Ia. and the Yankees got it. dont I wish it had poison in it I do because they put hand cuffs on them poor fellows they took. I feel like I could shoot them old yankees myself. all is lonely I hear nothing but the chirping crickit for all is sleeping sound but myself when shall I stop you see I cant write a short letter for I have so much to say to you I hardly know what to say first Jim has gone to see Lou he will be back tomorrow. I want to go to see her as soon as I can but I thought I would wait until you made your visit home for fear I should be gone when you came. Oh how glad I will be when Dr Camran [?] comes hom so Pa can go and stay with her. when you write

be shure to say how William is it will releave my mind to hear you say he is not bad sick but if he is say so. do take care of your self if you get sick come right home. Coop says tell Pa howdy for me and tell him to come home I want to see him. I have a plenty of green peas in the garden how I do wish you and William had some of them. remember me kindly to Mr Mc . . . my love to William do tell him to take care of himself and try and get well. may the good Lord take care of you both. write be kind to your sick do all you can for them to make them comfortable bare with them if you find them cross how I do wish I could send some things to your sick.

good by dear Gus may we meet soon

Mary

Fernandina East Florida

Decr 16th 1861

Dear Wife

Perhaps You do not Know where I am, and hence I write You. I left the Keys in Company with Dr. Randolph with the intention of going home, but learning of the anticipated troubles at this point,<sup>22</sup> he thought best to take me with him as he was fearfull that Surgeons would be Scarce So, I am here and do not Know when I Shall be able to be at home. The two Companys at Ceader Keys and Sea Horse will be here tomorrow and I Should have gon[e] down on the train had I Known it. Their is no indication of an imediate attack more than the Blockades are quite impudent they run a Schooner Yesterday and fired at her run her ashore and burned her up. She was loaded

22. The Union fleet, advancing down the Atlantic coast, had taken Port Royal, South Carolina, on November 8, 1861, and Savannah, Brunswick, and Fernandina seemed the next logical targets. The coasts of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida were constituted a military department by the Confederate government, and General Robert E. Lee was placed in command on November 5. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 309. Lee promptly inspected the batteries and posts along the coast and reported to the Adjutant General, "The entrance to the Cumberland Sound [the north end of Amelia Island on which Fernandina is situated] and Brunswick are the only points which it is proposed to defend." Lee to Samuel Cooper, Savannah, November 21, 1861, in *Ibid.*, 327. On the same date, Lee directed the 24th Mississippi Regiment to be sent to Fernandina to reinforce General Trapier there. *Ibid.*, 346.

with Coffee and other articles the [that] we Verry much Kneed. Their is all the time two Vessels in Sight Gen. Treipier is here making arrangements for the fight and as a matter of Course we are also buissey preparing I hope it will not take place not that I fear defeat, but because of the Sight Sick wounded dying all in one pile. it is not a pleasant thought. The evening that I left Sea Horse the wind was b[l]owing fresh and Continued to increase until it blew Verry hard Consequently I Came Verry near being Shipwreck. had to leave my fish and Oysters in the boat and waide out Some three hundred Yards which was not Verry pleasant had them to leave in the boat Bill will Send them down to You as he will be at Gainesville on tomorrow. I am Quartered with Colo Hopkins in a fine large house ample room and a white Lady Superintending and Conducting the Cooking. the Companys here are fine ones and I am truly glad that Bill is ordered here. their is Som[e] men in that Company that wants to be made to Know their place Townsend is not Chaplain their has annother bin appointed I do not Know who he is, So, he is out. I thought that my Chance was a bad one but Dr Randolph has recommended me to the General So the Appointment is Sure. I will try and See You by Christmas and perhaps Sooner but You must not look for me until You See me I hope that You will get all the fish and Oysters Safe the fisheries had Stopped before I left Mullett Could not be Caught they had Stopped running I Saw John Beggs <sup>23</sup> this morning he has dysentary and lookes badly he is first Lieut in Dyals <sup>24</sup> Company he did not Know me, neither did I make myself Knowned. You need give yourself no uneasiness about me for if they have a fight I will not be exposed My post will be in the hospital Amputating and dressing wounds - do write Soon and let me Know how You are I hope You Coop and all are well My love to all tell Coop to Kiss his Ma for me

As Ever Your Husband

A. H. Mathers

---

23. Lieutenant John M. Beggs, Co. C, 4th Florida Regiment. *Soldiers of Florida*, 123.

24. Captain William H. Dial, commanding Co. C, 4th Florida Regiment. *Soldiers of Florida*, 123.

Fernandina East Florida  
Decr 18th 1861

Dear Wife

When I wrote You last, their was at that time no prospect of a fight. I do not as Yet See anny that is brighter, Though the Blockade is more impudent, and on Yesterday Came in close enough to exchange Shots with the fort perhaps nothing more than to get the range of our Guns. Every arrangements are being made for the anticipated Attack their is quite a number of Sick here, more than aught to be at this Season of the Year. I fear that this is a Sickley place, and if So, what will it be in the Spring and Summer. The men are all lively and look hearty those that are up - the Measles - and Mumps are in Camps. I forgot that) The people have all left, and You Cannot See annything els but Uniforms, nor here anny-thing but file Right and file Left until it has becom[e] a good Emetic. All the Officers have Come in and I must Stop. I wish You would get me Some good Stuff to mak[e] pants Blue Sattinett wool if You Can if it is not in Micanopy Send to Ocala by first Chance if You Cannot get that, anny-thing that will do for I will be out when I Come home I wish to make them.<sup>25</sup> Hoping that You are all well I

Remain Yours as Ever  
A H Mathers

Fernandina East Fla  
Decr 22th 1861

Dear Wife

I have not herd from You Since I have arrived at this place and hence as the opportunity offers of Sending by hand I embrace it The prospect for a fight is no brighter than when I last wrote, though their is a greate many guards out every night to Keep off a Supprise. You Can See the blockade Vessle anny-time She Comes in Verry Close Some-times She is quite large. This is Sunday and it has appeared to me that every boddy had more to do than at anny-other day-the whole military was out on general parade. I did not have the time to

25. Surgeon Mathers had been a tailor prior to starting the drug store.



go I never have bin so buissey in my life my appointment was made to day as assistant Surgeon Provisional Army.

[The following, on a separate sheet, is probably a continuation of the above.]

At night 9 Oclo

Their has nothing of interest occured to day, no fight Yet neither are their anny increased Signes of an early Conflict. One of Capt Hunters <sup>26</sup> men had his throat Cut and a Stab in the Side his life is dispared of. The perpetrator of the deed was one of the Same Company he is now in Jail King Alcohol was at the bottom of it all. I have just returned from the Camps Visiting a Sick man the Measles are as thick in Camps as they can be and on the increase. Charly White has them he is the onely one except Bill in that Company as Yet. The Cars are Coming. Have You Wrote Me! do write. A few little dainties (Straingers in Camp life) would be acceptable to Your Husband for instance a Small box of Sugar Cakes and anny other things of that Class You may be disposed to fix up-. My tent will be up tomorrow then I Shall move. Colo Hopkins has furnished me with lumber to floor it So it will be Verry Comfortable. The Hospital is quite full of Sick but I hope it will not prove as fatal as it did last week. O! that Your health may Continue to be good and the good Lord may preserve You and the little one is the Prayer of Your Husband My Love to all. Tell father that I approve of his arrangement in refference to the books, and hope he will do the best he can

Your Husband

A H Mathers

Fernandina East Florida

Decr 31st 1861

Dear Wife

Your Verry welcom letter together with the bundle Came Safe to hand. Not hearing from You for So long a time made

26. Captain Adam W. Hunter, commanding Co. B, 4th Florida Regiment. *Soldiers of Florida*, 121.

me Somewhat uneasy for I had bin here better than two weeks without a Sylable from home. It makes me feel easey to read Such a letter from You, and I assure You that I have all Confidence in my wife, and feel Satisfied that She will do for the best. And I Can perform the duties that are imposed on me with greater grace and Confidence when I Know that all is well at home Oh: that the Good one may Continue Your Good health and Supply Your every want in this trying time for it is Surely one

We have no more appearances of a fight at this point now, than when I first Came and in fact their is no one Knows where will be the next point. We Cannot [illegible] of them annywhere nor of their doings. The Blockade Vessel is Constantly in Sight and does her best to Keep out all Communication whatever. In that She failes for a Small Sloop out run her the other day and Came in loaded with Salt. the demand for the article is So greate that it has advanced in price even in the British provinces the Cargo is not Yet opened it will be bought for the use of the troops. My opinion is that we will have to do on less than we ever thought we Could the Condition of the Country is deplorable and I fear that the poor will be the Sufferers, but enough of this. My buissness is Confined to the Camps I have to walk about three miles a day and treat about 30 or 40 Patients afflicted with all Kinds of diseases if I had a horse it would be much better I am entitled to feed for one but I have not got one neither Could one be got. I will make out if Clothes Can be procured I do not Know what I Shall do the goods You Sents will not do the Color is not good and it is two light for the bleak winds we have at this place Sometimes Verry Cold My Coat is nearly give out, but I will try and Streach them make then do as long as possible. Blue, being the Color of uniform pants in the medical department I though[t] if the blue Sattinett Could be got, I would like it. I Shall not buy a uniform unless all do it then I Suppose it will be my duty to be like the rest at pressent that are not to be had the Consumption is extensive for every man You See has one on it is So Common until it is disgusting. The general Hospital is the Cay house the largest in the place their is about forty or fifty Sick in it it is the general deposit

for the Mississippi Regiment the 3rd & 4th together with the battalion in fact a general rendezvous for all those that Cannot be treated in Camps. Dr Montgomery a brother of D A Montgomery of Flemington is Surgeon of the Mississippi Regiment a Verry nice man The two Baily boys is here together with McCarn (John Beggs Seth Bunker and James Kirkpatrick <sup>27</sup> all of Madison I have Seen Capt Langford <sup>28</sup> and a great many other acquaintances

I have received one letter from Cameron brought from Cedar Keys he Says that Jim must wait until he Comes home.

I would have Sent my money home but I had not drawn it when house left. I wish You had it, then It would be out of my way I have three hundred and forty dollars in Cash I will try and take Care that You get it. I told You that it all Should be Yours and So it Shall be except enough to pay my expenses which will not be much

The medical department is not Settled Yet I do not Know how it will be Yet I Shall try and hold my Sittuation Dr Randolph is in my favor and from him I hold my place now. do write often Cant You afford to write once a week Commence Monday and Surely You Can make one out in four days. I will Come home as Soon as possible, but Cannot Say when Tell Coop to Kiss ma for me and to be a good boy and learn to read My Love to all Did You get the fish Your husband

A H M

General Hospital  
Assistant Surg Depart  
Fernandina Jan 7th 1862

Dear Wife

Although I am Quite worne out when night Comes and feel quite pleasant when I have the privilege of retireing for the nigh, Yet I do not feel right without writing to You once a week anny-how. I never have bin So buissey in my life and

27. Seth Bunker and James Kirkpatrick appear as sergeants on the original muster roll of Co. C, 4th Florida Regiment. *Soldiers of Florida*, 123.

28. Captain Thomas Langford, commanding Co. G, 3rd Florida Regiment. *Soldiers of Florida*, 111.

never have neither did I ever expect to have to treat as great a Variety of diseases in my life. I Can tell You that their is a great many men that are clothed in white Skin that aught to have had a black one and Some of them are in Bills Company. You Know Guss Johnsons Brother that was Micanopy Some time ago he is in Capt Gees <sup>29</sup> Company the poorest Chance for a man that I ever Saw. I begin at Bills Camp and it takes me until one or two oclock to get back I am fearefull that the amount of exercise will be two much for me the work is laborious and we are much in want of drugs and medicin which are in my opinion Scarce. You may Say to ffather that opium is worth twenty five dollars that will make Laudanum and Paregoric worth 38 and \$.40 an ounce and all other drugs in proportion Sell them high every thing els is up and every boddy is trying to live off of this poor broken backed Government. <sup>30</sup> Their is plenty of money here and nothing to buy with it the fact is their is no goods in this place and I do not know what I Shall do about Some Cloths. I have on all the Cloths I have in the world, and the Company that I am Compeled to Keep, and am frequently brough in Contact with Compeles me to dress well Their is now in the Hospital about fifty out of the two Regiments that are Stationed here, and in Camps about Seventy in each one. that will make about one hundred in each to be Seen every day and oneley four to do the Practice and the Scattered Condition of the Companys makes the work Verry laborious Now the Cars have Com I wonder if You have wrote to me. Well if not I Shall think You augh to have don it. Well we expect on the train the General and Stalf [?] the medical perveyor if So I Shall try and get a Chance to go home a while if it is oneley for a few days. If I Could See You onely two days it would Sattisfy me. It is thought here that this Regiment will be ordered off, that is to South Carolina.

29. Captain Charles A. Gee, commanding Co. A. 4th Florida Regiment. *Soldiers of Florida*, 120. There were six Johnsons on the original muster roll of this Company.

30. This echoes the complaint of the governor in deploring what he considered the uselessness of the eager organizing of cavalry units: "Almost every man that has a pony wishes to mount him at the expense of the Confederate Government." Milton to Jefferson Davis, Tallahassee, October 18, 1861, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 290.

I think it would try me if that Should be the Case for I Can tell You that dragging Volunteers about Kills them up like anny-thing. the Missippie Regiment has lost Since its arrival here four men and has Some fifty or Sixty Sick in hospital I Come in Contact with Dr Montgomery every day find him to be much of a Gentleman I enjoy myself with him Verry much he is quite liveley Several of the Physicians in that Regiment I am acquainted with Some one of them are in the hospital every day. Bill [?] is here and they Keep Such a talking that I will Stop and finish tomorrow then perhaps I Shall have Some News to write you

January 8th 1862

Dear Wife

Their has no news of anny importance, except the fighting in South Carolina that has terminated with no loss of anny Consequence on either Side The impression is that the above mentioned Place will be the battle ground it would do the Yankies more good to take Charleston than the whole State of Fla On Saturday next is the time Set for the fight at this place but madam Rumor is buissey

This morning opens beautifully and the day bids fair to be a pretty one the display of General inspection will take place and I wish You were here to See it The whole Regiment fully fited out with every-thing proper for a Soldier to have Cartridge Box full of powder and balls Caps & Led for action I Should like to be pressent myself but Shall have to go to the Camps and take my usual rounds amongst the Sick which is not Verry pleasant. Though their is not So manny as their has bin I understood last night that their was a New man Sent here as medical Director of the affaires of the Island but I have not Yet Seen him his name is Clintock he is not of Florida and Consequently if this be So their will be a general Smash up for those now employed Say they will not Serve unless the Director be a Floridian I think myself they have little to do to Send men from other States to Supervise over a department of another unless their is no one Competent in Service to perform the duties. But I doubt the whole This is a hard Service, because the men do not get enough to eat of that, that is whole-

some beef at this Season You Know is poor and they give them one Ration pr day - and one of pork pr week and they have nothing but flower and the pork is the dependance for Grease to put in the flower which You Know will not do. Hence I here every day the bitterest Curses heaped on the Comisarry and men say they have not enough to eat

At night

Dear may I wind up my Letter after Visiting one Verry Sick man in Bills Company It would not Supprise me if he was dead by morning Clark Paggett <sup>31</sup> Pneumonia is the disease with which they are affected. Their has a greate many bin burried within the last few days and their will a great many more if they Stay in this Variable Climate Bill is quite well and So am I.

Tell Coop that father wishes to See him Verry much

Your Husband

A H Mathers

Camp Fernandina

Asst Surgeons Depart

January 27th 1862

My Dear Wife

Having expected to eat Supper with You tonight is the reason I offer, for not writing last week. It was a Sad disappointment on my part for I fully expected to go and therefore was not prepared for a refusal, which was nothing more than, I Cannot do without You. But Such is the fate of those that are to be Controled by annother. I am Sitting here in my tent every boddy asleep and all things quiet except the Guards arround the fire talking of the hard times they have passed through and what is Yet for them to forego and the Cough of those that are Suffering from measles together with other from bad Colds, and a thousand other aildments which Soldiers Can hatch up to Keep from doing Camp duty and Drill

Well now for a history of my Situation in Camp life. I have a fine large tent with a large table my Cot and one bench a

31. This name appears on the muster roll of Captain Fletcher's company, and after it the remark, "Died in Service." *Soldiers of Florida*, 130.

looking Glass one towell plenty of Soap but no basin or pitcher I have a floor in the tent and it well pined down which makes quite a Snug house provided it was a little better furnished Cant You add to its Comfort a little by presenting me with an Oil Cloth to Spread over my bed and Carpet to Cover the floor and a basin and a few towells. The table Contains my medicins that is a few of them. the others are in the Camp Chest as it is called it is a large box made to hold medicins. on one Side is my Cott together with a Small Candle Stand made after the fashion of Gody You Know [?] <sup>32</sup> at the head where I Can reach it from my bed my Cloths what I have hang on the tent pole while my trunk Sits under my bed Thus You have a full discription of my Tent and its Contents. I mess with Capt Barnes Lieut Deakle Seargt Harris and Seargt Smith all Verry much of Gentleman and treats me with greate Kindness in fact all the officers in the Camps treats me Kindly. I have tryed to demean myself So as to gain the respect of all and So far I believe that I am quite popular and that is the reason why Col Hopkins will not let me leave. Their is Capt Lesly, Lane Barnes Hunter Gee Hunt Fletcher and Capt Dial all in a row making in all in this Camp Eight Companis <sup>33</sup> about five or Six Hundred men, each every day a Sick list of an average of fifteen and Sometimes more their is generally about one hundred and fifty to be Seen twice pr day and half or more with the measles Such is what I have to do every day which Keeps me buissey and no

32. Possibly a reference to *Godey's Lady's Book*.

33. John T. Leslie, Co. K; William F. Lane, Co. H; Joseph B. Barnes, Co. I; Adam W. Hunter, Co. B; Charles A. Gee, Co. A; James P. Hunt, Co. F; William L. Fletcher, Co. G; and William H. Dial, Co. C. *Soldiers of Florida*, 120-134. Governor Milton, earlier in the fall, had written to President Davis concerning this regiment in disparaging tones: "With regard to what is called the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel Edward Hopkins, there were but eight imperfect companies when he was elected . . . some of them in a deplorable condition and scattered" between Saint Vincent's Island, Saint Marks, Tampa, and Cedar Key. Milton to Davis, Tallahassee, October 29, 1861. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 301. Even though Colonel Hopkins was still in command - evidently the regiment had been mustered into Confederate service - the regiment would seem, from the surgeon's comments, to have at least the appearance of a respectable unit. His list of captains omits William A. Sheffield, Co. D, and Thomas J. McGehee, Co. E, whose units presumably stayed in Tampa when the remainder of the regiment was concentrated at Fernandina in January, 1862. *Soldiers of Florida*, 119, 124, 126.

time to Spair. I am now writing to You twelve olco at night. but I am quite well and feel as well as a general thing as I ever did in my life I [have] two Verry Sick men in Bills Quarters or rather Colo Taylors house Doc & Jimmy Howren They Came here in John Hendrys<sup>34</sup> Company but it was not full and Could not be mustered in So it has returned and left them here with the measles I attended his Company all the time it was here. Timmy [?] Brantly and his father both have bin here together with others from Madison I was Glad to See then. holding the position I do I must say that I have a great many friends here in the Companies and get along well Capt Barnes Says he would like to See You. he wishes to See Your likeness Send it if You Send a box Not for him to See, but for me my darlin I Cannot Say when I Shall See You This Regiment I think is permanently Stationed here the Third has bin ordered to Cedar Keys<sup>35</sup> and a part to Syrna<sup>36</sup> [Smyrna] which I think leaves this here for the ballance of their terms Mrs. Heagan from Way Key has moved here Suppose You pay me a Visit I Should be glad to See You. Now I must Close as it is late and no time to write tomorrow Kiss Coop for me tell [him] to be a Smart boy So he Can read for father when he Comes home My Love to all

As Ever Your Husband

Guss

- 
34. Captain J. M. Hendry, commanding the "'Taylor [County] Eagles." *Soldiers of Florida*, 42. The surgeon's remark will serve to answer the question posed in this reference: "... the record does not show who mustered, to what command it was attached or where it served."
35. On January 16, 1862, a Union gunboat attacked Cedar Key and set fire to several vessels, the railroad wharf, and several flat cars. Only a small detachment of a lieutenant and 22 men were at hand, after the removal of the 4th Regiment's companies to Fernandina. The movement of the 3rd Regiment to Cedar Key at this time may have been intended to remedy this situation, although in May the regiment rendezvoused at Midway, in Gadsden County, preparatory to departing for northern Mississippi. *Soldiers of Florida*, 100. For accounts of the Cedar Key attack, see General Trapier's reports, January 20 and 31, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 75-77.
36. Companies E and H, under Captain Daniel B. Bird, went to New Smyrna to protect the landing of supplies being brought in from Nassau. *Soldiers of Florida*, p. 100. For General Lee's order sending cannon and support troops to New Smyrna, see Lee to Trapier, Coosawhatchie, South Carolina, January 17 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 370.



Camp Davis <sup>37</sup>  
 Assist Surg Quarters  
 Feb. 2th 1862

My Dear Wife

Your Verry Kind Box together with Your letter is Safe to hand this evening and I assure You that they are acceptable as Camp life is hard living. Manny a feast will I have over the Contents of that Box and think of You Oh! how I would like to See You and Coop all of You. I Could but think while taking the things out of the Box (what a darlin wife May the good one take Care of You and Coop and may we meet Soon. Now You are impatient because You have had no letter from me. Why because the mail did not go Straight and I Stated the reason I fully expected to be at home the last of the week, but let that drop. I know you have one by this time Now if You do not get one until next week think nothing of it as we Commence moving on tomorrow <sup>38</sup> which for a while will increase my work, and perhaps will not have the time. Their is no news of interest here A Small Craft run the Blockade Yesterday and arrived Safe in port loaded with Salt Potatoes and pork Some thought She was a Yanke Craft I did not See her Salt is worth twenty dollars pr Sack her Cargo was for Jacksonville to which Place She has gon. The general impression is that their will be Some hot times before long but No one Knows where Some think at Savannah no one can tell R H Howren <sup>39</sup> is here with Charity to nurce Jimmy he is quite Sick I do not think he will live Dr Clay and myself are his attendants Measles I think will take him off Their is quite a number Sick in Camp Some hundred and fifty with measles mumps Pneumonia and Catarrhal fever. I have not lost a Case Yet

37. Possibly named for Colonel William George M. Davis, who was elected commanding officer of the 1st Florida Cavalry. Part of this outfit saw service on Amelia Island prior to its removal to Chattanooga in the spring of 1862.

38. This must refer to some local move within the camp or the island since Secretary Benjamin did not issue the evacuation order until February 18, 1862. The next sentence leaves the impression that this "moving" was not important.

39. Howren was a prominent minister in the Florida Methodist Conference. See Charles T. Thrift, Jr., *The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider* (Lakeland, Florida, 1944), *passim*.

(Good Luck I hope I will not May the Good one Crown my Efforts in my attempt to benefit the Soldiers Emerson was here to See me today. I paid him Seventy five dollars and thought I would Keep the ballance for You, in the event of an emergency I Could have paid him more but People do not pay me and You may Knead it in Case the hard times Continue. Colo Hopkin has let me off from uniforming provided I will do So when he wishes. The Orders embraced the 4th Regiment but I have no Commission and hence he does not Compell me but when he Says So I will have it to do or quit the Service Lieut Howse leaves in the morning to purchase them if he Can I do not think the Cloth Can be procured in the South. The night is Verry bad raining and Verry dark the Sentinells are laughing and talking taking the rain while the officers are Sousing in their tents. It is a hard life I would not be a private under no Considerations. Have you Concluded not to be my Mary because You failed to get a letter when you thought it aught to have Come. dont let that fret You because I failed one week for reasons Set fourth, and it may be a week before You get annother because I have not the tine but You will here from me. if the box had Come to hand a little Sooner I Should have wrote You by James McReady but I wished to make a report of it. I have bin quite well up to this time my throat is Verry Soar. to night but I hope will be better in the morning otherwise I am quite hearty and will likely get fat now that I have plenty to eat. The beef is Splendid I hope You had Good luck in Saving Your meet. every-thing in the Box is good. I will Say nothing more about Cloths as I Know it troubles You they Cannot be got here I have had my Coat Lined and it is as good as ever So I will Say no more than what I have Stated in my last. Bill is quite well his health is good he has improved

Camp Fernandin  
Assist Surg Quarters  
Feb 14th 1862

Dear Wife

Your last Shirts made their arrival last evening and I assure You they are the Verry thing Capt Barnes wanted to take

them away The Clothes You Sent are all the Verry ones I wanted You Could not have pleased me better. I am now Staying in Camps like I was before oneley the Regiment is laid off according to the Regulations which throwes my tent on the extreme left of the Regiment in a line with Capt Hunter with whome I have bin messing Since here The Beauregards Lieut Harrison & Lieut Richards <sup>40</sup> are Gentlemen and greate friends of mine My proper mess is Capt Barns all of his Officers are Gentleman in fact all the officers and men treat me with greate Respect Bills Camp is Next he is quite well and doing well. I have bin Camps Since the first of January I was ordered in 28th Decr but never had my tent until about the time mentioned. The place that we are now at is a beautifull one the tents are all in rowes and on the Slant of a hill Stand on the hill of a night it looks fine My tent is on the hill in the prettest bunch of oak trees You ever Saw My office tent is in front facing towards my Sleeping tent So you see, I have two tents The Colonel has provided for me Comfortable Quarters he Seems to think a great-deal of me and treats me Verry Kind <sup>41</sup> I thought that I wrote You all about my Camp lif how I lived and who I messed with Surely You did not get the letter I wrote You all about it Soon after I moved The reason why Bill did not See me was because he boarded out and his Camp was two or three Companys above where my tent was and he has got Such a mean Sett of men that it takes him all of his time to Keep them Strait his first Seargeant was reduced to the Ranks the other day for neglect of duty his Place has not been filled Yet. from Seven in the morning until Nine at night I am on my feet going I was caled to the Colo this morning at day-light he was Suffering with his throat he is now on the field drilling The health of the men is improving but plenty Yet enough to make one man Stir round I have no time of my own, have not bin to fernandina in two weeks Seth Bunker

40. Lieutenants Reuben L. Harrison and John Richards of Co. B, 4th Florida Regiment, known as the "Beauregard Rifles," *Soldiers of Florida*, 121.

41. Assuming that the reference is to Colonel Hopkins, the tone is quite different from what the surgeon wrote on December 10: "Old Hopkins has not treated me right. . . ." One wonders if the colonel had mended his ways.

is here and a greate many of the Madison boys that have grown out of my Knowledge. I do not now think of all them they have all had the measles and Some of them Verry Sick now and perhaps will die The measles are breading all the nasty little diseases that generally follow them and the Camps is the worst place to have them in the world it is astonishing to me that I did not take them Verry near all those that have had them, had them again and now the mumps are here and taking the rounds. I wish You Could Visit the Camp and See how You would like the arrangements it would be quite a treat I Know Eight Companies all in rowes in one encampment in tents Some good ones, Some bad ones The Drums beats at half Past Six in the morning role Call the Surgeons Call at half past Seven all the men are marched up in front of my office for examination those that try to play off are Sent back to duty those that are and those that are not Sick much in tents and others to the Hospital Such is my dayly duty all of which employs my time during the day. Capt Barnes is going to town and it is late So I must Stop and get him to Carry this letter My love to all Kiss Coop

Yours as Ever  
Guss

Camps 4th Regiment  
Asst Surgeons Quarters  
February 27th 1862

Dear Wife

I Should have wrote You the fore-part of the week, but for having So much to do being the oneley Surgeon now in the Regiment, I have bin acting in the Capacity of Surgeon for two weeks, and it is all that I Can do to Keep up. I am not So hard pressed now as I have bin though plenty to do Yet. The Hospital is about to be moved, and all the Sick will leave the Island and as fast as the men get Sick they will be Sent to Lake City. Their was four deaths in the Hospital Last Night and one in a private house and one of those was James Kirkpatrick of Madison he was taken in Camps about two hours before day and was dead by Sun down Conjestive Chill Death is making a broad road through the 4th Regiment I

think they have lost thirty or forty men Since they landed here. The Island is about to be abandoned <sup>42</sup> they are dismounting and Sending the Guns away now all the horses have bin Sent away and the work of tearing every-thing up is now going on. the Colo has orders to leave the Island, but no place Stated where he is to go to Their is Various rumors in Camps but non true our destination will be either Tallahassee or Fort Steel on the St Johns River The latter I think most likely When we move I will try and Come home, but that is my onely Chance The impression on my mind is that florida will be invaded from the fact that all the Sea-port towns will be left open for the enemy to Come in without a Struggle. and why. on account of men being at the head of affaires that is not acquainted with the Country. the Vast amount of work that has bin don and money expended to accomplish the batteries on this Coast is now but a wreck and all the work that is now going on is to destroy and pull down. this Showes the want of a determined Spirit to Controll in military matters Perhaps before this reaches You we will be on the move, where [when?] I do not Know and if You do not here from me next week You may

42. The reverses suffered by southern arms in the west Tennessee theatre early in 1862 necessitated the swiftest possible shift of support to that area. As a consequence of this over-all strategy, Secretary Benjamin sent the following dispatch to General Lee on February 18, 1862: "Order the cavalry regiment of Colonel Davis from Florida to Chattanooga immediately, to report to General A. S. Johnston. Withdraw all forces from the islands in your department to the main-land, taking proper measures to save the artillery and munitions of war." *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 390. After news of this order and its implementation by General Lee and General Trapier spread to Tallahassee, Governor Milton wrote in shocked incredulity: "The effect of the order is to abandon Middle, East, and South Florida to the mercy or abuse of the Lincoln Government. It cannot be possible that the order was intended to have such an effect. . . . I cannot and will not believe that an order to that effect would have been issued without previous notice to the executive of the State. . . ." Milton to J. P. Benjamin, Tallahassee, March 5, 1862. For Hopkins' report on the evacuation of Amelia Island, see Hopkins to R. H. Anderson, Lake City, March 30, 1862, in *Ibid.*, 94-5.

With the governor in this state of mind, it is little wonder that the surgeon expressed strong disapproval and sharp criticism respecting this top command decision. His letters thus coincide with the first major episode of the war in Florida - from near the beginning to the painful shortening and tightening of the lines around the north-central parts of the state where they would hold, generally, for the duration.

Know what has happened My general health is good I feel as well as usual hard work agrees with me I have received all the things You have Sent me and they are admirably adapted to the uses they will be put to. I am proud of my Shirts and pants. When I wrote You last I asked You Some questions You must answer them because if You Consent I want to Secure a Commission in the Army. Charly has made his arrival looke Verry well I was glad to See him back for I wanted help Verry much

Write Soon and tell me all the news tell Coop he must not forget father Kiss him for me I hope to See You Soon My Love to all

While I Remain Your Husband

A. H. M.

# CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA

by EDWIN C. BEARSS

## I

### *The Yankees Hold Fort Pickens in Defiance of the State of Florida*

ENTERING Pensacola Harbor from the Gulf of Mexico in 1861 one would have seen, as he crossed the bar, Fort McRee immediately on his left on the mainland or west shore of the bay and to the right Fort Pickens on the western extremity of Santa Rosa Island. This island, lying approximately parallel to the shore of the mainland, is nearly forty miles long and is separated from the mainland by Pensacola Bay. On the mainland opposite Fort Pickens and at a distance of about one and one-half miles stood Fort Barrancas and about another one and one-half miles east of Fort Barrancas was the village of Warrington which adjoined the Navy Yard. Seven miles farther up the bay was the town of Pensacola having in 1860 a population of 2,876. Near Fort Barrancas, between it and the Navy Yard, was the post of Barrancas Barracks.<sup>1</sup> There in January 1861 was stationed Company G, 1st United States Ar-

1. Ordnance and ordnance stores at the forts on Pensacola Bay:

*Fort Barrancas.* Forty-four sea-coast and garrison cannon and 43 carriages, viz: Thirteen 8-inch columbiads and howitzers; two 10-inch mortars, and eleven 32-pounders, ten 18-pounders, and three 19-pounders; 3,152 projectiles for the same; 20,244 pounds of powder, and 2,966 cartridge bags.

*Barrancas Barracks.* A field battery, consisting of four 6-pounder guns and two 12-pounder howitzers, with carriages, and six caissons, with 300 projectiles and 270 cartridge bags for same.

*Fort Pickens.* Two hundred and one sea-coast and garrison cannon, viz: Four 10-inch columbiads and four 10-inch mortars, fifty 8-inch and flanking howitzers, and two 42-pounders, sixty-two 32-pounders, fifty-nine 24-pounders, six 18-pounders, and fourteen 12-pounders, and 128 carriages for the same; also 4,974 projectiles of all kinds; 3,195 grape-shot, loose; 500 24-pounder stands cannister shot; 12,712 pounds of powder, and 1,728 cartridge bags.

*Fort McRee.* One hundred and twenty five sea-coast and garrison cannon, including three 10-inch and twelve 8-inch columbiads; twenty-two 42-pounders, twenty-four 32-pounders, and sixty-four 24-pounder guns, with sixty-four carriages; 9,026 projectiles, and 1,258 stands of grape and cannister, and 19,298 pounds of powder.

tillery. This was the only force of the United States Army in the area.<sup>2</sup> The commander of this company was Major John H. Winder (afterwards brigadier-general in the Confederate army and widely known for his role in connection with the military prisons in the South).<sup>3</sup> He and the senior lieutenant, Asher R. Eddy, were both absent on leave.<sup>4</sup> In the absence of his superiors 1st Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer was in charge of the company.<sup>5</sup>

In the initial week of January 1861 rumors were current among the United States forces garrisoning the forts in Pensacola Harbor that these posts and other public property in the area were to be seized by Florida State Troops under orders from Governor Madison S. Perry. Lieutenant Slemmer had been advised of the seizure of the United States forts in Mobile Bay on January 5 by the Alabama State militia. Deeming it proper since he had received no instructions to the contrary from Washington, the lieutenant endeavored to prevent a similar success by the state authorities at Pensacola.<sup>6</sup> The morning of January 7 Lieutenant Slemmer, accompanied by Lieutenant Jeremiah H. Gilman, called on Commodore James Armstrong, the commandant of the Pensacola Navy Yard, to mature plans for better securing the protection of public property in the area. Additional meetings were held by these officers that evening and in the early morning hours of January 8. Armstrong,

---

2. J. H. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, I, (New York, 1834), 26.

3. John H. Winder was born in Maryland in 1800, and graduated from West Point in 1820 as a 2d Lieutenant, Corps of Artillery. Winder served in the Seminole Indian War and the Mexican War. In the latter conflict he was breveted major for gallantry at Conteras and Churubusco, and lieutenant-coloned for bravery in the assault on Mexico City on September 14, 1847. Winder was promoted to major 3rd Artillery November 22, 1860, and resigned from the U. S. Army on April 27, 1861.

4. Asher R. Eddy was born in Rhode Island, and graduated from the Military Academy at West Point on July 1, 1844, as 2d lieutenant 1st Artillery. Eddy was promoted to 1st lieutenant 1st Artillery on August 19, 1847.

5. Adam J. Slemmer was born in Pennsylvania, and graduated from West Point on July 1, 1850, as brevet 2d lieutenant 1st Artillery. Slemmer was promoted to 1st lieutenant on April 30, 1854.

6. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. I, 334 (cited hereafter as *Official Records*).



in the absence of orders from the Navy Department, deemed it inexpedient to cooperate with the army.<sup>7</sup>

Early in the morning hours of January 8 the soldiers began the removal of the powder from exposed magazines in the Spanish battery of Fort Barrancas to the fort's inner magazines. Slemmer issued orders directing that all batteries should be placed in working order and at nightfall he alerted the guard detail. As an added security measure the drawbridge leading to the fort was raised. About midnight a group of men (about 20 in all) approached the drawbridge with the intention of taking possession of the fort. The corporal of the guard sounded the alarm; the would-be assailants failed to answer when challenged or halt when ordered and were fired upon by the guard, whereupon they promptly fled in the direction of Warrington. Their footsteps resounded on the plank walk as the roll of musketry ceased and the guard double-timed back to the fort. These could well be the first shots fired by the Federals in the Civil War.<sup>8</sup> Slemmer now ordered the guard doubled as a precautionary measure.

In the mail that arrived from Washington on January 9 Lieutenant Slemmer received the following order from the War Department in Washington: "The General-in-Chief directs that you take measures to do the utmost in your power to prevent the seizure of either of the forts in Pensacola Harbor by surprise or assault, consulting first with the commander of the navy-yard, who will probably have received instructions to cooperate with you."<sup>9</sup>

Immediately upon receipt of this order and again accompanied by Lieutenant Gilman, Slemmer called on Commodore Armstrong. In the same mail Armstrong had received orders directing him to cooperate with the army, but he was already greatly influenced by Commander Ebenezer Farrand and other secessionist officers of his command. Guided by their machinations Armstrong did not dare take an active role in pro-

7. *Ibid.* Jeremiah H. Gilman was born in Maine, and graduated from West Point in the class of 1856 as a brevet 2d lieutenant 1st Artillery. Gilman was promoted to 2d lieutenant on October 31, 1856.

8. *Ibid.* 334-35; Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, I, 27.

9. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. 1, 334.

viding for the defense of Pensacola Harbor. The recent turn of events had caused intense excitement among the employees of the navy yard and among the inhabitants of the village of Warrington, and these had added to the consternation of the commodore. He was desirous of doing his duty, and apparently saw it clearly when in the presence of the army officers.<sup>10</sup> Armstrong, at the insistence of the two army officers, agreed that with the limited means available only one of the forts could be held. Fort Pickens was chosen due to the number of advantages its possession imparted - command of the other forts, harbor, and naval yard, and its ease of reinforcement from the Gulf. In order to implement this decision the commodore promised to make the *Wyandotte* and the storeship *Supply* available by 1 p. m. to convoy the troops from the mainland to Fort Pickens.<sup>11</sup>

At 10 a.m. Lieutenant Slemmer, with part of his command, boarded the storeship *Supply* which carried him to Fort Pickens. Here the artillerymen began to mount guns and make the necessary preparations for its defense. Lieutenant Gilman had been left with the rest of the command at Barrancas Barracks to complete preparations for its evacuation. At 1 p.m. Gilman found no signs of the promised assistance and called on the commodore to counteract the influence of the secessionist-minded naval officers which surrounded him. Gilman was informed that the only aid the navy could render would be provisions and the transportation of the troops to Fort Pickens. Upon being informed of this change in plans Slemmer ordered his men to halt all work and return to Barrancas Barracks. The irate lieutenant then called on the commodore whom he accused of deceiving him, stating that Armstrong: had promised me men and the co-operation of the two vessels of war, besides the mere fact of giving us provisions and taking us over; that with my command, only 46 strong, I should never dream of defending so large

10. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 27.

11. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 335. The *U.S.S. Wyandotte*, a 3d class screw steamer displacing 458 tons, was purchased by the United States Government for the Paraguayan expedition. In January 1861 the *Wyandotte's* armament consisted of four 32-pounders and one 24-pounder howitzer. The *U.S.S. Supply*, a sailing vessel of 547 tons' displacement, was built in 1852. In January 1861 the *Supply's* armament consisted of four 32-pounders.

a work, calculated for upwards of 1,200 men; that I had been at work on that promise, and had thus lost a day's time in the preparation of Fort Barrancas for defense."<sup>12</sup> After hearing what the lieutenant had to say the commodore sent for his aides and gave them instructions to implement the original design.

Lieutenant Otway H. Berryman, of the *Wyandotte*, promised to be ready to leave the dock at 5 p.m., by which time the artillerymen would be ready to embark at the Barrancas wharf. As time was of the essence all hands were turned to in order to place the public property on the wharf to facilitate its removal to Fort Pickens. The troops were kept at their tasks until midnight when a dense fog descended upon the area rendering it impossible for the *Wyandotte* to dock.<sup>13</sup> At about 8 a.m. the next day a large flatboat or scow and several small boats pulled up at the Barrancas wharf and the artillerymen and their gear were soon loaded.<sup>14</sup> By 10 a.m. the troops had been ferried across the bay and disembarked at Fort Pickens. Lieutenant Berryman in the meantime had detailed thirty-one seamen from the navy yard as a working party to assist Lieutenant Slemmer in making the necessary preparations for the defense of Fort Pickens. In the remaining hours of daylight most of the powder and all the fixed ammunition for the field batteries was transferred from the mainland to the island. As a final measure before abandoning the works on the mainland the lieutenant ordered that all the siege guns bearing on the bay should be spiked as the artillerymen had neither the means nor the time to dismount them. The provisions needed to subsist the garrison were drawn from the steamer *Supply*.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile at Tallahassee on January 3 the people of Florida acting through their delegates chosen in pursuance of an act of the general assembly, approved on November 30, had assembled in convention to chart what course the state should follow. After six days of debate and discussion, on January 10 the proposed ordinance of secession was taken up as the proper order of business. The ordinance was adopted by a vote

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 28.

15. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 336.

of 62 to 7. The president of the convention was then instructed to inform the proper authorities of the other southern states of the action which Florida had taken. Concurrently, the convention, prompted by a letter from David L. Yulee, United State Senator from Florida, to Joseph Finegan, a delegate to the Florida convention, which pointed out

The immediate important thing to be done is the occupation of the forts and arsenal in Florida. The naval station and forts at Pensacola are first in consequence . . . . The occupation of the navy yard will give us a good supply of ordnance and make the capture of the forts easier. Major Chase built the forts and will know all about them. Lose no time, for my opinion is troops will be soon dispatched to reinforce and strengthen the Forts in Florida.<sup>16</sup>

passed the following resolution:

That this convention authorize and empower the governor of this State to employ the militia of this State, and such forces as may be tendered to the State from the States of Alabama and Georgia to defend and protect the State, and especially the forts and public defenses of the State now in possession of the State, and that the governor be authorized to make all necessary arrangements for the support and maintenance of such troops and carrying on the public defense; That it is the sense of this convention that the governor should not direct any assault to be made on any fort or military post now occupied by Federal troops, unless the persons in occupation of such forts and posts shall commit overt acts of hostility against this State, its citizens or troops in its service, unless directed by a vote of this convention.<sup>17</sup>

The day prior to Florida's withdrawal from the Union Governor Andrew B. Moore, of Alabama, warned the convention then assembled at Montgomery to determine that state's future course of action, "that Governor Perry . . . . has ordered the forts [around Pensacola] to be occupied by the troops of Florida and asks aid from Alabama. The force at

16. *Ibid.*, 442.

17. J. J. Dickison, *Confederate Military History*, X (Atlanta, 1899), 8-20.

his [Governor Perry's] command in West Florida is small and not sufficient to take . . . the forts. Troops from Alabama could reach that point before the troops of East and Middle Florida."<sup>18</sup> Two hundred and twenty-five Alabamians, under Colonel Tennent Lomax, were ordered to Pensacola in order to implement the governor's recommendation.<sup>19</sup>

The day after Florida's withdrawal from the Union Lieutenant Slemmer was informed by Lieutenant-Commander Henry Walke, of the *Supply*, that he had been ordered by Commodore Armstrong to unload his stores and return to the navy yard. Additional bad news was conveyed to the lieutenant by Berryman who stated, "I expect to sail this evening or tomorrow morning for the south coast of Cuba."<sup>20</sup> Upon receipt of these evil tidings Lieutenant Slemmer dispatched the following note to the commodore:

Sir: I understand that it is your intention to withdraw from this fort the protection of the *U.S.S. Wyandotte* and the storeship *Supply*, contrary to the agreement between you and myself day before yesterday. I again have the honor to state, as I did to you in presence of several officers at our last interview, that without the aid of those vessels it will be utterly impossible in my opinion, for me to protect this harbor, and I shall therefore, in case this assistance is withdrawn, instantly relinquish all hopes of defending the place, and report the state of affairs immediately by a messenger to Washington. I most respectfully request an immediate answer as to whether the assistance above referred to is to be withdrawn or not.<sup>21</sup>

The commodore's reply to Slemmer's communication was as follows:

Sir: In reply to your communication of this date I have to state that the U.S. storeship *Supply* was sent to Fort Pickens by my order merely to convey the provisions you required and to return to this navy yard. The *Supply* is not

18. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 444.

19. Dickison, *Confederate Military History*, XI, 15.

20. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 336.

21. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1894-1927), 30 volumes, Ser. I, Vol. IV, 12. (cited hereafter as *Official Records - Navies*).

a vessel of war, and having been sent to this station on the special service of conveying stores and coal to Vera Cruz for the vessels of the Home Squadron stationed there, it is my duty to dispatch her to that port at the earliest moment practicable, in conformity with the orders I have received from the Navy Department, from which orders I can not deviate further. The steamer *Wyandotte* may be retained for the purpose of cooperating with you until further orders.<sup>22</sup>

During the night of January 11-12 the *Wyandotte* and *Supply* remained at anchor in the lee of Fort Pickens' batteries. In the early morning hours Commander Walke, of the *Supply*, exhibited a communication from the commodore stating that the navy yard was besieged by Florida State Troops. The lieutenant having received no official information to verify this fact addressed the following note to Armstrong: "I am informed that the navy-yard is besieged. In case you determine to capitulate, please send me the marines to strengthen my command." To this message he received no reply.<sup>23</sup>

The force left to defend the navy yard consisted of thirty-eight marines, and about thirty seamen. The defenses of the yard were in deplorable condition, no guns being mounted except those used in saluting the colors. The investing force commanded by Colonel Lomax, of *Alabama*, consisted of uniformed militia companies well armed with rifled muskets. Their number was variously estimated ranging from a high of 800 men to a low of 300. At about 1 p.m. Commodore Armstrong was informed that some gentleman desired to see him. He was then introduced by Commander Ebenezer Farrand, his executive officer, to Mr. Richard L. Campbell and Captain Victor M. Randolph, who informed Armstrong that they had come with a large force in the name of the State of Florida to demand an immediate and unconditional surrender of the yard. They stated that if this demand was refused they would take possession by force of arms as they had a full regiment of troops eagerly awaiting the signal to attack. These statements were corroborated by Commander Farrand. The issue presented to Armstrong was either a bloody and

22. *Ibid.*, 13.

23. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 336.

hopeless resistance or a surrender. To avoid the useless effusion of blood Armstrong accepted the latter alternative. The national flag was hauled down and the Florida emblem hoisted in its stead.<sup>24</sup> For his surrender of the navy yard Commodore Armstrong was subsequently court martialed, convicted and sentenced "to be suspended from duty for the term of five years, with loss of pay for the first half of said term and be reprimanded by the honorable Secretary of the Navy in general orders."<sup>25</sup>

The sentries on the battlements of Fort Pickens upon noticing that the United States flag had been lowered, informed Lieutenant Slemmer of this occurrence. With the capture of the navy yard everything on the shore fell into the state of Florida's hand, including the large dry dock - the workshops, materials, and supplies of all sorts. Fortunately, the *Supply* and *Wyandotte*, the only United States vessels in the harbor, were commanded by loyal men and were saved.<sup>26</sup> The commander of the *Wyandotte* took the *Supply* in tow and moved out of the harbor. That evening Lieutenant Berryman sent word to Slemmer that his orders of the previous evening were to cooperate with the army, but he must not fire a shot unless his vessel was attacked - he could offer the artillerymen no assistance in case they were assaulted. The garrison of Fort Pickens was left to depend on its own means for defense - eighty one men, including officers.<sup>27</sup>

The fort was in a very dilapidated condition, not having been occupied since the Mexican War,<sup>28</sup> and a great amount of labor was necessary to prepare it for possible siege. Upon arrival at Fort Pickens not a single embrasure shutter was in place. Orders were given for some to be built while others were removed from Fort McRee to supply this deficiency.

Just before sundown four men (three in uniform) presented themselves at the entrance to the fort, and demanded admittance as "citizens of Florida and Alabama." They were informed that no unauthorized persons would be permitted to enter the post. After receiving this information they asked to see the command-

24. *Official Records - Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, 48-53.

25. *Ibid.*, 54-55.

26. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 29.

27. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 337.

28. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 29.

ing officers. Lieutenants Slemmer and Gilman then proceeded to the gate where they immediately recognized Mr. Abert, an engineer from the navy yard, who introduced the three uniformed men as Major Marks, Captain V. M. Randolph, and Lieutenant Rutledge. After a pause, Captain Randolph said, "We have been sent to demand a peaceable surrender of this fort by the governors of Florida and Alabama." To which Lieutenant Slemmer replied, "I was here under the orders of the President of the United States, and by direction of the General-in-Chief of the Army; that I recognized no right of any governor to demand a surrender of United States property; that my orders were distinct and explicit."<sup>29</sup> One of the state officers then exclaimed sharply, "Do you say the governor of Florida is nobody, the governor of Alabama nobody?" Slemmer replied, "I know neither of them, and I mean to say that they are nothing to me."<sup>30</sup> The interview was then abruptly terminated and the visitors withdrew.

At midnight the troops were mustered and told to man the batteries in anticipation of a night attack. The night was dark and rainy but otherwise quiet. January 13 was spent by the artillerymen in strengthening their positions and with nightfall sentinels were posted in advance of the *glacis*. The night was again dark and the rain poured down. Suddenly through the occasional flashes of lightning a group of ten men were discovered outside the fort evidently reconnoitering the Federal positions. The intruders fired one shot which was returned by the sergeant-of-the-guard. All was then quiet. The 14th passed with nothing of interest transpiring. By this time the artillerists were nearly exhausted by the daily routine of mounting guns, preparing fire-bases and hand grenades, and one hundred percent watches maintained during the hours of darkness.<sup>31</sup>

On January 15 Colonel W. H. Chase, commander of the Florida State troops, came over in a small boat accompanied by Commander Farrand, late of the U. S. Navy, and asked for an interview. This was granted and the following conversation took place:

Colonel Chase: "I have come on business which may oc-

29. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 337.

30. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 29.

31. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol I, 337.



cupy some time, and, if you have no objection, we had better go inside to your quarters."

Slemmer: "I have objection, and it could hardly be expected that I would take you into the fort."

Chase: "As I built the fort and know all its weak and strong points, I would learn nothing new by going in, and had no such object in proposing it."

Slemmer: "I understand that perfectly, but it would be improper for me to take you in; and, however well you have known the fort before, you do not know what it now contains, nor what I have done inside."

Chase: "That is true, and I will state my business here. It is a most distressing duty to me. I have come to ask of you young officers, officers of the same army in which I have spent the best and happiest years of my life, the surrender of this fort. I would not ask it if I did not believe it right and necessary to save bloodshed; and fearing that I might not be able to say it as I ought, and in order, also, that you may have it in proper form, I have put it in writing and will read it."<sup>32</sup>

Chase then took a manuscript from his pocket and began to read, but after reading a few lines his voice began to shake and his eyes filled with tears. He stamped his foot, and said, "I can't read it. Here Farrand, you read it." Commander Farrand took it, and remarking that he didn't have his glasses passed the paper to Lieutenant Gilman.<sup>33</sup> Gilman took the paper and read the following aloud:

I have full powers from the governor of Florida to take possession of the forts and navy-yard in this harbor. I desire to perform this duty without the effusion of blood. You can contribute toward this desirable result, and in my judgment, without sacrifice of the honor of yourself or your gallant officers and men. Now, as commissioner on the part of the governor of the State of Florida, I request the surrender of Fort Pickens and the public property it contains into my hands, to be held subject to any agreement that may be entered into between the commissioners of the State of Florida and the Federal Government at Washington. . . . If the Union now broken should be reconstructed Fort Pick-

32. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 30.

33. *Ibid.*, 31.

ens and all the public property passes peacefully under Federal authority. If a Southern Confederacy separates itself from the Union would it not be worse than folly to attempt the maintenance of Fort Pickens or any other fortified place within its limits?<sup>34</sup>

As the state officers prepared to depart for the mainland the following conversation took place:

Slemmer: "Colonel, how many men have you?"

Chase: "Tonight I shall have between eight and nine hundred."

Slemmer: "Do you imagine you could take this fort with that number?"

Chase: "I certainly do. I could carry it by storm. I know every inch of this fort and its condition."

Slemmer: "With your knowledge of the fort and of your troops, what proportion of them, do you imagine, would be killed in such an attack?"

Chase (shrugging his shoulders): "If you have made the best possible preparation, as I suppose you have, and should defend it, as I presume you would, I might lose one-half of my men."

Slemmer: "At least, and I don't believe you are prepared to sacrifice that many men for such a purpose."

Chase: "You must know very well that, with your small force, you are not expected to, and cannot, hold this fort. Florida cannot permit it, and the troops here are determined to have it; and if not surrendered peaceably, an attack and the inauguration of Civil War cannot be prevented. If it is a question of numbers, and eight hundred is not enough, I can easily bring thousands more."

Slemmer: "I will give this letter due consideration, and as I wish to consult with the captains of the *Supply* and *Wyandotte* before replying, I will give you my answer tomorrow morning."<sup>35</sup>

The reasons for Slemmer's final request were twofold - first,

34. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 337-38. William Henry Chase was born in Massachusetts and graduated from West Point in 1814. Chase was commissioned a brevet 2d lieutenant in the Engineers on March 4, 1815. He was promoted to 2d lieutenant on April 15, 1818, and resigned from the army on October 31, 1856, holding the rank of major at that time.

35. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 31.

to gain time to rest the exhausted artillerymen, and second, it being deemed a courtesy on Slemmer's part to consult with the naval officers on any subject affecting the common flag. The interview then terminated.

The next morning to the utter surprise of the garrison of Fort Pickens the *Supply* and *Wyandotte* were observed under way, making for the Gulf of Mexico. A boat was dispatched bearing Lieutenant Gilman to learn the cause of this precipitant withdrawal. Gilman overhauled the *Supply* and hailed Commander Walke. Upon learning of Gilman's representation Walke ordered the *Wyandotte* to be anchored in the lee of Fort Pickens and render the army any assistance desired.<sup>36</sup> Lieutenant Slemmer then forwarded to Colonel Chase the following communication :

Sir: Under the orders we now have from the War Department, we have decided, after consultation with the Government officers in the harbor, that it is our duty to hold our position until such a force is brought against us as to render it impossible to defend it, or until the political condition of the country is such as to induce us to surrender the public properly in our keeping to such authorities as may be delegated *legally* to receive it.

We deprecate as much as you or any individual can the present condition of affairs, or the shedding of the blood of our brethren. In regard to this matter, however, we must consider you the aggressors and if blood is shed that you are responsible therefor.<sup>37</sup>

Early in the morning of the 16th the *Supply*, having previously taken aboard the paroled officers and men from the navy yard, stood out of the harbor and sailed for New York. The next day was spent by the artillerymen in strengthening their positions - one 12-pounder and one 8-inch sea-coast howitzer were mounted on the northwest bastion. Previously three 32-pounders had been emplaced in the southeast bastion, and the field battery, to be of more effective service, had been placed on the ramparts.

36. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 338.

37. *Ibid.*

On January 18 the *Wyandotte* returned to the harbor. Correspondence was now resumed with the Florida state authorities. Colonel Chase informed Lieutenant Slemmer that, "With additional re-enforcements to my forces, arrived and expected, I would again request the surrender of Fort Pickens, referring you to my first letter on the subject, and offering the same terms as contained therein." <sup>38</sup>

To this message Slemmer replied, "Before I can answer your communication of this date, it is necessary that I communicate with Lieutenant Berryman of the *USS Wyandotte*, cooperating with me. The result of such conference I will make known to you tomorrow morning." <sup>39</sup>

A gun was discharged from the fort to attract those on board the *Wyandotte*. The steamer hove to and anchored off the southeast bastion of the fort. Berryman came ashore and the two officers conferred. As a result of this conference the following message was sent to Colonel Chase: "In reply to your communication of yesterday, I have the honor to state that as yet I know of no reason why my answer to your communication of the 16th should be changed, and I therefore very respectfully refer you to that reply for the answer to this." <sup>40</sup>

In the early morning hours of the 20th Lieutenant Berryman ordered a shore party to be formed from the sailors aboard the *Wyandotte* and with their aid a 10-inch columbiad was mounted in the fort. Four days later, believing that sufficient time had elapsed, Slemmer dispatched a boat under flag of truce to the navy yard in order to obtain the garrison's mail. The letters had accumulated in the post office since January 9. His request was refused by the postal officials.

The army officer then addressed the following to Colonel Chase :

Sir: I have the honor to request that you will permit Captain Berryman to procure, or have procured for him, the mail matter, letters, papers, etc., which may have accumulated for me and my command at the Warrington post-office. My mail matter has been refused me from the office,

38. *Ibid.*, 339.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 32.

and I therefore make this request of you as commander-in-chief of the forces, and from a knowledge of your personal character.<sup>41</sup>

Colonel Chase had been called to Montgomery to confer with higher authorities on methods to force the capitulation of Fort Pickens. At the Alabama capitol the fire eaters had received the following telegram on January 18: "We think no assault should be made. The possession of the fort is not worth one drop of blood to us. Measures pending unite us in this opinion. Bloodshed may be fatal to our cause. Signed by senators Mallory, Yulee, Slidell, Benjamin, Iverson, Hemphill, Wigfall, Clay, Fitzpatrick, and Davis."<sup>42</sup> The commander of the Florida state troops at Pensacola returned from this conference on January 26 in a conciliatory mood.

Chase now informed the commander of Fort Pickens, "I will immediately inquire at the post-office about your mail matter, and attend to your request. I would also inform you that you may be supplied with fresh provisions daily if you desire."<sup>43</sup> Later in the day, hoping to avoid any unfortunate collisions between the opposing forces, Colonel Chase dispatched the following message to Lieutenant Slemmer:

Sir: I have given strict orders this morning that no citizen or soldier should be permitted to pass from this side towards Fort Pickens, or to land on Santa Rosa Island, and now I inform you of the fact, and also that I shall use every effort to have my orders executed. I have just been informed that some four or five men started on a fishing excursion on the island, and as they must have been ignorant of my orders just issued, I would request that if they have landed on the island they may be sent back.

Any collision growing out of persons going over to the island or near Fort Pickens would be most unfortunate in the present state of affairs, and I would request you to join

41. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 339.

42. *Ibid.*, 444-45. In the 36th Congress these men represented the following states: Stephen R. Mallory and David L. Yulee of Florida; Judah P. Benjamin and John Slidell of Louisiana; Louis T. Wigfall and John Hemphill of Texas; Alfred Iverson of Georgia; Jefferson Davis of Mississippi; and Clement C. Clay and Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama.

43. *Ibid.*, 340.

me in preventing it; and to this effect I would also request that persons in boats may be warned off, and if any should land, they should be ordered to re-embark. This should be done in a way to prevent angry feeling between the parties.<sup>44</sup>

Slemmer replied to Chase's communication as follows:

It gives me much pleasure to learn of your order with reference to the passage of boats and men to Fort Pickens and Santa Rosa Island from the yard and vicinity. I have given strict orders to allow no boats to land, and in all cases of boats approaching the island I am notified of the fact.

This morning I was informed by my sentinels that a boat with four men was approaching the island above the fort and from the navy yard. I immediately sent and had them apprehended, saw the men myself, and directed that they be re-embarked for the navy-yard. . . .<sup>45</sup>

Later in the day the mail for the garrison of Fort Pickens was delivered. This delivery was accompanied by a note from Colonel Chase stating that the mail would be delivered in the future without delay.

Nine days after the surrender of the Pensacola Navy Yard the Federal government ordered the preparation of a strong expedition for the relief of Fort Pickens. Captain Israel Vogdes was ordered to embark his company (Company A, 1st Artillery) and forty privates detailed from other companies of the 1st Artillery on board the powerful sloop-of-war *Brooklyn* at Fort Monroe, Virginia.<sup>46</sup> On the same day Flag-Officer Garrett J. Pendergrast, commander of the Home Squadron anchored at Veracruz, notified the Navy Department that he had ordered the sailing frigate *Sabine* and sailing sloop *St. Louis* to proceed to Pensacola.<sup>47</sup>

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, 353. Israel Vogdes was born in Pennsylvania and graduated from West Point on July 1, 1837. Upon graduation he was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 1st Artillery. He was promoted to 1st lieutenant on July 9, 1838, and captain on August 20, 1847. The *U.S.S. Brooklyn* was a screw steamer of 2,070 tons. In January 1861 its armament consisted of twenty-two IX-inch Dahlgrens, one heavy 12-pounder and one light 12-pounder.

47. *Official Records-Navy*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, 67-69. The *U.S.S. St. Louis*, a sailing sloop of 700 tons' displacement, was built in 1852. In January 1861 the *St. Louis* carried the following armament: Four 8-inch Dahlgrens and fourteen 32-pounders. The *U.S.S.*

The Brooklyn sailed from Fort Monroe under sealed orders on January 24.

On being informed of these overt acts, ex-Senator Stephen R. Mallory, of Florida, telegraphed to ex-Senator John Slidell, of Louisiana :

We hear the Brooklyn is coming with reinforcements for Fort Pickens. No attack on its garrison is contemplated, but, on the contrary, we desire to keep the peace, and if the present status be preserved we will guarantee that no attack will be made upon it, but if reinforcements should be attempted, resistance and a bloody conflict seem inevitable. Should the Government thus attempt to augment its force

Our whole force - 1700 strong - will regard it as a hostile act. Impress this upon the President, and urge that the inevitable consequence of reinforcement under present circumstances is instant war . . . <sup>48</sup>

Under cover of I. W. Haynes' negotiations regarding Fort Sumter, Senator Slidell laid Mallory's telegram before President Buchanan. The President agreed to a *modus vivendi* regarding the reinforcements of Fort Pickens which was incorporated in the following order dated January 29:

In consequence of the assurances received from Mr. Mallory in a telegram of yesterday to Messrs. Slidell, Hunter, and Bigler . . . that Fort Pickens would not be assaulted, and an offer of such assurance to the same effect from Colonel Chase, for the purpose of avoiding a hostile collision . . . you are instructed not to land the company on board the *Brooklyn* unless said for shall be attacked. . . . The provisions necessary for the supply of the fort you will land. The *Brooklyn* and other vessels of war on the station will remain, and you will exercise the utmost vigilance and be prepared at a moment's warning to land the company at Fort Pickens. . . . <sup>49</sup>

---

*Sabine*, a sailing frigate of 1,726 tons' displacement was built in 1855. In January 1861 the *Sabine's* armament consisted of two 10-inch Dahlgrens, ten 8-inch Dahlgrens, and eighteen 32-pounders.

48. Dickison, *Confederate Military History*, X, 22-23; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 354.

49. John G. Nicolay, *The Outbreak of Rebellion* (New York, 1881), 55-62; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 355-56.

The *Brooklyn* arrived off Santa Sosa Island on February 6, and Captain Vogdes then learned of the order of January 29 preventing the landing of his command at Fort Pickens. The captain was informed by Lieutenant Slemmer of the deplorable state of the defenses - only fifty-four guns being in position. The captain believed that all the advantages of the *modus vivendi* were on the side of the seceding states, and wrote a dispatch to the War Department urging the necessity of immediately reinforcing the fort.<sup>50</sup>

Slemmer, after this meeting with his superior officer, redoubled his efforts to place Fort Pickens in a defensible condition with the limited means available - twenty-four additional guns were mounted. While making the rounds of the fort on February 11 the lieutenant observed that Colonel Chase's men were mounting a heavy battery of 8-inch columbiads west of the lighthouse in a position to rake the fort's two northwestern bastions and the connecting curtain. Upon comprehending this fact Slemmer delivered a protest to Colonel Chase, who promptly replied: "I do not deem the erection of batteries on this side as aiming at an attack on Fort Pickens; but . . . I will give orders for the discontinuance of the erection of the battery."<sup>51</sup>

Outside the harbor the United States Government was slowly concentrating a rather formidable naval force under the command of Captain Henry A. Adams. By February 19 this fleet consisted of the *Sabine*, *St. Louis*, and *Brooklyn*. In addition the *Wyandotte* was anchored inside the harbor, and, flying the flag of truce, was allowed by State authorities to transport coal and water from the navy yard to the ships outside the bar. If the state authorities should curtail this source of supply these items would then have to be obtained from either Key West or La Habana - eight or ten days distant by sail. In general Adams ships remained at anchor or underway close enough to the harbor to communicate by signal with the *Wyandotte* lying within. However, when a southeasterly gale would blow it was necessary to run offshore. The gale on February 10 had dispersed the fleet, driving some of them as far as Mobile Point. Adams feared that Colonel Chase's command would take advantage of one of these gales, and attempt to take Fort Pickens by a *coup de*

50. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, 357-58.

51. *Ibid.*, 359.



main before he could possibly land reinforcements. In case of dire necessity Adams prepared to land, in addition to Vogdes' command, two hundred men from the *Sabine*, one hundred and forty from the *Brooklyn*, and fifty from the *St. Louis*.<sup>52</sup>

Events now transpired to shift the responsibility for the conduct of affairs in Pensacola Bay from the state authorities of Alabama and Florida to the leaders of a new government. In the first week of February a convention had assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, not to consider whether the hazard of secession was to be entered upon, but to organize a southern government. Even so the Montgomery meeting was not an all-southern gathering, for at its assembly (February 4, 1861), it contained representation from only six of the fifteen slave states (South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana). The atmosphere at Montgomery was one of excitement and elation accompanied by the bustle of office-seeking and the stir of restless men maneuvering for position. Three main functions were performed by the convention: It made a constitution for the Confederate States; it chose the provisional president and vice-president; and it acted as a provisional legislature for the new government pending the regular congressional elections. Jefferson Davis was elected provisional president on February 9. Davis was inaugurated two days later, taking the oath with high resolve, and chose his cabinet; the provisional legislature passed an initial body of laws, which in various instances were but the reenacting of those passed at Washington; commissioners were appointed to treat with the government of the United States; negotiations were set afoot to bring other states within the fold; and in this manner the "new nation" at the South became a going concern.<sup>53</sup>

After the organization of the Confederacy, the firing on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, and President Lincoln's call for troops, the Civil War began. With the war the "Fort Pickens Truce" came to an end. Confederate troops in Pensacola faced the Federals in Fort Pickens, reinforced by men from the United States naval ships. There was little action, however, until the late summer of 1861.

52. *Official Records-Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, 85.

53. J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1953) 212-13.

## II

*The Yankees Draw First Blood at Pensacola and the Battle of Santa Rosa Island*

The quiet of the dog days of 1861 was disturbed on the evening of September 2 when a Federal detachment put out from Fort Pickens and fired the parts of the scuttled dry dock that remained above the surface of the water. The Confederates' endeavors to refloat the dry dock had made this course of action necessary.<sup>1</sup>

By this time the Confederates had assembled a force aggregating 6,804 officers and men. Braxton Bragg, who was now in command at Pensacola, temporarily divided his command into four brigades: the 1st, commanded by Colonel James R. Chalmers; the 2d, commanded by Colonel Sterling A. M. Woods; the 3d, commanded by H. B. Tyler; and the 4th, commanded by John K. Jackson. On the night of September 8 Bragg sent out a reconnaissance patrol consisting of nine marines in a rowboat. These men deserted to the enemy and informed Colonel Brown of Bragg's greatly augmented strength.<sup>2</sup>

The Confederate naval authorities at Pensacola were at this time fitting out the schooner *Judah* as a privateer. The vessel

---

1. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 665; Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *loc. cit.*, 32.

2. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 666, 725. James R. Chalmers was born in Halifax County, Virginia, on January 11, 1831. His father soon removed to Holly Springs, Mississippi. Chalmers graduated from South Carolina College at Columbia in 1851 and was admitted to the bar in 1853. He was district attorney in 1858, and in 1861 was a delegate to the state secession convention. Chalmers entered the Confederate service as colonel of the 9th Mississippi Regiment. Colonel Sterling A. M. Wood was born in Lauderdale County, Alabama, in 1823. He studied law in Columbia, Tennessee, and was admitted to the bar in 1845. In 1857 he was a representative from Lauderdale in the Alabama legislature. Wood entered the service as captain of the initial company that left Lauderdale. Upon the organization of the 7th Alabama Wood was elected its commander. John K. Jackson was born February 8, 1828, at Augusta, Georgia. He was educated at the Richmond Academy and at South Carolina College, where he graduated in 1846. Jackson then studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1848. His fondness for military experience led him to join the Oglethorpe Infantry. Upon the call of the state for troops to enter the Confederate service, Jackson was among the first to respond and he was elected colonel of the 5th Georgia.

was equipped with a pivot and four broadside guns. While being thus prepared for sea the ship was moored to the wharf at the navy yard and covered by a heavy gun emplaced ashore.<sup>3</sup> Flag Officer Mervine, on being informed of these facts, determined to destroy the *Judah* before she could put to sea. He ordered the readying of an expedition - its mission a midnight raid to prevent the *Judah* sailing.<sup>4</sup>

In the darkness of the night of September 13-14 four small boats cast away from the U.S.S. *Colorado*. The raiding force consisted of about 100 sailors and marines under the command of Lieutenant John H. Russell. With oars muffed the raiders approached the *Judah* at about 3:30 a.m.<sup>5</sup> The Confederate sailors had been forewarned and greeted the Federals with a volley of musketry as they neared the vessel. The Federals, led by Lieutenant Russell, sword in hand, clambered aboard the *Judah*. After a brief struggle they were in possession of the prospective privateer. The crew of the *Judah*, stiffened by rapidly arriving reinforcements, rallied on the wharf and opened a savage fire upon their assailants.<sup>6</sup>

Lieutenant Russell, upon the capture of the *Judah*, had ordered Lieutenant John G. Sproston to take a group and search out and spike the gun emplaced nearby. They were hindered in their quest by the inky blackness. When at last discovered, fortunately for the Federals, only one man was posted at the weapon due to the confusion engendered by the night attack. He immediately pointed his musket at Lieutenant Sproston but was shot down by Gunners Mate John D. Barton before he could right his piece. The heavy gun was discovered to be a 10-inch columbiad which was immediately spiked. The Federal raiders brought off its tampion as a trophy.<sup>7</sup>

In the meantime the raiding party had fired the *Judah*. The schooner was soon blazing. The expedition had, in less than

3. Dickson, *Military History of Florida*, 26.

4. *Official Records-Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. 16, 670.

5. *Ibid.* The U. S. S. *Colorado*, a screw steamer with sails, had been built by the government in 1856. The ship weighed 3,425 tons and had a maximum speed of 12 knots. In 1861 the *Colorado* was armed with two 10-inch pivot guns, twenty-eight 9-inch Dahlgren pivots, and fourteen 8-inch Dahlgren pivots.

6. *Ibid.*, 671.

7. *Ibid.* A tampion is a stopper or plug for the muzzle of a piece of ordnance.

fifteen minutes, accomplished all its objectives. Lieutenant Russell now reembarked his men and they rapidly pulled away from the navy yard. The Confederates, now thoroughly aroused, opened fire with canister upon the rapidly disappearing Federals. At daybreak the four small boats were hoisted aboard the *Colorado*. The raiders had successfully accomplished their mission with the loss of 3 killed and 13 wounded. The defenders lost 3 killed and an undetermined number wounded. The burning of the *Judah* is deserving of remembrance as the first encounter of armed forces in Florida in which there was loss of life.<sup>8</sup>

Even this overt act did not provoke Bragg into a premature attack on Fort Pickens. The Mexican War hero was in the throes of reorganizing his command. The four brigades formerly constituting his command were consolidated into two brigades, the first commanded by Brigadier-General Daniel Ruggles, and the second by Brigadier-General Richard H. Anderson.<sup>9</sup>

This task completed, Bragg initiated plans for a sortie upon the Federal positions on Santa Rosa Island. General Dick Anderson was ordered by Bragg to prepare an expeditionary force of 1,000 men for this purpose. The South Carolinian ordered his task force to rendezvous at the navy yard on the evening of October 9 where they embarked on the steamship *Time*. The steamer pulled away from the wharf and headed up the harbor toward Pensacola. While enroute Anderson organized his command as follows: The 1st Battalion, 350 strong, commanded by Colonel Chalmers; the 2d Battalion, 400 strong, commanded by Colonel J. Patton Anderson; the 3d Battalion, 260 strong, commanded by Colonel Jackson; and an independent company of 53 men commanded by Lieutenant James H. Hallonquist. The indepen-

8. *Ibid.*, 671-75; Dickson, *Military History of Florida*, 26-27.

9. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 750. Daniel Ruggles was born in Massachusetts on January 31, 1810. He was graduated from West Point in 1833 as a 2d lieutenant in the 5th Infantry. Ruggles participated in the Seminole War and the Mexican War. In the latter conflict he was breveted major for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco, and lieutenant-colonel for his services at Chapultepec. He resigned from the United States Army on May 7, 1861. Richard H. Anderson was born near Statesboro, South Carolina, on October 7, 1821. He was graduated from West Point in July of 1842. Upon graduation he was assigned to the 2d U.S. Dragoons. He served in the Mexican War and was breveted 1st lieutenant for gallantry at San Augustine. Anderson resigned his commission in the U.S. Army on March 3, 1861.

dent company was lightly armed in order to allow them to carry equipment for spiking cannon and the burning and destruction of buildings and gun carriages.<sup>10</sup>

The *Time* tied up at Pensacola at 10 p.m. To expedite the landing of the troops on Santa Rosa Island a few were transferred to the steamer *Ewing* and the balance to barges and flats. The expedition was now ready to depart. A new problem now arose to confront General Anderson. It was discovered that an additional steamer would be needed to provide the motive power for the barges. After a short delay the steamer *Neaffie* was requisitioned and thus augmented the flotilla departing from Pensacola at a few minutes after midnight.<sup>11</sup> The trip across the harbor was uneventful, and the landing was accomplished on a quiet beach four miles east of Fort Pickens. The long months of rigorous training showed to good advantage as Anderson's men successfully completed the amphibious operation with little noise or confusion. As soon as the men and equipment reached shore the battalions mustered around their respective commanders.

Anderson now assembled his chief subordinates and explained to them their respective roles in succinct terms. Chalmers was directed to advance westward rapidly along the island's northern fringe. Patton Anderson was to lead his men across the narrow waist of the island and then turn westward advancing along the south beach fronting on the Gulf. Jackson was ordered to follow in the rear of Chalmers' command, and at the

10. *Ibid.*, 458-61. Chalmers' command was composed of detachments from the 9th and 19th Mississippi and 1st Alabama regiments. Three companies of the 7th Alabama, two companies of Louisiana infantry, and two companies of the 1st Florida Regiment constituted the 2d Battalion under Patton Anderson. Colonel Jackson's battalion was composed of detachments from the 5th Georgia Regiment and the Georgia Battalion. The men of the independent company were selected from the 5th Georgia Regiment and Homer's Artillery Company. James Patton Anderson was born in Tennessee in 1820. At the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846 Anderson was residing in Mississippi, and in that conflict he arose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of Mississippi volunteers. With the end of the Mexican War Anderson removed to Washington territory and served as its territorial delegate to the House of Representatives in 1855. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was living in Florida. In April 1861 he assumed command of the 1st Florida Regiment of Infantry and with his command was soon ordered to Pensacola.

11. *Ibid.*, 461.

first sign of hostilities he was to push his command to the middle of the island connecting his right with Chalmers and his left with Patton Anderson. Chalmers and Patton Anderson were further admonished to restrain their men, prevent the promiscuous discharge of weapons, endeavor to capture the Federal pickets, and place their commands if possible between Fort Pickens and the camp of the foe.<sup>12</sup>

The cantonment referred to was occupied by the 6th Regiment of New York Volunteers and located near the Gulf shore about a mile east of Fort Pickens. At this time the encampment, dubbed Camp Brown by the Federals, was occupied by Colonel William Wilson and five of the ten companies constituting his command.<sup>13</sup> Lieutenant Hallonquist was told to follow in the rear of Colonel Jackson's command and do whatever damage he could to the batteries, building, and camps from which the enemy might be driven.<sup>14</sup>

Anderson dismissed his subordinates and the advance was commenced. After a difficult march of three miles the ardor of some of the sunshine patriots began to cool. Suddenly the quiet of the early morning hours was shattered by a musket blast. The scouts preceding Chalmers' advance had been fired on by a Federal sentry. The shot was wild and ineffective. The unfortunate picket was instantly shot down but the alarm had been given.<sup>15</sup>

The sleeping members of the 6th New York were instantly aroused. Colonel Wilson turned out his command. He was in the process of forming his unit on the drill ground, fronting the camp hospital, when Lieutenant Moore Hanham, officer of the guard, rushed up to the colonel and excitedly informed him "that about 2,000 armed men in two columns were marching upon us; that the pickets were all attacked about the same time." Upon hearing this intelligence Wilson dispatched his orderly to inform Colonel Brown of the situation. Skirmishers

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, 447. William Wilson was born in New York and had been commissioned by Governor Morgan as commander of the 6th New York on May 25, 1861.

14. *Ibid.*, 461.

15. *Ibid.*

were thrown out and the New Yorker ordered his men to deploy to the left.<sup>16</sup>

Upon hearing the shot that had aroused the Federal camp Colonel Jackson personally led his men to their assigned position. The dense bush in the center of the island somewhat retarded this advance. Nevertheless Jackson urged his men forward and they arrived before Camp Brown somewhat ahead of the other two battalions. In the irresistible forward surge of the Southerners additional Federal pickets were flushed and either died in their tracks or sought safety in flight. Jackson, without a moment's hesitation, ordered his men to charge the Federal cantonment. Before the elan of Jackson's men the New Yorkers bolted for the beach. The deserted camp was captured. Many of the Confederates, believing the battle was won, now began to plunder the foe's tents.<sup>17</sup>

Colonel Wilson, aided and abetted by Lieutenants Christian, Kraell, and Hanham, now endeavored to rally his panic stricken men. They had succeeded in re-forming about 60 of them behind the first ridge west of the drill field when a few stragglers came in and informed Wilson "that his second in command Lieutenant-Colonel Creighton, Captains Hazeltine, Hoelzle, and Henberer with the balance of the 6th New York had retreated toward Fort Pickens."<sup>18</sup> On hearing this the men, in spite of appeals to their patriotism by their commander, resumed their flight, only halting when they had reached the safety of Battery Totten.

In the meantime the battalions led by Chalmers and Anderson had encountered a number of Federal pickets posted along the beaches. These outposts were rapidly swept aside, and their men joined in plundering the evacuated Federal cantonment. It was with some difficulty that General Dick Anderson reassembled and re-formed his commands. As dawn was rapidly breaking and the Federals were thoroughly aroused his plan of destroying the Federal batteries which lay between Camp Brown and Fort Pickens had to be abandoned. Orders were issued

16. *Ibid.*, 447.

17. *Ibid.*, 461.

18. *Ibid.*, 447. The officers referred to were Lieutenant-Colonel John Creighton, and Captains Robert H. Hotzeltine, Charles E. Henberer, and Henry L. Hoelzle, of the 6th New York.

directing that the troops should begin the march to the point of their original debarkation.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile at Fort Pickens Colonel Brown had been aroused at 3:30 a.m. by the officer of the day who reported that heavy volleys of musketry could be heard from the direction of the camp of the 6th New York. Brown ordered the alarm sounded. The garrison of Fort Pickens was turned out under arms and ready to repel the invaders. To cope with this emergency Major Vogdes was directed to take two companies of regulars and proceed post haste to the cantonments of the 6th New York. Major Lewis G. Arnold, of the 1st Artillery, was ordered to see that the guns mounted on the ramparts of the forts were adequately manned.<sup>20</sup>

Major Vogdes upon receipt of the orders to proceed to the relief of the 6th New York had mustered two companies and headed eastward.<sup>21</sup> Enroute the troops passed through Batteries Cameron and Lincoln. At the latter position they were reinforced by Company G, 6th New York. The advance was resumed along the beach fronting on the harbor. Vogdes threw the New Yorkers forward as skirmishers. The men from Company G soon became separated from the balance of the command and were seen no more until the engagement was terminated. The troops led by Major Vogdes passed through the Confederate lines unnoticed while they were plundering the Federal cantonment. Beyond Camp Brown a large unidentified force was discovered on the Federals' right flank. The major, who was leading his column, ordered his troops to face to the right and

19. *Ibid.*, 461.

20. *Ibid.*, 439. Brown had been awakened previously in the evening by the officer of the day who had reported that a force of sixty Confederates had landed on Santa Rosa Island to the west of the fort. Investigation proved this report to be unfounded so no alarm was sounded. Lewis Golding Arnold was born in New Jersey and graduated from West Point in 1837 as a brevet 2d lieutenant in the 2d Artillery. Arnold served in the Mexican War and was twice breveted for gallantry and meritorious conduct. He had been promoted to major of the 1st Artillery on May 15, 1861.

21. *Ibid.*, 448-49. Vogdes' force consisted of Company E, 3d Infantry, 62 rank and file, under the command of Captain J. McL. Hildt; and 31 rank and file of Company A, 1st Artillery, under the command of 2d Lieutenant F. E. Taylor.



advance to reconnoiter. The unidentified force proved to be Confederate and Major Vogdes was immediately captured.<sup>22</sup>

Captain John McL. Hildt, of the 3d U. S. Infantry, as senior officer present, then assumed command of the Federal forces. A southern officer approached the new Federal commander stating that Major Vogdes was a prisoner and demanded that Hildt surrender his command. The request was refused and fire was opened upon the Confederates. Espying a slight ridge to his front the Federal commander ordered his men to advance and take cover. A short, sharp skirmish ensued. The Federals were pushed aside and the Southerners' escape route was again open.<sup>23</sup>

Hildt's men, greatly outnumbered and encumbered by their wounded, fell back towards the south shore of Santa Rosa Island to await reinforcements. While engaged in this withdrawal they captured the Confederate medical detachment, left behind by General Dick Anderson to care for the wounded.<sup>24</sup>

By 4 a.m. the fires from the burning camp were clearly visible to Colonel Brown and, desirous of learning the true state of affairs, a staff officer was dispatched to communicate with Major Vogdes. The officer soon returned and informed Brown "that he had fallen in with a large body of the enemy on the inside shore, and could not find the major." Brown responded to these ill tidings by ordering Major Arnold to assemble two companies and proceed to the support of Major Vogdes.<sup>25</sup>

Arnold, aided by the zeal of his subordinates, rapidly formed his command and set off to discover the fate of Vogdes' expedition. The men marched rapidly along the beach and about one and a half miles east of Fort Pickens they came upon the scene of the recent fire fight between Vogdes' men and the Confederates.

Major Arnold, as the senior officer present, quickly rallied Hildt's men and directed that the pursuit of the Southerners

22. *Ibid.*, 449-62. The location of the encounter between Major Vogdes' command and the Confederates was approximately half way between Camp Brown and the point of the Confederates' debarkation.

23. *Ibid.*, 449.

24. *Ibid.* The party at the Confederate hospital consisted of three surgeons and a guard of eight enlisted men.

25. *Ibid.*, 440-46. Arnold's task force consisted of two companies of regulars - Company H, 2d Artillery, and Company C, 3d Infantry. The former was commanded by Captain James H. Robertson and the latter by Lieutenant Alexander N. Shipley.

should be vigorously continued. The Federals pressed forward along the northern beaches of the island. After advancing approximately a half mile further a scout dashed up to the major and breathlessly informed him that "nearly 2 miles away, on a point of land, a very large body of the enemy was gathered."<sup>26</sup>

Satisfying himself of the veracity of this intelligence, the Federal commander ordered his men to take cover behind the ridge of sand in the center of the island. Under its concealment he deployed his forces so as to take the Confederates in the flank and rear. In order to ascertain the foe's intention Lieutenant Richard C. Duryea with six men advanced to reconnoiter the Confederates' position. Duryea soon returned and informed Arnold "that the enemy were embarking in two [three] steam-boats 4 miles from the fort."<sup>27</sup>

A digression is now in order to explain why the Federals had been able to overtake the Southerners in their withdrawal.

Subsequent to the skirmish with Vogdes' force the retreat had been uneventful and the reembarkation had been successfully accomplished. The order to cast off and steer for Pensacola was given. But alas the *Neaffie* refused to budge. Major Williams S. Lovell, the commander of the *Neaffie* soon discovered the reason - a hawser was entangled in the ship's screw.<sup>28</sup>

The expedition's departure was thus delayed while several ineffectual attempts to extricate the propeller were made. To facilitate the withdrawal, orders were given directing that the *Neaffie*, along with a large flatboat which she had in tow, should be made fast to the *Ewing*. It was discovered, however, that with this encumbrance the *Ewing* could not obey her helm. A change in the manner of towing the *Neaffie* was mandatory. While attempting to accomplish this charge the flatboats and barges which the *Ewing* had in tow became detached from her.

On being informed of the Confederates' difficulties Arnold dispatched Captain Loomis L. Langdon, the only officer present who was mounted, with a message for Colonel Brown "that a

26. *Ibid.*, 445.

27. *Ibid.* Richard C. Duryea was born in New York and graduated from West Point in July 1853 as a brevet 2d lieutenant in the 1st Artillery.

28. *Ibid.*, 462.

field gun and a supporting force be sent me.”<sup>29</sup> To harass the Rebel’s departure Arnold advanced the company commanded by Captain James M. Robertson with orders “to attack the enemy if a favorable opportunity should offer.”<sup>30</sup> Lieutenant Alexander N. Shipley with the balance of the command was directed to follow Robertson’s men and keep within supporting distance.<sup>31</sup>

Roberston’s men, obscured from the Confederates’ view by a ridge, moved forward with alacrity. After traversing about one mile they discovered three steamers, each having in tow a large scow densely packed with armed men. Robertson barked the command “double time!” The U. S. Regulars dashed eagerly forward and took cover behind a sand dune. From this vantage point they opened fire upon the steamer *Time* and the scow she had in tow. The Federal commander cautioned his men to make every shot count. Never was an order better obeyed. Shipley’s advance was somewhat retarded. Vital time was lost in crossing a swamp.<sup>32</sup>

The confusion engendered among the Confederates by the plight of the *Neaffie* was nothing compared to the consternation caused by the heavy fire delivered by the Federals into the hapless soldiers crowded upon the decks of their transports. Among the Confederates wounded by this fire was General Dick Anderson who was shot through the elbow. The Southerners, in spite of their difficulties, returned a brisk fire. Good fortune now smiled on the Rebels and threat of impending annihilation was escaped. The hawser was cut away from the screw of the *Neaffie*. Just as she drifted free Shipley’s men dashed up and added their volleys of musketry to the Southerners’ discomfiture. With the *Neaffie* free Anderson’s expeditionary force was soon able to pull out of range of the Federal musketry and make for Pensacola.<sup>33</sup>

29. *Ibid.*, 445. Loomis L. Langdon was born in New York and graduated from West Point in July 1854 as a brevet 2d lieutenant in the 4th Artillery.

30. *Ibid.* James M. Robertson was born in New Hampshire and had enlisted in the army as a private and risen from the ranks. He was breveted a 2d lieutenant of the 2d Artillery on June 28, 1848.

31. *Ibid.* Alexander N. Shipley was born in Pennsylvania and enlisted in the army as an enlisted man. He was breveted 2d lieutenant in the 5th Infantry on June 1, 1857.

32. *Ibid.*, 451-52.

33. *Ibid.*, 462.

The battle of Santa Rosa Island thus drew to a close. In this engagement the Confederates reported a loss of 18 killed, 39 wounded, and 30 missing and presumed prisoners of war. Colonel Brown reported his losses as 14 killed, 29 wounded, and 24 prisoners.<sup>34</sup> Both Brown and Bragg now issued communiques claiming victory in the battle which should be largely discounted. Today's student of the Civil War can discover several aspects in the battle of Santa Rosa Island which would have vital consequences in larger and more important subsequent battles. These were :

(A) The contempt the Regular Army Officers had for the Volunteer Infantry units, a feeling that went back to Mexican War experiences, and one that would have to be rectified before either side would be able to grasp the fruits of victory.<sup>35</sup>

(B) Despite these prejudices, rigorous training, discipline, and able officers must be provided for the Volunteers before they could stand the shock of sudden night assaults.

(C) The Confederate Volunteers, better disciplined and led by experienced field officers, displayed a tendency that was to cost the South dearly later in the conflict. Once in possession of the Federal encampment they had halted to plunder the camp instead of pressing forward to complete the victory.

---

34. *Ibid.*, 441-62.

35. Colonel Brown wrote of the conduct of the 6th New York, "Billy Wilson's Zouaves, I am sorry to say, disgracefully ran and took shelter under our batteries." In a dispatch to the Adjutant General he noted, "The 6th [New York] Regiment, I am sorry to say, so far as the officers are concerned, is in a state of disorganization; criminations, recriminations, charges, and countercharges, between the officers, and especially between the colonel and two or three espousing his side and the other officers of the regiment, became of such daily occurrence, that I had peremptorily to stop it . . . ."

## III

*A Demonstration of the Superiority of the Federal Artillery*

Brown, thoroughly aroused by the Confederate sortie, decided that "an insult so gross to the flag of my country could not by me be passed unnoticed, and I designed immediately to take appropriate notice of it. . . ." <sup>1</sup> An attack in conjunction with units of the Federal fleet upon the Confederate defenses of Pensacola Bay was essayed. To implement this proposal a dispatch was sent via the army steamer *McClellan* to Flag Officer McKean proposing a joint attack on the common foe. <sup>2</sup> Early on the morning of October 10 while enroute to the Mississippi Delta Captain Gray of the *McClellan* sighted and spoke to the *Niagara*, McKean's flagship. The *Niagara*, accompanied by the *Colorado*, was proceeding to Fort Pickens for the purpose of procuring rifled guns from Colonel Brown. These weapons were to be mounted in the Federal works being constructed by Captain John Pope's forces at Head of Passes. McKean acceded to Brown's request and the next morning two powerful warships cast anchor off Santa Rosa Island. <sup>3</sup>

A council of war was held and it was decided that a combined attack would be launched upon the Rebel positions at dawn on October 16. The ships were lightened, and the arrangements for the bombardment were completed, when unexpectedly the *McClellan* arrived off the bar and McKean received intelligence of the Federal setback at Head of Passes. <sup>4</sup> The flag officer, upon receipt of this unfavorable news, decided that his presence at Southwest Pass was imperative. The *Niagara* immediately got underway, and Brown, deprived of the navy's assistance, suspended operations until such a time as its cooperation could be afforded. <sup>5</sup>

1. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 469.

2. *Official Records* - *Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, 701.

3. *Ibid.*, 701-02. Early in October the Federals had entered the Delta of the Mississippi and occupied the Head of Passes. Their plans envisioned the construction of a fort near the lighthouse at the junction of Southwest Pass and South Pass.

4. *Ibid.*, 703. Under the cover of darkness on the night of October 11-12 a Confederate squadron, under the command of Commander George N. Hollins, had attacked and driven Captain Pope's force from Head of Passes.

5. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 469.

On the mainland the Confederates were in the process of a further reorganization of their command. The Department of Alabama and West Florida was constituted with Major-General Bragg at its head. General Ruggles was relieved as commander of the 1st Brigade, and ordered to New Orleans. Brigadier-General Adley H. Gladden was assigned to command Ruggles' unit, Colonel J. Patton Anderson assumed charge of the 2nd Brigade in place of the wounded Dick Anderson.<sup>6</sup>

Bragg on October 22 left Pensacola for a tour of inspection of his Department. He proceeded to Mobile and accompanied by Brigadier-General Jones M. Withers, the commander of the District of Alabama, spent several days overseeing the defenses of Mobile Bay.<sup>7</sup> The omnipresent general returned to his headquarters after an absence of six days and reported to Adjutant-General Cooper :

I arrived here yesterday from Mobile, and find no change to report. The enemy is in a constant state of excitement on Santa Rosa, and has frequent alarms. He has moved artillery up to the island to our landing place of the late expedition. General Withers' command needs much to put it in an efficient condition. He has about 4200 troops - which should be increased to 6000 - mostly raw, and inefficiently organized, armed, and equipped, and very destitute of military instructors. The position of Forts Morgan, and Gaines and Grant's Pass are occupied by his best troops, about 2,000. . . . The two senior officers commanding at

---

6. *Ibid.*, 751. Adley H. Gladden was born in South Carolina. At the outbreak of the Mexican War he enlisted in the Palmetto Regiment and was elected major. Upon the death of the regimental commander at Churubusco, Gladden assumed command of that famed unit. As colonel he led his regiment in its assault upon the Garita Belen, where he was severely wounded. After the Mexican War Gladden removed to Louisiana. With the outbreak of the Civil War Gladden as colonel of the 1st Louisiana led his unit to Pensacola.

7. *Ibid.*, 755-56. Jones M. Withers was born in Madison County, Alabama, on January 12, 1814. He graduated from West Point in 1835 as brevet 2d lieutenant. In December 1835 he resigned from the army and returned to Alabama. In 1846 he volunteered as a private for service in the Mexican War. Withers emerged from the Mexican War as Colonel of the 9th U.S. Infantry. With the close of the conflict he again resigned from Federal service. In 1856 Withers was elected mayor of Mobile, and served in this capacity until the outbreak of the Civil War. Withers was immediately elected colonel of the 3d Alabama and led his unit to Virginia. In July he was promoted to brigadier-general and placed in command of the Mobile defenses.

the forts are very competent but sadly addicted to drinking, and therefore unsafe for those exposed positions.<sup>8</sup>

Rumors of the impending departure of an expedition, commanded by Major-General Benjamin F. Butler, from New England bound for the Gulf of Mexico had reached General Bragg.<sup>9</sup> The Confederate leader sent off a telegram to Adjutant-General Cooper requesting: "In view of the heavy expedition now on its way South we should develop all our resources. One regiment here and one at Mobile can be armed by using arms of the sick and disabled. Can they be sent from Huntsville?"<sup>10</sup> Two days later Bragg was informed by Benjamin, the Acting Secretary of War, that: "You are authorized to take two of the Alabama regiments from Huntsville, to be armed with the spare arms at Mobile and Pensacola." The next day the 5th and 8th Mississippi Regiments encamped at Camp Pettus, near Enterprise, Mississippi, were ordered to proceed to Pensacola. Since the men of these two units were recovering from a siege of measles (the bane of the recruit of 1861) it was thought by the War Department to be imprudent to send these men to Virginia or Kentucky at this season of the year.<sup>12</sup> As additional reinforcement for his department Bragg ordered the 22nd and 23rd Alabama Regiments recently organized at Montgomery and equipped by private enterprise to Mobile.<sup>13</sup> Augmented by these reinforcements Bragg

8. *Ibid.*, 757.

9. *Ibid.*, 758. Benjamin F. Butler was born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, on November 5, 1818. He graduated from Waterville (now Colby) College in 1838, was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1840. Entering politics as a Democrat, he first attracted attention by his violent campaign in Lowell in advocacy of the passage of a law establishing a ten-hour day. In 1860 as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Charleston he advocated the nomination of Jefferson Davis for the presidency. After the Baltimore riot on April 19, 1861, Butler, as a brigadier-general in the state militia, was sent by Governor John A. Andrew, with a force of Massachusetts troops, to reopen communications between the Federal states and Washington. By his energetic and careful work Butler achieved his purpose, and was soon afterwards made major-general, U.S.A.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, 761. The 17th Alabama, commanded by Colonel T. H. Watts, arrived at Pensacola from Huntsville on November 16.

12. *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1908* (Nashville, 1908), 550-79.

13. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 764-65.

now had an efficient force of about 7,000 men concentrated at Pensacola with 9,000 additional troops at Mobile. The erst-while Confederate commander received further favorable news on November 11 when it was reported that the Mobile and Pensacola Railroad was completed.<sup>14</sup> Bragg considered its logistical support as the equivalent 3,000 additional troops. However, the Confederate authorities continued to be embarrassed by the critical shortage of firearms. Many of the recent arrivals at Pensacola and Mobile were unarmed or at best equipped with shot-guns.<sup>15</sup>

Due to the repercussions of the affair at Head of Passes the cooperation of the navy with Colonel Brown's forces in the bombardment of the Confederate positions on the mainland was postponed for five weeks. It was the third week of November before McKean had the ships available for the project. In the course of the evening of November 21 the crews of the *Niagara* and the *Richmond* lightened ship and positions were selected.<sup>16</sup> At ten the next morning the Federals opened fire and the most imposing military demonstration in the history of Florida began.<sup>17</sup>

With the discharge of the signal gun from the fort the *Niagara* stood in, followed by the *Richmond*. Both ships came to anchor with springs on their cables about two miles from Fort McRee. The two warships then opened fire. Flag Officer McKean soon discovered that the shells from the *Niagara* were falling short. He ordered his ship to close to a distance of one and three-quarters mile. From this position fire was resumed with marked effect, many of the shells appeared to fall directly upon the water battery and the fort. By 3:15 p.m. the water battery ceased to reply to the Federals and shortly thereafter the barbette guns of Fort McRee were silenced. Thus encouraged the Federal sailors redoubled their efforts. Under a storm of shot and shell the fire of the fort's casemate guns gradually slackened and by 5 p.m. was muted.<sup>18</sup>

14. *Ibid.*, 766.

15. *Ibid.*, 770.

16. *Official Records - Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, 775. The *U.S.S. Richmond*, a screw steamer of 2,700 tons, was built by the government at the Norfolk Navy Yard in 1860. The ship had a maximum speed of 9.5 knots and a main battery of sixteen guns.

17. Dickison, *Confederate Military History*, 34

18. *Official Records - Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, 775.



The *Richmond*, of lighter draft than the *Niagara*, was able to take a position nearer the shore. Here she anchored far to the rear of the fort and water battery. From this position the Confederate guns could not be brought to bear upon her. For several hours the *Richmond* pounded the Rebel works unhindered. However, by mid-afternoon the Southerners succeeded in emplacing a masked rifled battery among the sand dunes on the mainland and opened fire. The Confederates proved to be efficient artillerymen and soon had the range of the *Richmond*. McKean, perceiving that the Rebels had scored several direct hits upon the *Richmond*, signalled Captain Francis B. Ellison, of the *Richmond*, "to drop out of line of fire."<sup>19</sup>

About 6 p.m. a sudden squall came up from the northwest. This natural phenomenon caused a fall in the tide. The *Niagara* touched bottom. McKean directed that his ship weigh anchor as quickly as possible and stand out into deeper water for the night. The Confederates availed themselves of this opportunity to repair the water battery and mount in it several additional pieces of heavy ordnance.<sup>20</sup>

The next morning the wind still blew fresh and strong from the northwest. McKean did not consider it wise to employ the *Richmond* as one of the shells from the masked battery had opened a bad break on her starboard quarter.<sup>21</sup> The *Niagara* got underway, stood in, anchored in four fathoms of water, and opened fire. The Rebel gunners returned her fire vigorously. The Federal tars discovered that their shells were falling short, and endeavored to close with the forts. However, owing to the reduction in the depth of the water, caused by the change in the wind, this was impossible. All the while the shells of the foe were falling thick and fast about the *Niagara*. At 3:30 p.m. McKean deemed it his duty to withdraw his ship.<sup>22</sup>

Meantime on Santa Rosa Island Colonel Brown had placed Major Arnold in command of all the Federal emplacements.<sup>23</sup>

19. *Ibid.*, 776.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*, 778.

22. *Ibid.*, 776.

23. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 472-73. The guns in Fort Pickens were divided into seven distinct batteries, each battery having a separate commander. A one-gun battery in the covered way, 10-inch columbiad *en barbette*, manned by a detachment from Company C,

At 10 a.m., under the direct supervision of Colonel Brown, the signal gun at the flagstaff was fired - the bombardment commenced. Arnold directed that the guns of Batteries Lincoln, Cameron, and Totten should open fire upon the steamer *Time* and gunboat *Nelms* berthed at the navy yard wharf. As a secondary target in the same area Arnold designated a 10-inch columbiad mounted on the stone wharf. Captain Duryea, in command of Battery Scott, was ordered to fire on Fort McRee and the

---

2d Artillery, Commanded Lieutenant McFarland, Engineer Corps; the battery manned by Company A, 1st Artillery, consisted of one 10-inch columbiad, one 42-pounder rifled gun and seven 32-pounders *en barbette*, and one 42-pounder rifled-gun, and two 8-inch columbiads in casemates; the battery manned by Company L, 1st Artillery, commanded by Lt. Jackson, 1st Artillery, consisted of one 10-inch columbiad and five 32-pounders *en barbette*, one 42-pounder rifled gun, one 8-inch columbiad (unchambered), and two 42-pounders (smooth bore) in casemates; the battery manned by Company K, 2d Artillery, commanded by Captain Allen, 2d Artillery, consisted of 10-inch columbiad *en barbette* and three 42-pounder rifled guns in casemates; the battery manned by Company E, 3d Infantry, commanded by Captain Hildt, 3d Infantry, consisted of one 10-inch columbiad and one 42-pounder rifled gun *en barbette* and two 8-inch columbiads (one chambered and one unchambered) in casemates; the battery manned by Company C, 3d Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Shipley, 3d Infantry, consisted of one 10-inch columbiad *en barbette* and two 42-pounder rifled guns and one 8-inch columbiad (unchambered) in casemate; the mortar battery in the ditch, curtain A to B, manned by detachments from the command commanded by Lieutenant Langdon, 5th Artillery, consisted of four 10-inch sea-coast mortars; Battery Scott, manned by Company F, 1st Artillery commanded by Captain Duryea, 1st Artillery, assisted by Lieutenant Closson, 1st Artillery, consisted of two 10-inch columbiads and one 42-pounder rifled gun *en barbette* and two 10-inch sea-coast mortars; Battery Lincoln, manned by Company H, 2d Artillery, commanded by Captain Robertson, 2d Artillery, consisted of four 8-inch sea-coast howitzers and one 42-pounder rifled gun *en barbette* and two 10-inch sea-coast mortars; Battery Totten, manned by Company C, 2d Artillery, commanded by Captain Blunt, 12th Infantry, consisted of one 13-inch and one 12-inch sea-coast mortars; Battery Cameron, manned by Company I, 6th New York Volunteers, the gunners and purveyors from Company H, 2d Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Pennington, 2d Artillery, consisted of two 10-inch columbiads *en barbette* and one 10-pounder Parrott rifled gun (the second day); the battery at the Old Spanish Fort, manned by a detachment detailed from the command commanded by Lieutenant Seeley, consisted of one 10-pounder Parrott rifled gun (the first day). The guns fired from the fort and the batteries outside against the Confederates' line of forts and batteries, including the town of Warrington and the navy yard, were ten 10-inch columbiads, six 8-inch columbiads, eleven 42-pounder James rifled guns, and two 42-pounder smooth-bore, four 8-inch sea-coast howitzers, eight 10-inch sea-coast mortars, one 13-inch and one 12-inch sea-coast mortars, and twelve 32-pounders *en barbette*.

---

lighthouse batteries in conjunction with the naval attack upon those installations. The guns of Fort Pickens were expected to blanket all the Rebel works.<sup>24</sup>

A storm of bursting shells fell among the startled and unsuspecting Confederates. The Rebel marines manning the 10-inch columbiad, after firing several shots, were observed deserting their piece. In addition the *Time* was repeatedly struck only escaping late in the afternoon under cover of the rain and wind storm. However, the *Nelms* being a small vessel made its escape at once. Having accomplished his initial fire mission Arnold directed the Federal batteries to turn their fire upon forts McRee and Barrancas, the lighthouse batteries, Wheat's battery and the church batteries. The last enumerated of these proved exceptionally annoying to the Federals due to the power and accuracy of its fire. Fire delivered by the 10-inch columbiad on the Rebel works was well directed and appeared to be effective but the fire of the James rifles emplaced in the casemates was not.<sup>25</sup>

The Confederate batteries in the neighborhood of the navy yard, upon whom the Federal attack had burst with sudden fury, were manned by the 2d Brigade, again commanded by General Dick Anderson who had recovered from the effects of the wound received at Santa Rosa Island. Within a few minutes his men had recovered from their surprise and returned a vigorous fire. To conserve badly needed ammunition Bragg ordered his men to regulate and reduce their rate of fire.<sup>26</sup>

Captain Duryea, commanding Battery Scott, directed the fire of his powerful battery, consisting of two 10-inch columbiads, one 42-pounder rifled gun, and two 10-inch sea-coast mortars, to fire on Fort McRee and the water battery south of it. To further augment the fire of Duryea's battery upon Fort McRee Arnold ordered "the four 10-inch sea-coast mortars in the ditch, commanded by Lieutenant Langdon, and one 13-inch and one 12-inch sea-coast mortars, Battery Totten, commanded by Captain Blunt, and one 8-inch columbiad and two 42-pounders in casemate, of Lieutenant Jackson's battery, to fire on Fort McRee."<sup>27</sup>

24. *Ibid.*, 469-73.

25. *Ibid.*, 474.

26. *Ibid.*, 494.

27. *Ibid.*, 474.

It was hoped that these batteries in cooperation with the navy would be able to destroy Fort McRee. The heavy fire of these weapons ably supplemented the fire of the *Niagara* and the *Richmond*.

Fort McRee and the adjacent water battery were garrisoned by the Mississippians and Georgians of Gladden's Brigade, under the command of Colonel John B. Villepique.<sup>28</sup> The Southerners were subjected to a storm of shot and shell. Three times during the course of the afternoon the woodwork of Fort McRee burst into flame, threatening to expel the occupants. The fires were as often extinguished. To add to the Rebels' peril their magazines were laid bare to the enemy's shells which constantly exploded around them. A further hazard was soon encountered as a wooden structure to the windward of the fort was ignited. Sparks showered from the burning building threatening to detonate the magazines momentarily. At about this time Colonel Villepique was wounded, however the gallant South Carolinian refused evacuation to a less exposed position. His coolness and example helped inspire his men with confidence, and enabled them to hold a position which at times seemed untenable.<sup>29</sup>

Darkness brought a welcomed cessation to hostilities which had lasted more than eight hours without intermission. Bragg believed, "For the number and caliber of guns and weight of metal brought into action it will rank with the heaviest bombardments in the world." The dwellings in Pensacola seven miles away had trembled with the effect, and immense numbers of dead fish had floated to the surface of the bay, stunned by the concussions.<sup>30</sup> The Federals made use of the cover afforded by the darkness to replenish their magazines with powder, shot, and shell. The 10-pounder Parrott rifle after rendering effective service at the old Spanish Fort was moved to Battery Cameron.<sup>31</sup>

28. *Ibid.*, 492. John B. Villepique was born at Camden, South Carolina on July 2, 1830. He was graduated from West Point in 1854 as a brevet 2d lieutenant in the 2d Dragoons. He served mainly on the frontier and was promoted to 1st lieutenant in 1857. On March 31, 1861, he resigned from the army to enter the Confederate service. Villepique was commissioned captain of artillery and soon afterward was promoted to colonel of the 36th Georgia.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, 490.

31. *Ibid.*, 480-88. Lieutenant Francis W. Seeley reported: "From my experience with the Parrott rifled gun I consider it to be the most perfect rifled cannon that we have here in our service . . . ."

On the mainland General Bragg's battered defenders exerted themselves to the utmost to shore up their sagging defenses. Staff officers were dispatched to the various works, and except from Fort McRee returned with satisfactory and encouraging messages. Fort McRee was exposed in front, flank, and reverse, with half its armament dismounted and magazines exposed. Colonel Villepique notified Bragg that he was unable to return the enemy's fire and proposed to blow up and abandon the fort. Bragg upon mature reflection as to the effect its abandonment would have on the morale of his men as well as the enemy resolved to hold Fort McRee to the bitter end. Major Thomas M. Jones, officer of the engineers, accompanied by a large fatigue party, was dispatched to inform Colonel Villepique of this decision.<sup>32</sup>

Next morning at ten Colonel Brown ordered the resumption of the bombardment. The gun chiefs of the 10-inch columbiads and the rifled 42-pounders were directed to maintain a rate of fire of one shell every fifteen minutes. The mortars were discharged at half hour intervals. Fort McRee already badly damaged did not return the Federals' fire. Blanketed by the fire of the Federals, all of the Confederate batteries except one gun in the water battery and the powerful battery emplaced on the heights east of the lighthouse ceased firing for a period of two hours.<sup>33</sup> During this period one of the Federal guns manned by men of Company E, 3d Infantry, was disabled by a Rebel 10-inch shell coming through its embrasure.<sup>34</sup> About 2 p.m. the Yankees began pouring hot shot and shell into the deserted villages of Warrington and Woolsey. At 2:30 p.m. one of the houses in the southwest portion of Warrington was ignited, either by the fire of Battery Lincoln or Cameron.<sup>35</sup> The fire spread to the nearby church steeple. From there the conflagration was transmitted to other buildings along the street until probably two-thirds of the village was consumed. Shortly thereafter fires

32. *Ibid.*, 490-91.

33. *Ibid.*, 475. Among the batteries silenced were Wheat's and the church batteries, Fort Barrancas, and all the guns on the water-front.

34. *Ibid.*, 485. The shell knocked off a considerable quantity of brick from each side of the embrasure, and wedged between the carriage and chassis of the 8-inch chamber columbiad, destroying the carriage. The shell, fortunately for the Yankees, did not explode, six men were wounded by the flying brick.

35. *Ibid.*, 478.

were kindled in Woolsey, a village to the north and immediately adjoining the yard. The navy yard too, received its share of attention from the powerful Federal batteries. Many of the buildings were struck and the hot shot succeeded in firing one structure.<sup>36</sup>

In accord with instructions issued by General Dick Anderson the troops not needed to man the batteries retired from the yard and its vicinity at the beginning of the attack and took positions behind the north wall. These men commanded by Colonel Daniel W. Adams, of Louisiana, held themselves ready to oppose a Federal landing if attempted.<sup>37</sup>

With darkness the Yankee siege guns ceased firing, however the mortars continued to deliver a harassing fire until 2 a.m. During the two day bombardment the Federals expended some 5,000 rounds of ammunition and the Rebels about 1,000. Both commanders issued communiques containing extravagant claims of damages to their foe, and belittling their own losses. Bragg's report reads monotonously like those of many of the Allied and Axis commanders in World War II. The North Carolinian would have us believe that about the only objects the trained artillerists of Brown's command scored hits upon were churches, hospitals, and abodes of the humble people. Undoubtedly the damages done to the southern fortifications were not as extensive as that caused by the Rebel bombardment of Fort Sumter or during the Federal reduction of Fort Pulaski. This was due to several factors - the dispersed character of the Confederate defenses, and outside of forts McRee and Barrancas the southern works were not built of brick. The new rifled cannon developed prior to the Civil War could pound this type of fortification to pieces in a matter of hours.

Fort Pickens and the Federal emplacements had escaped with less damage than the Rebel works. The majority of the Yankees had seen service in the Regular Army, and had served a long apprenticeship in the heavy artillery. As novices on the siege guns the Confederates' rate of fire was about a fifth as

36. *Ibid.*, 491.

37. *ibid.*, 494-95. Daniel W. Adams entered the field as 2d lieutenant of Mississippi State Troops. On October 30, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of the 1st Louisiana Infantry Regiment, stationed at Pensacola.

great as that of the Federals. In the face of the concentrated and accurate fire of Brown's artillerists the Southerners' counter fire was all but silenced at times.<sup>38</sup>

The claims and counterclaims make it exceedingly difficult to render a fair evaluation as to the material damages each side suffered during the two day bombardment. Bragg reported his casualties as 7 killed and 33 wounded.<sup>39</sup> The Federals lost 2 killed and 13 wounded.<sup>40</sup> Defective fuses, absence of smokeless propellants, fixed ammunition, and high explosive bursting charges had been contributing factors to the small number killed and wounded in relation to the number of shells expended.

---

38. The consensus of trained officers of the Civil War period was that an artillerist could not be improvised in a day but that time and tuition were necessary to make one.

39. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 490.

40. *Ibid.*, 470. *Official Records - Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, 776.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Territorial Papers of the United States Volume XXII: The Territory of Florida, 1821-1824.* Edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956. xiii, 1129 pp. Map, Index. \$8.25.)

This is the first of the Florida volumes in Dr. Clarence E. Carter's notable documentary series on the territories of the United States. The papers reproduced are found principally in the National Archives, although some documents from the Library of Congress are used. Occasionally, lacunae in the official records are filled by resorting to newspaper or other contemporary printed sources.

The compilation is selective, with priority given to papers relating directly or indirectly to the administration of the territory. Papers previously edited and published in good form are generally excluded, as are papers which, though relevant, possess no special significance or which contain duplicate information. Routine documents are also largely excluded.

Application of these criteria has resulted in publication of all items relevant to Florida in the files of the Department of State, which was in general charge of the administration of the territories, and in the incomplete records of the Postmaster General. All petitions and memorials to Congress except those dealing with land and other claims are also included. Selection of papers relating to public lands, Indian affairs, lighthouses, customs and revenue, and military and naval affairs was determined by their relevance to administration.

Readers whose interests lie outside the central theme of administration will perhaps be disappointed by the omission of certain kinds of material. The thorough documentation does much to compensate for such omissions by giving the location, and in some instances a brief summary, of relevant unpublished documents as well as references to the pertinent literature. Although the editor has refrained from interpretation, he has supplied explanations of the historical background of some of the basic documents and, to some extent, identification of persons



and places. The convenience of the reader is further served by cross references to related documents and an exhaustive index.

The present volume includes some 970 documents which cover approximately the first three and a half years of the territorial period. They are grouped into four parts relating to the Transition from Spanish to American Rule, to the Administration of Governor Jackson, 1821, to the Administrations of Acting Governors Worthington (East Florida) and Walton (West Florida) and to the First Administration of Governor DuVal, 1822-1825. The last part, which breaks with a document dated June 25, 1824, is to be concluded in the next volume of the series.

The main events of the transition period and of Jackson's administration are well known, as many of the basic documents have been previously printed. Even here, however, the new material far outweighs the familiar and adds greatly to our knowledge of what has been termed the "Jacksonian Commonwealth of Florida." This is especially true of the papers dealing with Jackson's administration as governor, which terminated with the acceptance of his resignation by President Monroe on December 31, 1821.

Of particular interest are the many papers and notes relating to patronage and appointments which recur throughout this volume and doubtless will continue to recur in subsequent volumes of the series. They indicate both hitherto obscure political connections and a condition, chronic at least during the period under consideration, which caused Joseph M. Hernandez to write (p. 941), "There is always some fatality attending our public concerns here." The allusion is to the disrupting effect on government of vacancies, illness, and absenteeism. With reference to politics, it is interesting to note that appointments to the Legislative Council after 1822 seem to have been made largely upon the nomination of the territorial delegate to Congress.

The difficulty of organizing a moderately efficient government was further complicated by the awkward necessity of administering it from Pensacola and St. Augustine. Pensacola, wrote Joseph L. Smith in explaining his inability to take the oath of office as judge of the Superior Court for East Florida from Governor DuVal, as required by the act of Congress, was

"distant from Augustine by water, in the usual track, about two thousand miles & by land, in the only practised route, through Georgia, seven hundred & fifty" (p. 554). Congress established a post road from St. Augustine to Pensacola by way of St. Marks in May 1822, but "no mail has been sent, or Contract made for the route," Postmaster General R. J. Meigs, Jr., explained in December (p. 579), "in consequence of information received that there is no road."

"I am well satisfyd," Governor DuVal wrote from Pensacola with reference to the meeting of the Legislative Council in St. Augustine (p. 537), "that nether myself nor the Secretary can move about in this way - on double the salerys now allowed to us." The members of the Council, who were allowed three dollars a day and fifteen cents a mile apparently felt the same way. Only eight of the thirteen members attended the first meeting in Pensacola; nine were present the next year in St. Augustine.

By the middle of 1824, when this volume concludes, a road was under construction from Pensacola to St. Augustine, Tallahassee had been selected as the site of the capital, and the Council had been summoned to meet there. Measures had also been taken for settlement of the important and interrelated Indian and land problems.

The proper policy in regard to the Indians, who occupied some of the best land in the territory, was a matter of grave concern. Proposals to remove them to the Creek Nation met with strong opposition in Georgia and it was reported (p. 294) that the Indians, themselves, would "take to the bushes" if they were ordered to join the Creeks. Their removal west of the Mississippi was not considered feasible, even should they consent, because there was then no land available for them there. The only alternative was their concentration in Florida. But what would be the least objectionable location?

The War Department finally decided upon the country south of Charlotte Harbor or, if there was not enough good land there, south of Tampa Bay. The Indians objected so strenuously to this location that the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, September 13, 1823, agreed to a reservation starting at Charlotte Harbor and extending north to include the principal Indian villages near the Withlacoochee

River. The western and northern lines of the Indian country were marked early in 1824 and a military post was established at Tampa Bay to control the Indians when they should be removed to the reservation the following fall.

The location of the Indian country having been determined, a surveyor of the public lands was appointed in May 1824. In the meantime, the settlement of claims to lands under Spanish grants had been entrusted to commissioners who began their work at Pensacola in July 1822. When claims in West Florida had been settled, the commissioners were to sit at St. Augustine to examine East Florida claims. The work of the commission was greatly impeded by an outbreak of yellow fever, the failure of one of the members to take his seat, and difficulty in securing the Spanish records and laws on which claims were predicated. Consequently, a separate commission was appointed in April 1823 to settle claims in East Florida, but proceedings there were hampered by a controversy with the keeper of the public archives and disagreement between the commissioners as to procedure.

Also included in the present volume are documents concerning illegal cutting of live oak and cedar on the public lands, establishment of lighthouses, the customs and revenue service, and payment of accounts, as well as considerable information of a local nature about affairs in St. Augustine and Pensacola. Although the papers here published are official in character, they sometimes contain interesting descriptive matter. Examples of this class of documents are a letter from John Du Bose, inspector of customs for the St. Augustine District, recommending measures for the regulation of wrecking on the Florida Keys and three letters from Colonel George M. Brooke on the establishment of Cantonment Brooke at Tampa Bay.

The volume should be eminently satisfying to students of Florida history, who have looked forward to publication of the Florida papers since the *Territorial Papers* series was authorized in 1925. Since practically all papers relating to the territorial period have disappeared from the state's archives, it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Florida volumes.

DOROTHY DODD.

*Florida State Library.*

*This Changing South.* By John M. MacLachlan and Joe S. Floyd, Jr. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1956. xii, 154 pp. Appendix, Index, Tables \$4.00.)

This useful little book is a socio-economic study of population changes in the South, principally in the decade, 1940-1950, and is based largely upon the reports of the United States Bureau of the Census for those years. It is the last of a series of studies commissioned by the Committee of the South, which was terminated in 1955. The object of the projects was to promote the sound growth and development of the southern economy by providing reliable data.

The value of the study does not lie so much in new conclusions, but rather in 72 statistical tables and the accompanying analyses and explanations which show the pattern of population movement, its extent, its direction, and its makeup with some suggestion of causes and possible consequences. It shows urbanization taking place more rapidly in the South than elsewhere in the nation; but it also shows the region as merely catching up with the rest of the country in this respect, for the southern population is still more rural and less urban than in the regions industrialized earlier.

Negroes have been leaving the rural farm areas more rapidly than their white counterparts as they have also been going north in proportionately greater numbers. The authors estimate that by 1960 one-half of the Negroes in the United States may be living outside the South whereas in 1920, 81 per cent of them were living in thirteen southeastern states. Nor has the rapid exodus of workers from the farms meant a decline in the agricultural output. On the contrary, the use of machinery, new crops, and new techniques have more than offset the loss of farm workers.

Floridians may be pleased to note these respects in which their state is typical of the region as well as those in which it is not. For example, of 32 counties in the United States showing population increases of 100 per cent or more in the decade, 19 were in the South, and five of them in Florida, namely: Clay, Okaloosa, Monroe, Broward and Bay.

C. W. TEBEAU.

*University of Miami.*

*The Unconquered Seminole Indians* by Irvin M. Peithmann (St. Petersburg, Fla., The Great Outdoors Association, 1956. 96 pp. Illustrations, \$1.00.)

Irvin Peithmann, Research Assistant in the Outdoor Recreation and Education Department at Southern Illinois University, has compiled an excellent array of pictures depicting the history of the Seminole Indians in Florida. This paper-bound edition contains photographs of Seminole artifacts in the Smithsonian Institution, portraits of outstanding Seminole leaders, present day views of nineteenth century battlegrounds and various scenes of present-day Indian life. The photographs taken by Peithmann during his recent visits to the Seminole reservations are the outstanding feature of the book.

This reviewer can highly recommend *The Unconquered Seminoles* as a book suitable for the general reader who is interested in the American Indian. The text is well balanced and is quite complete concerning the history of this unique tribe. *The Unconquered Seminoles* is now being sold with a great deal of success in various places accessible to the general public.

Perhaps the only unsatisfactory note to this reviewer is the reference to King Philip as a "half-breed." All friends of the Indians, and I am certain that Peithmann is included in the group, call such offspring of mixed marriages as being part-Indian, half-Indian, etc. Use of this word in Oklahoma where there is much intermarriage between Indian and white would be indeed unwise.

The word half-breed is not used at all by present day writers in denoting the persons of Indian descent and should be used to explain the parenthood of livestock and not human beings.

JAMES W. COVINGTON

*University of Tampa*

## NEWS AND NOTES

### *Bay View Centennial*

On May 18 Bay View, Pinellas County, celebrated its centennial. The town, founded in 1857 by Captain Jim McMullen, served as the central distribution point for mail which came from Tampa by sailboat. The mail was sorted then sped on its way to Clearwater, Dunedin, Safety Harbor, and nearby communities by pony express.

### *The Annual Meeting, Tampa, 1958*

James W. Covington will serve as program chairman and J. Ryan Beiser as chairman of the arrangements committee for the Society's annual meeting. The University of Tampa and the Hillsborough County Historical Commission will be our hosts.

### *The National Park Service*

Historian Albert Manucy is back in St. Augustine after studying Spanish colonial sites in the Canal Zone and Panama. His work there was in connection with certain ruins which have been proposed for national recognition. Several park areas, notably De Soto National Memorial and Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments in Florida, already commemorate Spanish achievement. The Canal Zone ruins under consideration would round out the Spanish theme since they were central in the story of Spain's colonization of the Americas.

1 1 1

Archeological work now under way at Fort Frederica National Monument near Brunswick, Georgia, will continue for the next two or three years. Under the direction of Joel Shiner, archeologist, the largest excavations were done this summer when building sites along the main street of the long-dead town were uncovered. Because of its connection with Florida history of the 1730's and 1740's, Frederica is of interest to Floridians.

*Activities of Historical Societies*

Judge James R. Knott was elected president of the Palm Beach County Historical Society succeeding Dr. D. J. McCarthy.



The Historical Association of Southern Florida elected the following officers for the year 1957-1958 : Ernest G. Gearhart, Jr., president; E. M. Hancock, first vice president; Wayne E. Withers, second vice president; Justin P. Havee, executive secretary; Miss Virginia Wilson, recording and corresponding secretary; Robert M. McKey, treasurer; Mrs. Andrew J. Moulds, librarian, and Charlton W. Tebeau, editor of *Tequesta*. Directors elected were: Adam G. Adams, August Burghard, Thomas P. Caldwell, Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, Edward S. Christiansen, George H. Cooper, George J. Deedmeyer, H. Lewis Dorn, Hugh P. Emerson, Mrs. William L. Freeland, Arthur Griffith, Thomas W. Hagan, Judge William A. Herin, Kenned S. Keyes, Wirth M. Munroe, John B. Orr, Jr., Dr. Jay F. W. Pearson, R. B. Roberts, Mrs. Frank Stranahan, Mrs. Herbert O. Vance, and Gaines R. Wilson.

Frederick W. Sleight, director of the Central Florida Museum at Orlando, was the speaker at the annual meeting. His subject, "Spain, Birthplace of Florida," was illustrated with colored slides.



W. A. Marion, superintendent of Fort Pickens State Park, was elected to serve a third term as president of the Pensacola Historical Society. Other officers elected were Mrs. Mark B. Presley, first vice president; James Stewart Milner, second vice president; Miss Occie Clubbs, third vice president; T. T. Wentworth, Jr., president emeritus; Mrs. Maude Hollowell, secretary; Mrs. L. V. Trueman, treasurer and directors Dr. J. I. Niven, Dr. W. C. Payne, T. Warren Wentworth, and Mrs. F. G. Morrill.

The Society has rendered service to the community in a number of ways during the past year. Histories of buildings, biographies, and Spanish translations have been prepared. The reconstruction of Old Pensacola on Santa Rosa Island has been

endorsed. Tours have been conducted for visiting Spanish groups, college students, and school children. The number of markers placed by the Society now has reached thirty. Additional sites are being considered.

Speakers have included Dr. W. C. Payne who related the history of Fort San Bernardo, the site of his residence; G. Wright Reese spoke on the history of St. John's cemetery; Pat Dodson on the architecture of Pensacola; Mrs. Shannon Hobgood on the life of General Henry Bouquet; Mrs. Lawrence Andrus on the life of Henry Marie Brackenridge, and Dwight E. Hufford on the Armstrong Cork Company.

1 1 1

The Polk County Historical Commission has marked the sites of Forts Clinch, Meade, and Arbuckle. Two other Seminole War forts, Frazer and Gardiner, and several military trails will be similarly indicated. Edward T. Keenan is chairman of the marker program committee whose membership includes Julian Durrance, county commissioner and L. R. Isbell, county engineer.

1 1 1

William B. Griffen, formerly of the University of Arizona, has accepted the position of assistant to executive historian John Griffin of the St. Augustine Historical Society. He will be engaged on the Society's extensive research project, the compilation of a calendar of Spanish documents. Charles W. Arnade of Florida State University assisted this summer in the initial work on the calendar in the Society's library.

1 1 1

The General Duncan L. Clinch Historical Society of Amelia Island has inaugurated a program to mark sites in the historic Fernandina Beach area. President William Galphin, T. James Clark, George T. Davis, H. D. Lohman and William L. Webb, the marker committee, have selected McClure's hill for the location of the first of a series of markers. The legend, prepared with the aid of Rembert W. Patrick, reads: "Site of the Battle of Amelia, September 13, 1817. On this hill, Spaniards erected a battery of four brass cannon. With about 300 men, supported



by two gunboats, they shelled Fernandina, held by Jared Irwin, adventurer and former Pennsylvania Congressman. His "Republic of Florida" forces numbered 94, the privateers *Morgiana* and *St. Joseph*, and the armed schooner *Jupiter*. Spanish gunboats commenced firing at 3:30 P.M., and the battery on this hill joined the cannonade. Guns of Fort San Carlos, on the river bluff west of here, and those of the *St. Joseph* defended Amelia Island. Cannon balls killed two and wounded other Spanish troops concentrated below this hill. Firing continued until dark. The Spanish commander, convinced he could not capture the Island, withdrew his forces."

### *College News*

Venila Lovina Shores retired on July 1. She had been a member of the faculty of Florida State University since 1922 and had served as head of the department of history. The first college course in Florida history was organized and taught in 1925 by Dr. Shores. Hale G. Smith designed and set up an exhibit on Africa at the Jacksonville Children's Museum. Mounted animal heads and ethnographic materials collected by Clinton Burbridge of Jacksonville are among the displayed items. Louise Salley has resigned to accept a position as professor of history in Queen's College, Charlotte, North Carolina. Calvin J. Billman will teach in the Canal Zone this year under the University's Overseas Program. Ben F. Rogers taught in the Canal Zone this summer. Among new faculty members are Richard A. Bartlett, Coburn V. Graves, and William I. Hair. Grants and fellowships to members of the history department include: the Doherty Foundation's subsidy to Charles W. Arnade for his study on "The Creation of the Republic of Bolivia"; a Guggenheim Fellowship to Weymouth T. Jordan for a study of "Scientific Agriculture in the Old South"; a faculty research grant from the Social Science Research Council to George A. Lensen for research on "Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875"; a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council to Victor S. Mamatey for a study on "The United States and East Central Europe, 1914-1918".

Donald E. Worcester returned from his year as lecturer at the University of Madrid and has reassumed his place as head of the Department of History at the University of Florida. Herbert J. Doherty and David Chalmers taught summer sessions at Morris Harvey College and the City College of New York. James P. Jones, a doctoral candidate, has been appointed interim instructor at the Florida State University. Rembert W. Patrick is giving the Young Lectures in History at Memphis State University this month on "Patterns of Southern Society". The lectures will be published by Memphis State University Press next year.

### *James Madison Correspondence*

The University of Chicago and the University of Virginia are sponsoring the publication of a new and complete edition of the papers of James Madison. The editors will appreciate information about the location of letters by or to James Madison or his wife, especially letters in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collection of public or private institutions. Please address The Papers of James Madison, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois,

### *Index of the Quarterly*

A complete INDEX to all 35 published volumes (138 issues) of our *Quarterly* has been made, but the Society has no funds for its publication. A letter has been sent to each of our members asking for a contribution so that this can be printed now. A copy of the INDEX will be given to each contributing member. A number of members have already sent us a contribution and we thank them sincerely.

The printing will be costly. There will be two columns to a page and several styles and sizes of type, indicating differences in the kinds of the entries. There are approximately 10,000 subject entries, averaging two references each, for here is an index of 10,000 pages of Florida history. The printing of this index, which is more costly than a regular issue of the *Quarterly*, will be approximately sixteen dollars per page. Copies will be

sold to libraries, and we will print perhaps double the number of copies we expect to need at this time, but all must be paid for now.

So we will need many additional contributions.

## CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. Alice (C.E.) Strickland is a resident of Astor. She has contributed a number of articles on Blockade Runners and the Blockade during the Civil War to the *Florida Times-Union*. Members who attended the annual meeting in Miami will recall the interest she aroused by the delivery of her paper.

Franklin A. Doty is Associate Professor of History at the University of Florida.

Edwin C. Bearss is Historian at the Vicksburg National Military Park.

/ / /  
NEW MEMBERS  
(June-September)

*Nominated by*

## LIFE MEMBERS

Duncan L. Clinch, Chicago (formerly an annual member)  
David M. Warren, Panhandle, Texas ..... Lois J. Sette  
Bob Wickman, Clearwater (formerly an annual member)

## ANNUAL MEMBERS

J. K. Ball, St. Petersburg ..... Dena Snodgrass  
Mrs. Ruth M. Baxter, Gainesville ..... Lois J. Sette  
Mrs. E. P. Davis, Fernandina ..... Lois J. Sette  
Mr. and Mrs. Ben F. Field, Orlando ..... R. V. Rickord  
J. Ed. Fortner, Miami ..... Mrs. Ruby J. Hancock  
David Hardin, Okeechobee ..... Mrs. Ruby J. Hancock  
Franklin C. Hunter, Tallahassee ..... Louise Richardson  
B. F. Inman, Perry ..... Lois J. Sette  
Mrs. E. B. Johnson, Hinsdale, Ill. .... C. W. Tebeau  
William W. Mitchell, Tampa ..... Howard V. Lee  
Fayette W. Parvin, Gainesville ..... R. W. Patrick  
J. Wayne Reitz, Gainesville ..... Fayette W. Parvin  
Wm. H. Saunders, Jr., New Orleans ..... Neils F. Johnsen  
Mrs. L. G. Schreffler, Miami ..... Lois J. Sette  
Bob Sikes, Washington, D.C. .... Mark F. Boyd  
Charles G. Summersell, University of Alabama ..... Lois J. Sette  
Mrs. Maud C. Watkins, Keystone Heights ..... Irene Perry

## STUDENT MEMBERS

David L. Willing, Miami ..... R. W. Patrick



---

## JOHN CROMWELL BLOCKER

John Cromwell Blocker was born in St Petersburg, Florida on December 13, 1896 and died at his summer home in Hendersonville, N. C. on September 25, 1957. He was a son of John Cromwell and Nina Mutelle (Hill) Blocker, pioneer residents of Pinellas County. Both of his grandfathers were officers in the Confederate army.

Mr. Blocker was graduated from Georgia Military Academy, studied at the Universite de Montpelier in France and later received degrees from Washington and Lee University and Cumberland University. As attorney for Pinellas County almost continually from 1926 to 1951, he contributed notably to the progressive development of the area. He was active in local historical affairs and served as president of the Pioneers Association and of the St. Petersburg Historical Society.

Mr. Blocker was president of the Florida Historical Society from 1952 until 1954. Recognition of his extensive contributions in the field of history will be made in another issue of the *Quarterly*.

