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CONTENTS

An Indian Burial Site at Crystal River, Florida  
*F. G. Rainey*

Fort Marion During the Seminole War  
*Rogers W. Young*

A Foot-note to Captain Young's Itineraries:  
Letters of Jeremy Robinson  
*Joseph B. Lockey*

The Panton, Leslie Papers :  
Letters of and to John Forbes

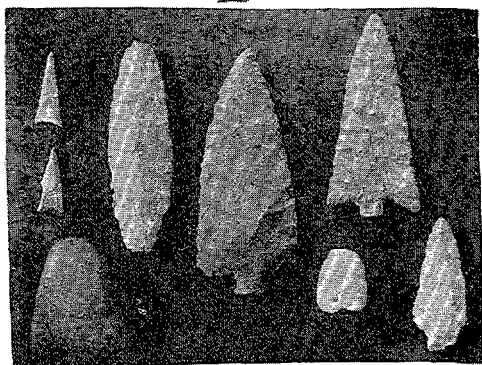
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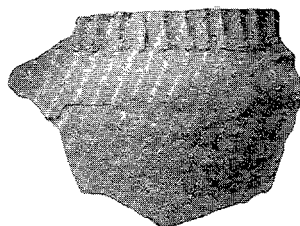
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III



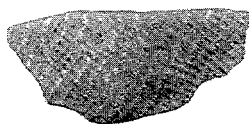
VII



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VIII



VI



AN INDIAN BURIAL SITE  
AT CRYSTAL RIVER, FLORIDA

By F. G. RAINEY

*Peabody Museum, Yale University*

Crystal river rises in a group of large springs a few miles south of the Withlacoochee river on the west coast of Florida and flows westward for eight miles to the Gulf of Mexico. Fish are abundant in the river and the small town of Crystal River situated at the source owes its existence to an extensive fishing industry carried on in the region. Large oyster beds lie just off the mouth of the river and supply oysters to many cities in Florida.

In 1903, Crystal river was visited by Mr. Clarence B. Moore while engaged in his extensive archaeological excavations throughout the state. At this time he located and partly excavated a large sand mound near what is now known as "Spanish mound." Three years later he returned to finish the same site. Results of this interesting and productive site are published in the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, Volume XII, 1903, and Volume XIII, 1907. As is often true in Florida, the sand mound proved to be a burial site containing numerous artifacts in association with skeletons, while the accompanying shell heaps were quite sterile. There are numerous shell deposits along the river but Mr. Moore's party located only the one cemetery.

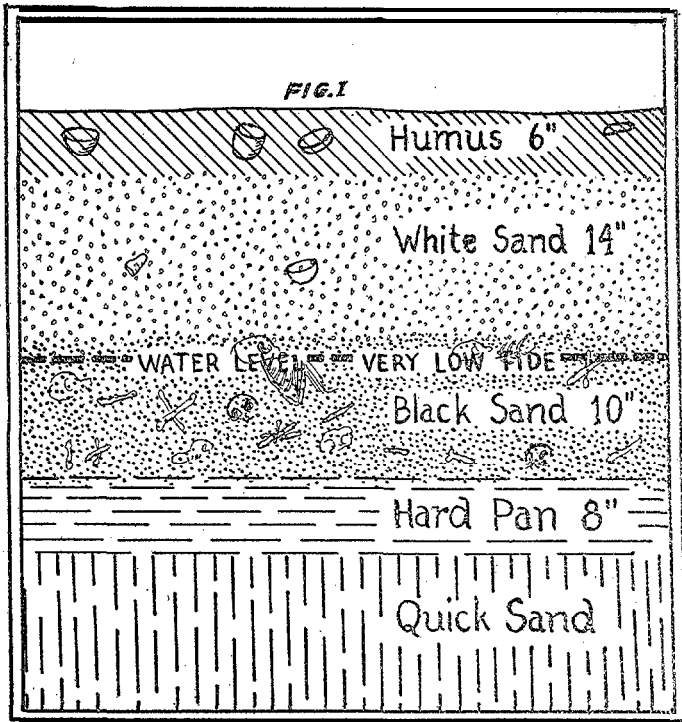
In the late summer of 1933 the writer, on an expedition constituting part of the anthropological research program of the Peabody Museum of Yale University, after numerous inquiries among local fishermen and guides, located another burial site situated on Buzzard's Island, one mile below the town of Crystal River. The island is one of three small

islands lying in a group and is not over forty acres in extent. When the tide is in, the river backs up and submerges all but a small central area about fifty yards in diameter. No part of the island is more, than two feet above the water level. The burial site, which occupies the highest, central portion of the island, was said to have been discovered some thirty years ago, but was thought by local theorists to be the result of a slave massacre or the end of an attempt to smuggle aliens. Consequently, the place had a bad name which was contributed to by the presence of an unusually large number of buzzards and an extremely bad odor, due undoubtedly to its low marshy character. These factors saved the spot from Indian relic hunters and only an occasional curious person carried away a skull or two.

No mound marks the presence of the cemetery and the rise from the water level to the central dry area is barely perceptible. When the writer began excavation a shallow swale marked what proved to be the center of the cemetery.

Fortunately, in the first part of October a gale from the northeast blew steadily for several days which forced the water out of the bay and caused the river to drop to an unusually low point. This reduced the water level on the island some eight or ten inches and made excavation more practicable.

A trench four feet wide and approximately three feet deep was begun well outside the area in which human bones had been found and continued across this area to sterile soil beyond. By extending the walls of the initial trench the bulk of the skeletal material was removed. Various test pits made it possible to localize the cemetery to an area forty feet in diameter and the extension of the trench disclosed a central area ten feet in diameter which contained a mass of bones. From this central massed



Cross section - Buzzards Island Site

burial the deposit of bones thinned out toward the edge of the cemetery.

As seen in the cross-section of the site (Fig. 1), all skeletal material lay in one plane eighteen to twenty-four inches below the surface of the ground and upon a sand hardpan, forming a stratum of blackened bones and blackened sand. At the center of the greatest deposit this stratum measured about one foot in thickness and narrowed with the thinning out of the bone deposit. Above the skeletal material was a level of clear white sand twelve to eighteen inches thick, and above this a six inch deposit of rich humus.

A large cabbage palm tree had grown in the center of the site extending its mass of roots well through the greatest deposit of bones, making it very difficult to cut the skeletons free, and impossible to ascertain their original positions. Furthermore, even with an extremely low water level most of the bones lay below it and when cleared were still concealed by blackish water which rapidly filled the trenches.

*Skeletal material.* As far as could be determined, all the bones had been buried, without the flesh and most interments were of the bunched burial type, although it was possible in some cases to isolate an individual skeleton which was apparently extended or flexed. The most common form of interment was a pile of bones surmounted by the skull, often with the jaw missing. Occasionally only a skull alone would be found, or two or three long bones apparently in no relation to other bones. At the center of the burial the bones lay in a mass so compactly that it was impossible to isolate individual burials. It is possible that the roots of the cabbage palm had disturbed the bones to a great extent, but the number of fragmentary skulls and isolated parts probably indicate that the skeletons were originally disarticulated and strewn about. Evidently some of the bones had been burned as there were many charred fragments and bits of charcoal were often encountered in association. All bones were very black in color, but this was evidently due to the marshy ground in which they lay. Bones were in all stages of preservation, some no more than a black paste and others so hard they withstood sharp blows from the workmen's shovels. Those which were the best preserved were directly under the palm tree and entirely surrounded by an almost solid mass of small roots.



*Stone Implements.* Two polished stone celts, a rough flaked axe or club head, a pestle, a quartz pendant, spearheads, arrowheads, and knives or scrapers were found associated with skeletons in the central area (Fig. 2). All were found at the same level and within a radius of ten feet which was approximately in the center of the greatest deposit of bones. Every object with the exception of one spearhead and the pestle was intact. As a whole there appeared to be no definite relation with the skeletons, although one spearhead lay beside a skull, and the pestle lay immediately below a bunched burial. Three large sandstone boulders were found at the same level as the bones.

Several pieces of fossilized mammoth bone were found in the massed burial. One piece was identified as part of the zygomatic arch. All the fragments had been cut or ground down by hand.

*Pottery.* Potsherds were encountered throughout the site but always above the level of the skeletal remains. One complete pot (Fig. 3), was found in the layer of white sand, six inches above the skeletal deposit. This pot is 3 1-2 inches in height and 5 in diameter. Potsherds were most numerous in or just below the six inch layer of humus on the surface. Directly above the massed burial and not more than three or four inches below the surface of the ground were the remains of what appeared to be three different pots. They were evidently intact when placed over the burial as their outline could be traced in the sand. Only fragments were rigid enough to be removed. One fragment, was the effigy bird-head handle shown in (Fig. 4).

The quality of the clay used in the various types of pottery varied considerably. Some of the sherds were sandy and crumbled away on exposure, others were hard and brittle. Sherds indicate that vessels

were decorated with impressed checks, broad, deep incised lines, and pinched vertical ribs about the rim. These types appear as (Figs. 5-7). One clay pipe bowl was found associated with a skull in the central section (Fig. 8).

*Correlation with the burial mound excavated  
by Moore at Crystal river*

The method of interment in the Buzzard's Island site was essentially the same as that discovered by Moore, although he reports a larger percentage of extended burials, and does not mention any evidence of charred bones. Numerous burials in a small area, bunched burials, scattered and fragmentary bones are common to both sites.

Arrowheads, knives, spearheads, and celts associated with the burials are also common to both sites. Potsherds strewn throughout the site and vessels found singly are another common feature. Neither site contained the large deposits of earthenware, apparently placed for the dead in common, which are found along the northwest Florida coast. The methods of pottery decoration observed on sherds from the Buzzard's Island site are all found on sherds from Moore's excavation, with one exception which will be discussed later. A clay pipe and a quartz pendant found at Buzzard's Island resemble similar artifacts from Moore's site.

Opposed to these common features are a number of notable dissimilarities. In the first place, the Buzzard's Island site is not a mound and although there is some possibility that a former mound structure has been leveled in recent times, it is not likely as there is no evidence of such a leveling and the site at present is covered with a six inch layer of humus which is apparently the original surface.

A striking distinction between the two sites lies in the fact that Moore's site was associated with a shell mound and contained a large amount of shell refuse, burials commonly being found beneath deposits of oyster shells, while in the Buzzard's Island site not one bit of shell was discovered, and no shell heaps of any kind are found on the island nor on the two associated islands. Furthermore, numerous shell cups, gouges and ornaments were discovered by Moore while not a single piece of worked shell was found in the Buzzard's Island site.

Many celts and spearheads found by Moore were broken which he suggests may be evidence that they were ceremonially "killed" in the manner of pottery which was generally perforated at the bottom. Only one spearhead found at Buzzard's Island was broken and the one complete pot was intact.

#### *Further correlations of the Buzzard's Island site*

From Mr. Moore's extensive researches in Florida archaeology it may be seen that there is a noticeable difference between remains from the northwest coast of Florida and the central west coast. The line demarcating these two areas apparently falls somewhere between the Warrior river and the Suwannee. Distinguishing features of the northwest coast are large pottery caches placed in mounds as if in common for the dead, the finest mortuary pottery in Florida often decorated with effigy figures of which a frequent form is the crested bird head with bulging eyes; a comparative absence of shell tools and ornaments; and an abundance of stone implements. The central west coast region differs in that no pottery caches are found, effigy figures are extremely

rare,\* while pottery is less common and not generally as well made ; shell tools, such as, adzes and conch shell cups are abundant; while stone tools are comparatively few.

In the site excavated by Mr. Moore at Crystal river, no pottery cache was found and no effigy figures, while both stone and shell tools were numerous. In the Buzzard's Island site no pottery cache was present, but a fragment of a bowl containing a crested bird head effigy with protruding eyes was discovered. No shell tools of any kind appeared in the site. Stone tools, including celts, scrapers, spearheads, and arrowheads, were numerous in proportion to the size of the deposit.

Of the two sites at Crystal river, which are not over three miles apart, one, "Spanish mound," resembles the central coast region area in one characteristic, while the other, Buzzard's Island, resembles the northwest coast area in three respects and the central area in one.

Crystal river is approximately one hundred miles south of the Warrior river which is the southernmost site definitely affiliated with the northwest coast area and seventy-five miles north of Tampa bay, which is in the center of the central coast region. From the character of the two sites on the river it appears that there is an overlapping of two distinct archaeological provinces at this point with one site definitely affiliated with the northern area and the other with the southern. As might be expected, elements of both areas are found in each site.

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\*Drs. Sterling and Fewkes found four human heads in low relief on potsherds at Weeden Island, St. Petersburg. (Sm. Misc. Coll., vol. 76, no. 13). Mr. Moore found two clay bird heads at Goodland Point Marce Island. (*Jour. Acad. Nat. Sci. of Phil.*, vol. XI, p. 376).

# FORT MARION DURING THE SEMINOLE

1835-1842

By ROGERS W. YOUNG

The news that the Seminoles had begun hostilities in Florida spread slowly early in January, 1836.<sup>1</sup> The intelligence stirred the country, however. The War Department had heard of the Dade' massacre and of other Indian atrocities as early as January 4, but it was not until January 17 that it received official verification of the battle of the Withlacoochee.<sup>2</sup> Near the end of December, 1835, the citizens of Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina, had begun to realize the gravity of the situation in Florida.<sup>3</sup> The new year had hardly begun before the patriotic and sympathetic citizenry of these two cities were actively contemplating measures of succor. There, and in Augusta, Georgia, as well, public meetings were held, funds subscribed, supplies for relief secured, and by the middle of the month, volunteers were being organized, many of whom were despatched for Picolata and St. Augustine near the end of the month.<sup>4</sup> The machinery of the War Department was soon set in motion, and on January 18, General Eustis, in command at Charleston, South Carolina, was ordered to St. Augustine with

<sup>1</sup> The first frankly hostile steps of the Seminoles had been the massacre of Major Dade and practically his entire command, enroute from Fort Brooke to Fort King, on the morning of December 28, 1835; and their engagement three days later, on December 31, with General Clinch on the Withlacoochee river. See *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, VI, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.* V, 737; VI, 57.

<sup>3</sup> "Jacksonville and the Seminole War, 1835-36," Part II. *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 4, April, 1925, pp. 16-17.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen, M. M., *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, (Charleston, S. C., 1836) pp. 107, 109-110; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Vol. II, No. 2, Jan. 14, 1836, p. 24; No. 3, Jan. 21, 1836, pp. 42-43; No. 5, Feb. 4, 1836, pp. 75-76. This publication henceforth to be cited as A. N. C.

such militia and volunteer forces as he might secure, together with the garrisons at Savannah and Charleston.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, St. Augustine and the Fort Marion post were agog over war preparations and defense measures. As early as the middle of December, 1835, General Joseph Hernandez, of St. Augustine, in command of the East Florida militia had mustered his men in readiness for danger, and a detachment soon engaged in the battle of the Withlacoochee.<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants of East Florida, especially those within a thirty to forty mile radius to the south and west of St. Augustine, were abandoning their farms and plantations, and fleeing to St. Augustine for protection against the small but effective raiding parties of the Seminoles.<sup>7</sup> On January 9-10, 1836, mass meetings of St. Augustine citizens were held "to consider the dangers which threaten this city and the adjacent country, the devastation and destruction of property, and the sufferings of the people, caused by the hostile . . . Indian enemy . . . and to report the means that may be adopted to avert or mitigate these evils. . ."<sup>8</sup> The resolutions adopted requested the government to feed from the public stores the great mass of poor families who had filled the town and now had no means of subsistence, to compensate the volunteers immediately in the interest of their families' needs, urged the passing of a compensation bill for property destroyed by the Indians, called the attention of Congress to the dangers in East Florida, and presented the thanks of the meeting to the citizens of Savan-

<sup>5</sup> A. N. C., II, 3, Jan. 21, 1836, p. 47; *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 57.

<sup>6</sup> "Jacksonville and the Seminole War, 1835-36," Part I, *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 3, Jan. 1925, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.* VI, 19, 20-22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

nah and Charleston for their aid and sympathy. Copies of the resolutions were sent to the territorial delegate in Congress, to the intendant of Charleston, and to the St. Augustine, Jacksonville, Savannah, and Charleston newspapers.

The tension in St. Augustine was somewhat relieved by the arrival on January 19 of the Steamboat *John Stoney* from Charleston.<sup>9</sup> On it were Captain G. Porter with Co. A of the First Artillery, the first of the regular troops to arrive in St. Augustine. The boat also brought a large consignment of miscellaneous food, provisions, military and hospital supplies. On January 27, four companies of volunteers, raised and financed in Charleston, sailed from that place for St. Augustine, reaching their destination on the 30th, where the population en masse gave them "the most cheering welcome".<sup>10</sup> By the end of the month and the beginning of February, several other volunteer companies from Augusta, and Savannah, Georgia, were en route or had arrived in Florida.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, Major General Winfield Scott, in command of the Eastern Military Department, had been ordered on January 21, to proceed to Florida and assume command of the operations there.<sup>12</sup> It was at length realized that actual war had begun in Florida, with St. Augustine the first center from which operations were to be directed.

Fort Marion itself was of only negative importance, however, in the beginning and throughout the war. While hundreds of East Florida inhabitants flocked to St. Augustine for the potential protection

<sup>9</sup> A. N. C., II, No. 3, Jan. 21, 1836, p. 43; No. 5, Feb. 4, 1836, p. 47; [Potter, W.] *The War in Florida*. (Baltimore, 1836) 125-126.

<sup>10</sup> Cohen. op. cit., 113, 112-123; A. N. C., II, 5, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> A. N. C., II, 5, p. 76; *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, IV, 1, July, 1925, pp. 27-30; Potter, op. cit., 127, 130.

<sup>12</sup> Sec. of War Cass to Gen. Scott, Jan. 21, 1836, *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 61-63.

afforded by the fort, it was the military force at the post barracks which became the real protecting agency. Appropriations to repair the precarious structural condition of the fort had been denied early in 1835; even though the fort was then practically "useless" as a fortification "unless completed." Just prior to 1835, the fort's condition was such that it had "not been occupied by troops for many years" and had been used only as "a jail and a magazine," and even then had been in danger of toppling into the sea.<sup>13</sup> In the contingency of an Indian attack on St. Augustine, the fort probably could have prevented temporarily the wholesale slaughter of the inhabitants, but it could have done little effectively in staving off repeated assaults, and certainly did not possess the equipment, nor was it in a proper condition to withstand a long siege. The War Department's lack of foresight had by this time rendered the fort nearly as inefficacious on land as the department claimed Marion to be in harbor protection. That the possibilities of the fort's utilization were correctly apprehended can be seen from the usage to which it was soon put.

St. Francis Barracks became the military headquarters at St. Augustine with the arrival of Captain Porter, and were to remain so during much of the war. When the four companies of South Carolina volunteers arrived from Charleston on January 30, they were marched to the barracks and placed under Captain Porter, now in command of the troops at this military station.<sup>14</sup> These volunteers were subsequently distributed for lodging between

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<sup>13</sup>*Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, V, 132-133, 461-462, 656; letter, Captain A. M. W. Martin, U. S. Engineer Corps, to L. F. Stock, Carnegie Institution, Washington, Jan. 27, 1916. (Copy at Fort Marion; contains excerpts from reports of U. S. Engineer Tuttle, stationed at Fort Marion in 1833.)

<sup>14</sup>Cohen, *op. cit.*, 123; *A. N. C.*, II, 17, p. 262.



the barracks, the government house, various boarding houses and alternately at the several stations or camps of defense encircling the city.

The fort was apparently considered too near the edge of the town even to be made a "station of defense." The two main stations or picket outposts were established "beyond the city gates to the north and west of the city at the bridge (over the St. Sebastian River)." <sup>15</sup> These were not all of the outposts, however. A northern visitor impressed into guard duty has left us these further details :

Shortly after our arrival, the north part of the town was picketed off at about a mile from the outskirts, with a guard, here and there ; and a cordon of *m i l i t a r y* posts stretched along the western side, around to the sea. A large gun was then placed in the middle of . . . (the) . . . bridge (over the St. Sebastian River), pointing into the pine barrens; the usual night patrol of southern cities was doubled and the place declared under 'martial law'."

These camps were about a half mile apart, while sentries were posted about two hundred yards from each picket camp. <sup>17</sup> The main use of the fort was apparently that of a military office, a recruiting headquarters, and drill ground, with its previous utilization as a jail, and designation as an arsenal being continued. <sup>18</sup> Apparently there was perfunctory guard duty at the fort under the circumstance of war.

<sup>15</sup>Cohen, 123; A. N. C., II, 17, p. 262.

<sup>16</sup>"Sketches of East Florida." No. I, *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXII, October, 1843, pp. 324-327.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>*Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 53; "Sketches of East Florida," No. I, *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXII, October, 1843, pp. 324-327.

It must be admitted, however, that Fort Marion never participated actively in the defense of St. Augustine. It perhaps exercised a potential influence on the savages, who were apparently reluctant to attack with mere muskets a fort which appeared so powerful. As a matter of fact, we can find no record of a Seminole attack within the limits of the town." In the opening days of the war there were a number of alarms, and later a number of attacks a few miles from the city, "but unceasing vigilance" on the part of the guards surrounding the city "kept them (the Indians) away. . . ,"<sup>20</sup>

It would hardly have been inferred that there was real danger of an Indian attack on St. Augustine in the opening days of the war, from a cursory examination of the activities of the volunteer guards in February, 1836. Much of the time was consumed drilling the raw recruits, and the soldiers found time to construct their own bunks. A group of officers even had leisure enough to publish a comic garrison newspaper, *The Sunday Morning's Herald and Volunteers' Gazette*.<sup>21</sup> Near the end of the encampment of the volunteers at St. Augustine, we find this report from them: "We are going on quietly with our camp duty, without i n t e r r u p t i o n from the Indians."<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime, the Florida delegate had presented the urgent and despairing memorial of the East Florida citizens for aid and protection to Congress and the movement of regular troops and militia into Florida was accelerated.<sup>23</sup> With the arrival

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<sup>20</sup>Cohen, 127.

<sup>21</sup>See for example, Cohen, 127, 131-132; *A. N. G.*, II, 19, pp. 294-295; 24, pp. 378-379; 25, p. 410; VII 13, p. 203; *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII, April, 1930, pp. 200-103.

<sup>22</sup>Cohen, 126-128; a photostat of one issue of this paper, Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 6, 1836, is in the writer's possession.

<sup>23</sup>*A. N. C.*, II, 7, p. 99.

<sup>24</sup>*Am. St. Pap. Mil. Aff.*, VI, 23.

of General Eustis in St. Augustine by the middle of February, the large troop movements into Florida began. The four companies of South Carolina volunteers were mustered out on February 15, with the arrival of the regular South Carolina militia and Major Kirby's command of United States regulars.<sup>24</sup> On February 18 the brief tour of duty of the volunteers ended with their embarkation for Charleston. The value of their aid was recognized before their departure by the St. Augustine city council which adopted resolutions stating that it had been the "peculiar province" of the South Carolina volunteers "to guard and protect the city," an undertaking "that they fully discharged".<sup>25</sup>

Throughout the war the post at St. Augustine was to serve as the base of many military operations in East Florida. These were to consist, however, of only short expeditions either to protect life or property or to search out and punish marauding savages. For example, as early as January 18, 1836, the East Florida militia under General Hernandez and Major Putnam had fought a nearly disastrous skirmish with the Seminoles at Dunlawton plantation, some thirty or forty miles south of St. Augustine, while engaged in protecting the plantation property along the Halifax river.<sup>26</sup> Others of a similar nature had occurred or were prosecuted during the spring of 1836, and intermittently until nearly the end of the war.<sup>27</sup>

With the arrival of Major General Winfield Scott at Picolata on February 22, 1836, the main movements of the war were shifted far southward from

<sup>24</sup> *A. N. C.*, II, 10, p. 151; Cohen, 132-134.

<sup>25</sup> Cohen, 134.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 91-96.

<sup>27</sup> See for example, Cohen, 132; *A. N. C.*, II, 3, p. 124; III, 9, pp. 139-140; VIII, 13, p. 203; 20, p. 315; 22, pp. 351, 381; *Sen. Doc. 507*, 25 Cong. 2d Sess., 3-4, 5-6.

the vicinity of St. Augustine. General Scott immediately devised a plan of campaign to converge on the enemy with three "wings" of the army, left, right and center, and thus crush the savage on the Withlacoochee river. The left wing was to move from the district east of the St. Johns river, under the command of General Eustis.<sup>28</sup> Following the arrival of the United States regulars and the South Carolina militia in St. Augustine in the middle of February, a colorful tented city had sprung up south of St. Francis Barracks, called Camp Eustis. The movement of these troops toward Volusia, on the St. Johns, soon began, however, and on the 19th this expedition had left St. Augustine.<sup>29</sup> By March 21, the left wing was concentrated at Volusia, which was crossed the next day and the march to the Withlacoochee rendezvous launched.<sup>30</sup>

Confronted with a war raging in East and Middle Florida, the War Department meanwhile had initiated a movement to make reparation for its neglect of Fort Marion. In making up the estimate of "funds required for the service of the year 1836 on account of fortification for the defense of the sea-coast of the United States", communicated to the Senate on January 25, an appropriation of \$20,000 to repair Fort St. Mark's (sic) at St. Augustine was asked.<sup>31</sup> The United States Engineer Department, which had so successfully blocked further appropriations for the repairs of Fort Marion on the ground of its military ineffectiveness the previous year, now held an opposite viewpoint concerning the fort. Whereas then the fort exerted only a "very slight

<sup>28</sup> A. N. C., II, 11, p. 186; II, 15, p. 133.

<sup>29</sup> Cohen, 137-138; 160. The expedition consisted of Col. Brisbane's regiment, Capt. Elmore's company, Col. Goodwyn's regiment, and Major Kirby's battalion.

<sup>30</sup> Cohen, 158, 161.

<sup>31</sup> *Am St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 17-18

influence . . . in our system of coast defense", by February 1, 1836, the Chief United States Engineer was pointing out to the Secretary of War that Fort Marion was "essential to the sea-coast defense. . ." <sup>32</sup> The fort had been brought into prominence again only through the opening of the Seminole War, a distinctly land campaign. On February 5, he again addressed the Secretary of War, explaining that the \$20,000 asked for would not complete the work necessary at Fort Marion, and recommended that "should the Ways and Means Committee of the House deem it necessary", the estimate should be raised \$25,000, or a total of \$50,000. He gave as reasons necessitating this marked increase that

This sum will finish repairs at the fort, place the port in good repair, and rebuild the sea wall. The St. Augustine position is considered favorable for our internal defense and communication, and as a point of refuge for steam batteries upon which the security of that part of the coast must depend. <sup>33</sup>

Substantiating this explanation of his revision were the further recommendations to Congress, raising the requested appropriation still another \$5,000. In a statement by the Engineer Department, communicated to the Senate on February 25, under the item of "works proposed. . ." requiring additional amounts for the year 1836, the St. Augustine post is listed as needing first, for repairs, \$50,000, and second, \$450,000, to be expended on "15, 2 gun steamers of the least possible draft of water,

<sup>32</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, V, 387, 461-462 ; VI, 428, General Charles Gratiot, Chief Engineer to Secretary of War Cass, Feb. 1, 1836.

<sup>33</sup> Gen. Charles Gratiot to Sec. of War Cass, Feb. 5, 1836, in *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 428.

(which) are important as auxiliaries of defense".<sup>34</sup> Evidently, if Fort Marion was to have \$50,000 dollars expended on it, the Chief Engineer, who apparently still held a conviction that the fort would be ineffective on account of the shallow bar in the harbor, was determined to make certain of its potential military usefulness. Several weeks later, another report of the Chief Engineer, communicated to the Senate on April 8, reiterated the request of \$50,000 for the fort at St. Augustine.<sup>35</sup>

Congress was already engaged in multifarious debates and considerations on the course of the war in Florida, and apparently paid little attention to this request of the Engineer Department<sup>36</sup> until on May 24, General Gratiot, the Chief Engineer, again advised Secretary Cass that the "whole repairs to Fort Marion" could be accomplished for \$50,000; and on the same day all of Gratiot's correspondence and estimates on Fort Marion subsequent to February 1 were communicated to Congress<sup>37</sup> which soon thereafter appropriated \$50,000 for the repairs.<sup>38</sup> The nautically conscious engineer was disappointed in regard to his steamboat auxiliaries for Fort Marion, however.

Far to the southwest of St. Augustine, meantime, General Scott's three wing plan had failed.. While the tactics of the savage in not offering to attack in force played a great part in the futility of the army's movements on the Withlacoochee, the lack of time, the bad climate, the difficult topography of the country, together with the lack of transportation and supplies, were all accepted as causes oper-

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 114, 117.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 387, 394.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 19, 23, 56, 166.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 428-429.

<sup>38</sup> Report of the Engr. Dept., Nov. 30, 1836, *ibid.* 848, 857, 963. The appropriation was made on July 1.

ating legitimately to prevent success.<sup>39</sup> On April 30, 1836, the main body of the left wing was welcomed back to St. Augustine, which in the meantime had been apprehensive of the results of a possible attack with only one company of regulars in garrison.<sup>40</sup> By May 11 General Scott, weary and discouraged, arrived in St. Augustine to establish temporary headquarters.<sup>41</sup> Many East Florida citizens who nightly feared Indian reprisals, now urged him to remedy the situation in East Florida which they characterized as "defenseless". Scott was in a plight. He attempted to comply with the citizens' pleas, but the ending of the enlistment term of the militia had left him with only a skeleton force.<sup>42</sup> The citizens became more insistently critical of a general whose campaign had just failed. On the other hand, Scott was disgusted with the reluctance of the East Florida inhabitants to enlist in a militia company for their own defense. Sick, discouraged, smarting under the failure of his campaign, angry over the reduction of his forces, and disgruntled over his own impending removal, Scott indiscreetly touched the East Florida inhabitants with a rapier thrust.<sup>43</sup> On May 17 he issued his famous "Order No. 48" which reflected severely on the courage and character of the East Florida citizens. In the turmoil that ensued, Scott was to find relief only by relinquishing his command to General Eustis, *ad interim*, and leaving St. Augustine on May 30.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Sen. Doc.* 224, 24 Cong. 2d, 72-73.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-80; Cohen, 220, 131; *A. N. C.*, II, 19, p. 294. On March 14 there had temporarily been no garrison in St. Augustine. See *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 166-167.

<sup>41</sup> *Sen. Doc.* 224, 24 Cong. 2d, 361; *A. N. C.*, II, 22, p. 346.  
<sup>42</sup> *A. N. C.*, II, 22, pp. 346-349; 23, p. 365. *Sen. Doc.* 224, 24 Cong. 2d, p. 361; Cohen, 231. The term of enlistment was over May 1 and most of the volunteers had left St. Augustine by May 12.

<sup>43</sup> *A. N. C.*, II, 24, pp. 378-379; *Sen. Doc.* 224, 24 Cong. 2d, 361, 363, 366-369, 371-375.

<sup>44</sup> *Sen. Doc.* 224, 24 Cong. 2d., 375.

During the summer of 1836, Richard K. Call, who had assumed command on May 26, prosecuted a futile campaign in central Florida.<sup>45</sup> The forces at St. Augustine also accomplished little of real usefulness during this period, although they spent much time on extensive scouting and scouring parties.<sup>46</sup> The campaign for the remainder of the year also little affected St. Augustine. General Call began his fall campaign late in September. Most of his operations were near the swamps of the Withlacoochee river, but were of little efficacy. He retired to Volusia on the St. Johns in October. Here he was joined by General Thomas Jesup late in November to whom the command was relinquished early in December.<sup>47</sup>

During the summer of 1836, following the appropriation of \$50,000<sup>48</sup> for repairs at Fort Marion, and the military post, a civil agent was sent to St. Augustine to make new arrangements concerning the projected repairs. As there was no officer "disposable" at that time for the work, Lieutenant F. L. Dancy, who had made the Fort Marion surveys subsequent to Lt. Tuttle's removal in 1834, was allowed to resign his commission and assume charge of the work.<sup>49</sup> Most of the summer was consumed in making "preparatory arrangements", and by the end of the fiscal year on September 30, 1836, he had ex-

<sup>45</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 434; *A. N. C.*, II, 26, June 30, 1836, p. 412.

<sup>46</sup> *A. N. C.*, III, 9, Sept. 1, 1836, pp. 139-140.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 13, p. 203; 15, p. 231; 24, p. 382; 25, p. 385; *Am. St. Pap. Mil. Aff.* VI, 807, 997.

<sup>48</sup> The appropriation had been made on July 1; *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 963.

<sup>49</sup> Report of Acting Sec. of War Butler, Dec. 3, 1836, *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 848; Statement of F. L. Dancy in files of Office of U. S. Engrs., Jacksonville. The fort was in November, 1836, in the same condition as in November, 1834.



pended of the \$50,000 only \$11.45.<sup>50</sup> Apparently he intended to be more certain of his plans than had been his predecessor. The work was now under the general superintendence of Lieutenant J.K.F. Mansfield, whose permanent station was at Savannah, Georgia.<sup>51</sup> During the remainder of the year, however, no further money was expended on repairing Fort Marion, but the reconstruction of the seawall was begun instead.<sup>52</sup>

Throughout most of the war the strength of the garrison at the Fort Marion post was subject to great variations.<sup>53</sup> By October 31, 1836, Lieut. Col. Crane was in command.<sup>54</sup> His garrison aggregated 106, and consisted of two companies of artillery. At this post was a military hospital under the direction of four assistant surgeons. Their hands had been full after the spring and summer campaign of 1836. On October 13, there were 117 sick in the post hospital, and 29 in the barracks to be cared for. By October 31, this number had been reduced to 100, and as the year drew to an end, on December 22, only 60 patients remained in the post hospital.<sup>55</sup> During the fourth quarter of 1836 it was officially designated as an arsenal depot, under the direction of Lt. J. F. Kennedy ; and \$878 was allotted for this

<sup>50</sup> Report of Engineer Dept., Nov. 30, 1836, *Am. St. Pap. Mil. Aff.*, VI, 843, 657, 861. Apparently the \$3,355.26 balance existing on Oct. 1, 1834, of the original appropriation had reverted to the treasury in the interim.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 864.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 963, 967-968; VII, 633.

<sup>53</sup> The garrison was considered as "formally withdrawn" from January, 1836. This did not mean, however, that there was to be no garrison at the Fort Marion post, only that it was not permanently located there during the war. See *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong. Ist*, 70-71.

<sup>54</sup> Report of Acting Sec. of War Butler, Dec. 3, 1836, *Ibid.*, VI, 824. We have no record of the unit number of this artillery detachment.

purpose.<sup>56</sup> Thus the first important year of the war for the Fort Marion post ended.

The structural condition of Fort Marion came to the front as the year 1837 opened. The funds appropriated at the instance of the War Department and its engineering division in 1836, ostensibly to make certain repairs at the fort and to the seawall, apparently had not been utilized extensively as yet. An eyewitness to the condition of the fort at that time stated that

The covered way, glacis, raveline, and place of arms are entire, but the water batteries are giving away to the tides, which are rapidly undermining its base, and require immediate repairs<sup>57</sup>. . . . A small part of the fort is still occupied as an arsenal; the balance is used as a jail for criminals.<sup>58</sup>

Such was then the state of the once mighty Spanish fortress, even at the height of the war in which it played its most important part under the American regime.

Throughout the latter part of December, 1836, and during the months of January and February and early days of March, 1837, General Jesup had been conducting a campaign against the Seminoles in the fastnesses along the Ocklawaha and the Withlacoochee rivers.<sup>59</sup> This campaign had been marked by some, though no brilliant, successes. There was no connection between it and the routine of the Fort Marion post. On March 6, 1837, at Fort Dade, a

<sup>55</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 824 ; *A. N. C.*, III, 15, p. 237; 25, p. 399.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 731-733.

<sup>57</sup> Williams, J. L., *The Territory of Florida*. (New York, 1837'). p. 119.

<sup>58</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, 119.

<sup>59</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 587-588.

short distance northeast of the present city of Tampa, General Jesup entered into a convention with the Seminoles "for the suspension of hostilities and the immediate removal of the whole nation west of the Mississippi." <sup>60</sup> The Indians had demanded as a condition that they should be secure in their lives and property. This condition designed to protect their negro slaves, ultimately caused the abrogation of the convention and the renewal of hostilities. The avarice of the white man could not be outweighed by the dangers and suffering of warfare. Throughout the late spring the white inhabitants of Florida protested strenuously against such an agreement, and took every opportunity to thwart its fulfillment. Finally, all of the Indians who had assembled at Tampa Bay under the convention, became so restless under the machinations of certain white and Indian elements, that they fled into the Everglades early in June. General Jesup interpreted this correctly as the failure of his convention, but hostilities were not again commenced until fall. <sup>61</sup>

The resumption of hostilities in the fall of 1837 resulted in the participation of Fort Marion in several major happenings. General Hernandez, commanding the East Florida militia, began the fall campaign in September. <sup>62</sup> Moving a few miles south of St. Augustine, he captured King Philip, the most important of the East Florida chiefs. <sup>63</sup> The negotiations for this old chief's release, and the subsequent results have given us two of the most picturesque events in connection with the fort. Coacoochee, Phil-

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<sup>60</sup> General Jesup to Adj.-Gen. Jones, Mar. 6, 1837; Articles of Capitulation, Mar. 6, 1837 ; in *Ibid.*, 834; 588.

<sup>61</sup> General Jesup to Adj.-Gen. Jones, June 5, 1837. *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 838-839; 588-852.

<sup>62</sup> *Sen. Doc. 507, 25 Cong. 2d, p. 6; Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 852.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 848.

ip's son, soon came into St. Augustine to treat for the release of his father, bearing emblems of peace from Osceola. General Hernandez then allowed Coacoochee to depart on a mission to Osceola and the other friends of Philip for the purpose of making arrangements in regard to a further parley.<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, General Jesup, who had already made his headquarters in St. Augustine once before in 1837, had by October 7 re-established himself there.<sup>65</sup> Worn out by the prolonged war, he apparently had determined on a ruthless expedient to end it. He allowed Osceola and his warriors to assemble some six or seven miles below St. Augustine near Fort Peyton and on October 21, disregarding and violating the Indians' faith in immunity under the flag of truce, directed the seizure of the whole band.<sup>66</sup> Osceola, Coacoochee, and several other chiefs, including 71 warriors, some women and negroes were all incarcerated in Fort Marion on the same day.

The citizens of St. Augustine were uneasy over the presence of so many of the Seminole leaders within the city, even though safely behind the massive walls of the fort. Their apprehensions were amusingly shown soon after the imprisonment of the Indians. An army officer, eyewitness to the scene, related to a friend that

A few nights ago, the Indians had a dance in the fort; the whoops and yells alarmed the city-the Mayor ran to General Jesup and hoped that he would send for more troops, for Osceola would (escape and) take

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<sup>64</sup> There are any number of accounts of the capture of Osceola: Coe, C. H., *Red Patriots* (Cincinnati. 1898) pp. 80-91.; Sprague, J. T. *The . . . Florida War* (New York. 1847) pp. 187-188 ; and Jesup's own account in *Sen. Doc. 507, 25 Cong. 2d*, are typical.

<sup>65</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 840-841, 857.

<sup>66</sup> *Sen. Doc. 507, 25 Cong. 2d*, pp. 3-5, 6; Coe, *op. cit.*, 82-83.

the city before daylight. The Indians are secure and do not dream of escape.<sup>67</sup>

The officer's observation soon proved to be both right and wrong. Coacoochee, who had been used as the innocent agent in the treacherous seizure, was determined to escape and explain the circumstances of his apparent betrayal. He was joined in the prospective venture by the medicine man, Talmus Hadjo, who was confined in the same casemate. Coacoochee related afterwards,<sup>68</sup>

" . . . we had been growing sickly from day to day and we were resolved to make our escape, or die in the attempt. We were in a small room, eighteen or twenty feet square. All the light admitted, was through a hole (embrasure) about eighteen feet from the floor. Through this we must effect our escape, or remain and die with sickness. A sentinel was constantly posted at the door. As we looked at it from our bed, we thought it small, but believed that, could we get our heads through, we should have no further or serious difficulty. To reach the hole was the first object. In order to effect this, we from time to time cut up the forage-bags allowed us to sleep on, and made them into ropes. The hole I could not reach when upon the shoulder of my companion, but while standing upon his shoulder, I

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<sup>67</sup> Dr. Forry to Lt. Phelps, Oct. 31, 1837, in *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VII, July, 1928, p. 95.

<sup>68</sup> Though Sprague relates this account as Coacoochee's verbatim story, it should be accepted with caution; certainly as regards the vocabulary and Phraseology employed. The facts are apparently authentic, but certainly the words used are rather unusual for even such an unusual personage as Coacoochee. Apparently Sprague has adapted the account in his own language. See Sprague, op. cit., pp. 325-327.

worked a knife into a crevice of the stonework, as far up as I could reach, and upon this I raised myself to the aperture, when I found, that with some reduction of person, I could get through. In order to reduce ourselves as much as possible, we took medicine five days. Under the pretext of being very sick, we were permitted to obtain the roots we required. For some weeks we watched the moon, in order that the night of our attempt it should be as dark as possible. At the proper time we commenced the medicine, calculating upon the entire disappearance of the moon. The keeper of this prison, on the night determined upon to make the effort, annoyed us by frequently coming into the room and talking and singing. At first we thought of tying him and putting his head in a bag ; so that, should he call for assistance, he could not be heard. We, first, however, tried the experiment of pretending to be asleep, and when he returned to pay no regard to him. This accomplished our object. He came in, and went immediately out; and we could hear him snore in the immediate vicinity of the door. I then took the rope, which we had secreted under our bed, and mounting upon the shoulder of my comrade, raised myself upon the knife worked into the crevices of the stone, and succeeded in reaching the embrasure. Here I made fast the rope, that my friend might follow me. I then passed through the hole a sufficient length of it to reach the ground upon the outside (about fifty feet) in the ditch. I had calculated the distance when going for roots. With much difficulty

I succeeded in getting my head through ; for the sharp stones took the skin off my breast and back. Putting my head through first, I was obliged to go down headforemost, until my feet were through, fearing every moment the rope would break. At last, safely on the ground, I awaited with anxiety the arrival of my comrade. I had passed another rope through the hole, which, in the event of discovery, Talmus Hadjo was to pull, as a signal to me upon the outside, that he was discovered, and could not come. As soon as I struck the ground, I took hold of the signal, for intelligence from my friend. The night was very dark. Two men passed near me, talking earnestly, and I could see them distinctly. Soon I heard the struggle of my companion far above me. He had succeeded in getting his head through, but his body would come no farther. In the lowest tone of voice, I urged him to throw out his breath, and then try; soon after, he came tumbling down the whole distance. For a few moments I thought him dead. I dragged him to some water close by, which restored him; but his leg was so lame, he was unable to walk. I took him upon my shoulder to a scrub near the town. Daylight was just breaking; it was evident we must move rapidly. I caught a mule in the adjoining field, and making a bridle out of my sash, mounted my companion and started for the St. John's river. The mule we used one day, but fearing the whites would track us, we felt more secure on foot, in the hammock, though moving very slow. Thus we continued our journey

five days, subsisting upon roots and berries, when I joined my band, then assembled on the head waters of the Tomaka river, near the Atlantic coast. I gave my warriors the history of my capture and escape, and assured them that they should be satisfied that my capture was no trick of my own, and that I would not deceive them."

The escape was successfully carried out in the latter part of November, 1837.<sup>69</sup> Osceola had refused to join Coacoochee and Talmus Hadjo, and when questioned about this by one of the men who guarded his casemate, the chief proudly replied. "I have done nothing to be ashamed of; it is for those to feel shame who entrapped me".<sup>70</sup>

In the meantime, the arrival of a Cherokee Indian peace delegation brought other picturesque figures within the old fort's walls. John Ross, chief of that nation, had been approached by the Indian commissioner in Washington, as to the possibility of sending a mission to the Seminoles in an attempt to persuade the latter to cease hostilities and to emigrate.<sup>71</sup> Ross agreed to the plan and five principal Cherokee chiefs, together with a United States Army officer, arrived in St. Augustine on November 6, 1837.<sup>72</sup> On the 10th, the delegation accompanied by the commander of the fort visited the Seminole prisoners confined there. A splendid barbaric parley scene then took place in the courtyard

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp. 188-191; cf. Motte, J. R., *Life in Camp and Field* ..... Charleston, S. C., (mss), pp. 221-222; Giddings, J. R., *The Exiles of Florida* . . . (Columbus, Ohio, 1858) p. 176, says the escape occurred early in December, which may have been possible.

<sup>70</sup> Coe, *op. cit.*, 91.

<sup>71</sup> McKenney, T. L. *Memoirs, Official and Personal* . . . (New York. 1846) 269; Coe, 93.

<sup>72</sup> Foreman, Grant. *Indian Removal*. (Norman, Okla. 1932) 352-353.



of the fort. The Seminole chiefs and warriors, in full costume, were formally introduced to the visiting delegation, which was likewise clothed in full regalia. The Indians seated themselves facing each other on benches arranged in the courtyard. In the background the uniformed army officers were seated. This parley was merely a preliminary, however, to the real negotiations with the hostile chiefs still in the fastnesses of the Florida swamps. Soon the exchange of greetings at the fort was over, but the Cherokee delegation remained in St. Augustine until November 28, when it departed for the south to hold negotiations with Micanopy and other chiefs.<sup>73</sup>

Since the early part of the year, repairs had been continued on the seawall, but no work had been done on the fort structure itself. On November 30, the Engineer Department reported that throughout the year "Operations have been confined to the repair of the sea-wall."<sup>74</sup>

In the last quarter of 1836 and the first three quarters of 1837, \$37,636.47, had been expended upon the seawall. But no money had been spent to remedy the continuing deterioration within the main fort structure. This condition had been allowed to prevail for several years past and was to continue for several years to come.<sup>75</sup> The annual report of the Secretary of War even showed that Fort Marion was one of "the prominent points along the sea frontier which will require protection, and which no plans or projects have yet been made by the board of engineers."" It is evident, from the usages

<sup>73</sup> Foreman, *op cit.*, 353.

<sup>74</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 630, 640, 656.

<sup>75</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 848; *Sen. Doc. 1*, 26 Cong. 1st, 167. St. Augustine News, June 4, 1842.

<sup>76</sup> Report of Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett, December 2, 1837, *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 581-582.

to which the fort was put that the Department had determined that its day of military effectiveness was past and evidently acted upon the premise that the seawall, protecting life and property, was the more urgent need.

The official arsenal designation of Fort Marion was made in January, 1837, with Lt. Col. Crane listed as the permanent post commander in charge.<sup>77</sup>

When the Cherokee delegation made no progress toward a cessation of hostilities and emigration, General Jesup invoked his usual expedient of seizing the chiefs and their peoples, seventy-two in all and ordered them immediately to Fort Marion.<sup>78</sup> He excused this further violation of truce immunity by stating that

I authorized no assurances to be given to the Indians that they were to come to my camp (near Ft. Mellon) and be permitted to return. . . If the Cherokees promised more, it was on their own responsibility and without my authority.

It was determined to move the Indian prisoners out of the war area and away from the temptation and possibility of escape. Near the end of December, 1837, the prisoners, who now numbered approximately 116 chiefs and warriors, and 82 women and children, were embarked for Fort Moultrie at Charleston, South Carolina. The entire party, including such prominent chiefs and leaders as Micanopy, head Seminole chief, King Philip, Cloud, Osceola, etc., were transported docilely enough on the United States Steamer *Poinsett*.<sup>79</sup> Some were later persuaded to emigrate to the west; but the great

<sup>77</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, 100.

<sup>78</sup> *Sen. Doc. 507, 25 Cong. 2nd, 7-8.*

<sup>79</sup> *Coe, op. cit.*, 102-103.

and courageous Osceola died there on January 30,<sup>80</sup> a martyr to the cause of his adopted people.

The year 1837 ended with the theater of war distinctly removed from St. Augustine. Having heard from General Jesup on December 18 that hopes for bringing the war to a close through the Cherokee delegation were futile, Col. Zachary Taylor began his campaign on the Kissimmee river.<sup>81</sup> On Christmas Day, after hours of fighting in the thickest of swamps he decisively defeated the Indians, and was rewarded with a brigadier generalship and eventually the Florida command.<sup>82</sup>

During the year 1838 the war was largely desultory, little affecting St. Augustine or the Fort Marion post. Colonel Taylor's victory at the Battle of Okeechobee apparently paralyzed any further concerted hostile movement for most of the ensuing year. On January 15, General Jesup accepted the resignation of General Joseph Hernandez as commander of the East Florida militia, at the latter's request, commending him on his "valuable" services.<sup>83</sup> On May 15, General Jesup was finally relieved of the Florida command by General Taylor<sup>84</sup> and throughout the remainder of the year the latter attempted with no great success to end the intermittent raids of small groups of Indians by dividing the whole country into small patrol districts.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Coe, 109-110 ; Edwards, B. B. (Ed.) *The Year Book*. (Philadelphia. 1838) p. 479; Catlin, G. *Letters and Notes on the . . . North American Indians*. (London. 1842) I. 219-222.

<sup>81</sup> Sprague, 203.

<sup>82</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VII, 986-992, the official account by Col. Taylor of the Battle of Okeechobee. The opening of the year 1838 ends the use of the Military Affairs series, and the remainder of this paper will be greatly handicapped in having to rely on scattered documents.

<sup>83</sup> Fry, J. R. and Conrad, R. T. *A Life of General Zachary Taylor . . .* (Philadelphia. 1847) p. 58.

<sup>84</sup> Sprague, 220-221.

<sup>85</sup> *Sen. Doc.* 507, 25 Cong. 2d 10-11; Sprague, 224.

Near the end of September a raiding party approached within a short distance of St. Augustine, capturing a number of horses.<sup>86</sup> Throughout the fall the forces at the Fort Marion post were occupied mainly on scouting expeditions, which, however, had little results. Near the end of November, 1838, Major Kirby, of the Second United States Dragoons, was assigned to the command of the East Florida district for the purpose of prosecuting the search and for punitive expeditions, a post he faithfully administered.<sup>87</sup> All of the small posts in the East Florida district were reoccupied, such as Picolata, Forts Hanson and Peyton, and New Smyrna, for all of which the Fort Marion post acted as a depot of supplies. In May, 1838, the general military hospital at the Fort Marion post was removed to Picolata, some 46 patients being shifted in the transfer.<sup>88</sup>

By November 24, 1838, with Captain J. W. Washington, Co. B Fourth Artillery arrived in St. Augustine to act as the garrison<sup>89</sup> relieving Co. E. Fourth Artillery, under Lieutenant Bradford.<sup>90</sup> For some time past the garrison had been quartered at the St. Francis Barracks, and here the new one was located. Fort Marion in the meantime had continued to serve as an arsenal. Throughout the rest of the winter of 1838-39, the St. Augustine area had little contact with the main war movement, but the patrolling expeditions were continued in East Florida for

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<sup>86</sup> Sprague, 227-228.

<sup>87</sup> *A. N. C.*, VII, 20, p. 315; 22, p. 351; 24, p. 381; VIII, 1, p. 11.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* IX, 19, p. 299.

<sup>89</sup> Letter, Captain H. O. Swindler, Hist. Sect., Army War College to Chief, Militia Bureau, Feb. 26, 1925, "11th Indorsement," sent pursuant to requests of Adj.-Gen. J. C. R. Foster of Florida, On Oct. 24, 1924 and Feb. 2, 1925, in regard to the history of St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine, Florida. (Copy in files of office of the Adj.-General of Florida, St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine, Florida).

<sup>90</sup> *A. N. C.*, VII, 24, p. 381.

several months, operating in the main out of St. Augustine.<sup>91</sup>

The work of F. L. Dancy, who had been appointed civilian agent in charge of the repairs to Fort Marion and the St. Augustine seawall in 1836, became the subject of a War Department investigation in 1839<sup>92</sup> and on January 12, Lieutenant H. W. Benham, of the United States Engineer Corps, arrived in St. Augustine to displace him.<sup>93</sup>

On March 7, 1839, Co. A, Fourth Artillery, which had been acting as the regular garrison at the Fort Marion post, since the previous November, was moved to Picolata.<sup>94</sup> On May 20, General Macomb, who had been sent to Florida to negotiate peace, succeeded in securing the accession of some of the Seminoles to a cessation of hostilities, the temporary retirement of the Seminoles to a restricted district in south Florida below the Pease creek or river, and a willingness to accede to emigration later.<sup>95</sup> The inhabitants were incensed that the treaty did not call for the immediate emigration of the Indians.<sup>96</sup>

Hardly two months were to elapse before the horrible massacre of Col. Harvey's detachment on the Caloosahatchie river in July, and soon hostilities were renewed in sporadic raids throughout the territory.<sup>97</sup> The people became apprehensive over the defenseless condition of East Florida and protested to Col. Gates, who was then commanding east of

<sup>91</sup> A. N. C., 2, p. 27 ; 4, p. 58 ; 10, p. 155.

<sup>92</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, VI, p. 848; *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong 1st*,

167.  
<sup>93</sup> A. N. C., VIII, 5, p. 76; *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong., 1st*, 167.

<sup>94</sup> A. N. C., VIII, 12, p. 189. There is no evidence to show what unit immediately relieved this company.

<sup>95</sup> Report of Gen. Alexander Macomb, commanding, Nov. 27, 1839, in *Sen. Doc. 1, 26 Cong. 1st*. 44.

<sup>96</sup> A. N. C., IX, 1, p. 9; 2, pp. 25-26.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, p. 121.

the St. Johns river and he immediately mustered the necessary militia guard.<sup>98</sup>

An unusual event took place at Fort Marion about the middle of September, 1839. Lt. W. K. Hanson, of the Seventh Infantry stationed at Fort Mellon some ninety miles southwest from St. Augustine, had made a swift reprisal for the recent brutal attack on Col. Harney's detachment by seizing a number of Indians peacefully encamped near the fort. When these prisoners were brought through St. Augustine Lt. Hanson was hailed as a hero and presented with a sword for his feat.<sup>99</sup> Much to the chagrin of the St. Augustine citizens, General Taylor, commanding in Florida, decided to exchange these captives for some of the murderous attackers of the Harney detachment, and fifty-one Indian men, women and children were landed at Fort Marion, having been brought back from Charleston..<sup>100</sup>

In the early fall of 1839 an epidemic of yellow fever broke out in St. Augustine attacking both town and military post, and lasted until the middle of November.<sup>101</sup> This danger was hardly past when another one threatened. Sporadic Indian raids in the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine began again and in the last week in November fresh Indian signs had hardly been discovered a short distance to the south of the city, before a boldly successful attack on the public stage running between St. Augustine and Picolata took place.<sup>102</sup> The stage, containing Captain Searle, then quartermaster at the Fort Marion post, had traveled only a short distance from Picolata when the Indians attacked it. Captain Searle was mortally wounded and another white

<sup>98</sup> A. N. C., IX, 9, pp. 139-141; 11, p. 173.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, p., 141.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>102</sup> A. N. C., IX, 21, p. 332.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 23, p. 365.

man, escorting the stage, was instantly killed. Early in December, the negro mail carrier between Picolata and St. Augustine was captured by the Indians but succeeded in escaping. After both episodes, punitive scouting parties were sent out from St. Augustine to no avail.<sup>103</sup>

The annual report of the Secretary of War in November, 1839, listed no regular garrison for the Fort Marion military post. The statement was made, however, that while this omission had been made under the circumstance of the varying war conditions, Fort Marion remained a permanent military post nevertheless.<sup>104</sup> Another source has shown us, however, that in December a garrison of thirteen men, was then at the Fort Marion post<sup>105</sup> under Lt. H. W. Wharton.

In the annual report of the Engineer Department, 1839, the following statement was made in regard to the repairs at St. Augustine:

*Repairs of Fort Marion, and the sea-wall at St. Augustine, Florida.* An officer of engineers took charge of the works at St. Augustine in January last, and has personally directed operations there since. The funds have been applied exclusively as heretofore, to the continuation of the sea-wall for the protection of the city. . .

A minute and accurate survey of Fort Marion and its environs is now in progress : When completed the department will be enabled to offer a plan of such repairs as may be found to be necessary, together with an

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 pp. 395-397, 409.

<sup>104</sup> Report of Sec. of War Poinsett, Nov. 30, 1839.

<sup>105</sup> Captain Swindler, op. cit. It should be noticed that the military post in St. Augustine apparently was commonly listed in the Post commandant's returns as "Fort St. Augustine" post. The War Department returns always listed the post as "Fort Marion."

estimate of the total cost of the public works at this place.

The estimate submitted for the next year contemplates the entire completion of the sea-wall.<sup>106</sup>

The slowly moving machinery of government bureaucracy had turned again to the problem of further repairs to the Fort Marion structure, and even the tourists were regretting the relegation of the proud old fortress to the status of a prison.<sup>107</sup>

The inhabitants of Florida had not become reconciled to the apparent inability of the army to end the war. In December, 1839, and in February, 1840, Governor Reid of Florida sent special messages to the Florida Legislative Council asking that body to urge on Congress the adoption of the severest measures to that end.<sup>108</sup> St. Augustine again had become apprehensive of raids on the city, and by the middle of January, 1840, a body of mounted "minute men" was organized for its protection.<sup>109</sup>

Throughout the spring of 1840 a number of raids occurred within the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine, several resulting in tragic deaths. On February 13, the mail stage to Jacksonville was held up seven miles north of St. Augustine and the two carriers killed. About the same time and distance to the west of St. Augustine, a Mr. Weadman was also brutally murdered.<sup>110</sup> Guards were provided for the mail by early March.<sup>111</sup> Near the end of April, a sentry stationed a few miles south of St. Au-

<sup>106</sup> Report of the Engineers Dept., Nov. 29, 1839, in *Sen. Doc.* 1, 26 Cong., 1st. 167.

<sup>107</sup> (Anonymous) *A Winter in the West Indies and Florida*. (New York, 1839) 143.

<sup>108</sup> Sprague, 239-240, A. N. C., X, 12, pp. 185-186.

<sup>109</sup> A. N. C., X 5, p. 75.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, pp. 142-143.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, p. 187.



gustine near Fort Hanson was fired on by Indians who escaped.<sup>112</sup> Such were the conditions when General Taylor relinquished his command to General Armistead on May 1, 1840, who established his headquarters at St. Augustine temporarily.<sup>113</sup> General Armistead's plan of operations called for the concentration of all available troops around Fort King, from whence he planned to crush the marauding bands whose headquarters were nearby.<sup>114</sup> He had hardly assumed command before one of the most spectacular raids occurring near St. Augustine during the war took place. On the morning of May 23 a company of actors under military escort was enroute to St. Augustine on the Picolata road. When they had nearly reached Fort Weadman, an outpost some seven or eight miles west of the town, Indians said to have been led by Coacoochee suddenly fired on them. Four of the party were killed outright or soon died. The Indians plundered the theatrical baggage, subsequently appearing garbed in the most fantastic regalias. The people in St. Augustine bitterly censured General Armistead for having left only a skeleton force for their protection.<sup>115</sup>

The repairs on the seawall, still in charge of Lt. Benham, had continued despite the raids, and there were numerous troop movements through St. Augustine during 1840.<sup>116</sup> Late in October Indians attacked a plantation within several miles of the town, and early in November, several soldiers were murdered near the city. About the same time Fort Hanson, not far south, though abandoned, was burned

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, p. 279.

<sup>113</sup> Sprague, 243.

<sup>114</sup> *A. N. C.*, X, 21, p. 348.

<sup>115</sup> "Indian Murders," *Florida Herald*, (St. Augustine, Florida) May 29, 1840, cited in *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII; 4, April, 1930, pp. 200-203; Sprague, 258-259.

<sup>116</sup> *A. N. C.*, XI, 18, pp. 284-285.

by the Indians, and- two soldiers were killed near Fort Searle, some fifteen miles west of St. Augustine. Scouting punitive expeditions following the raids met with little success.<sup>117</sup> The year was to close with troops still moving in and out of the city, but with the war no nearer its end.<sup>118</sup>

Throughout the spring of 1841, General Armistead's policies became so ineffective that he was finally relieved on May 31 by Col. W. J. Worth,<sup>119</sup> who began a vigorous campaign to seize all of the recalcitrants remaining in the war area; which by this time had long since moved far to the southwest.<sup>120</sup> His policy proved so successful that by November the prospect of the war being brought to an early close was considered to be "very flattering," in St. Augustine.<sup>121</sup> Soon the last raid in the vicinity occurred, when a group of Seminoles attacked the settlement of Mandarin, some twenty miles northwest of the town on December 21, 1841.<sup>122</sup>

As the year 1841 ended Lieutenant Benham was still at work on the seawall.<sup>123</sup>

With the opening of 1842 the end of the war was near. For a year or more there had been no concerted hostile movements among the Seminoles, many of whom had now been deported to the west or killed. Now there were only a few widely separated bands still reluctant to surrender. However, in January and February the last Indians remaining in East Florida were routed.<sup>124</sup> On August 14, 1842, Col. Worth proclaimed the final cessation of

<sup>117</sup> A. N. C., XI, 20, pp. 313-314.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 26, p. 410.

<sup>119</sup> Sprague, 265, 267.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

<sup>121</sup> A. N. C., XII, 47, p. 372.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 52, p. 411; Sprague, 400-401.

<sup>123</sup> A. N. C., XII, 44, p. 348.

<sup>124</sup> Sprague, 428-430; A. N. C., XIII, 9, p. 140.

general hostilities of the Second Seminole War.<sup>125</sup> During the fall, one tribal chieftain kept up an intermittent defiance, but by January 10, 1843, he had surrendered and the greatest of the American Indian wars was finally terminated.<sup>126</sup>

On February 5, 1842, the St. Augustine News, in an article titled "Our Ancient City and Sea Wall," admitted that while the government had been magnanimous enough finally to repair the mis-deeds of its subordinates, the task had not been completed as the background in the rear of the wall had not been filled in.<sup>127</sup> Apparently the tide flowed through the wall, but did not run out so easily, leaving a pool inside at every flood tide.

Fort Marion had not fared so well as the seawall. A perfunctory recognition of its existence was made on February 9, 1842, when a part of the military reservation at Fort Marion was made by Presidential order.<sup>128</sup> In taking our last glance at the fort in the early summer of 1842 we find it in a typical condition. The St. Augustine News gives us our last desolate impression.<sup>129</sup> The exterior works of the fort were represented as being in a very ruined state. One of the ascents to the top had sunk and the other was ready to fall to the ground, both being in need of speedy repairs; and the terreplein had given way in many points owing to the rottenness of the supporting beams.

So we leave the old fort in this wretched state in which it is to remain for many years.

<sup>125</sup> Order No. 28, Cedar Key, Florida, August 14, 1842, Col. W. J. Worth, in Sprague, 486.

<sup>126</sup> Croffut, W. A. (Ed.) *Fifty Years in Camp and Field* (New York, 1909), 168, 172-173.

<sup>127</sup> News, February 5, 1842.

<sup>128</sup> Sen. Doc. 50, 41 Cong., 2d, p. 3. The rest of the present reservation was formally set aside by the President through the Sec. of War, on Mar. 23, 1849. See War Dept. Doc. No. 357 (1910), p. 50. Also further confirmed on Jan. 28, 1852.

<sup>129</sup> June 4, 1842.

## A FOOTNOTE TO CAPTAIN YOUNG'S ITINERARIES

### *Four Letters of Jeremy Robinson With a Memorandum*

By JOSEPH B. LOCKEY

Jeremy Robinson, who left an account of the journey which he made from Tallahassee to Pensacola in 1832, had a brief and melancholy connection with the history of Florida. He had been appointed by the Government at Washington as special messenger to convey to the American Consul at Havana an order from the Spanish authorities for the delivery of such part of the archives of the Floridas as still remained in the hands of the Spanish in that city. He was to go by way of Tallahassee to confer with General Call and then proceed to Pensacola where he was to make further inquiries regarding the papers in question. Upon his arrival in Havana, he was to communicate all the information he had obtained to the Consul, William Shaler, and as soon as the business was dispatched he was to return to Washington with such documents as could be obtained.<sup>1</sup> But delays interposed. Meanwhile Shaler died,<sup>2</sup> and some time afterward Robinson himself succumbed.<sup>3</sup> The negotiations were continued by Shaler's successor, N. P. Trist, who was able in 1835

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**NOTE-** *A Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida With Itineraries of General Jackson's Army*, by Capt. Hugh Young of that army, appeared in the last three issues of the *Quarterly*. Another series on the same general subject of roads and travel in Florida in the early nineteenth century will be begun in the October number next: papers relating to the survey and construction of the Pensacola-St. Augustine highway, arranged and with an introduction by Mark F. Boyd to whom we are indebted for the Young memoir.-Ed.

<sup>1</sup> Livingston to Robinson, May 7, 1832, State Department, Special Missions, I.

<sup>2</sup> *The Pacific Historical Review*, II, 439n.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Moore, *A Digest of International Law*, I, 445.

to transfer to Washington, as the dearly bought result of all these labors, only forty-five documents, more than half of which, it appears, cannot now be found in the archives of the State Department where they were deposited.<sup>4</sup>

The present purpose is not however to discuss the missing papers nor Robinson's part in the long drawn out efforts to recover them. It is rather to call attention to the interesting letters he wrote while on his way to Havana. One might wish that these letters had been richer in detail; yet brief as they are they give valuable information, especially in regard to travel in those early days. Robinson, it appears, went from Washington to Norfolk by boat. He then proceeded overland to Fayetteville, North Carolina, "with as much speed as the mail and other conveyances" would permit. What his route was from this point to Tallahassee, he does not state; but whatever the route, the journey was fatiguing and "productive of some illness", which the traveler hoped would not prove "ultimately injurious". On inquiry at Tallahassee Robinson learned that no conveyance by water could be obtained at St. Marks or other near-by points. Accordingly he proceeded to Marianna by the weekly stage. The rest of the journey he seemed to dread, for the

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<sup>4</sup> L. M. Perez, *Guide to Materials for American History in Cuban Archives*, Appendix B. The correspondence relating to the delivery of the Floridas sent to the Congress by the President with his message of December 5, 1821, (*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 740-808), contain many references to the Florida archives. Of the documents delivered at the time of the transfer, some 65,000 in all, the major portion relate to East Florida. They are now in the Library of Congress. Robinson's efforts were directed mainly toward the recovery of certain papers belonging to the archives of West Florida. Some of these documents seem to have been lost in transit from Pensacola to Havana.

(The colonial archives of the Spanish Floridas which were and were not delivered to the United States authorities have been the subject of numerous queries. It is hoped that Dr. Lockey will give us a paper on them soon.-Ed.)

route was "lonely" and "without regular roads, habitations, or conveyances". Yet, he declared, he would undertake it with "cheerful allacrity". How he was diverted from the regular road he tells, apparently with some satisfaction, in his letter from Holmes Valley. There is nothing in the letter to indicate the exact point of embarkation on Holmes Creek,<sup>5</sup> but it must have been about where the town of Vernon is now located. When Robinson at last reached Pensacola, he had been six weeks on the road—eighteen days from Washington to Tallahassee, and twenty-four from Tallahassee to Pensacola.

The publication of these letters, it is to be hoped, will stimulate the search for like material relating to the early years of the territorial history of the state. Many precious documents have no doubt been lost beyond recall. Yet there still must exist letters, diaries, and other documents, which, together with such official records as survive, will enable the historian to paint the scene as it was immediately following the transfer of the territory to the United States. Not a little of this material is safely held in public archives, and in great private collections. The fugitive and scattered papers that may have escaped the ravages of time are, on the other hand, in danger of ultimate destruction. To the recovery and preservation of this material, attention should be directed first of all.

The letters of Jeremy Robinson will serve not only to illustrate the sort of material known to exist, but to suggest the kind of documents that may exist in

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<sup>5</sup> John Lee Williams, in his *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), p. 129, says: "This creek has a channel deeper than the river, and the enterprise of Messrs. Shackleford and Merlet has rendered it navigable, as far as Hard Labor Creek, by clearing out the timber, which had before that time obstructed the Channel. They have erected warehouses about forty miles from its mouth, to receive the produce of the Chipola planters."

hidden places in or out of the state. Robinson himself may have written-for he was much given to writing-other letters, perhaps to his friends, during his brief sojourn in Florida. If so, it is possible that those letters may be found in the hands of the descendants of the original recipients. Other travelers doubtless recorded their impressions in letters or diaries which by some good fortune may have survived. Moreover many of the early settlers must have written back to their relatives and friends in Virginia, the Carolinas, or elsewhere, describing the strange scenes and conditions of life in their new surroundings. How much of such material may be roeovered can only be determined after long and devoted search.

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JEREMY ROBINSON TO EDWARD LIVINGSTON <sup>6</sup>

[1]

Fayetteville May 18th, 1832.-(N. C.)

The Honourable Edward Livingston

Secretary of State

Sir :

In conformity with your instructions I have advanced with the utmost expedition to this place which I reached late last night, and shall leave at an early hour this morning, proceeding hence towards Florida (Tallahassee) with as much speed as the mail and other conveyances will permit.

On my passage from Washington to Norfolk a communication was handed to me purporting to be from the department of State, containing a transcript extract of an order from the Secretary of the Navy to Commodore Jesse Elliot, directing him to furnish a passage in any vessel of war on the West

<sup>6</sup> These letters are found in the State Department, Florida Archives, Envelope 6.

India station under his command which can be spared from other service, to a bearer of despatches from the Government of the United States to the Havanah, indicating me as the person charged with them.

It has occurred to my mind on subsequent reflection, that as the order referred to is, or appears to have been, addressed to the Commander of the United States squadron in the West Indies rather than to the Naval commander at Pensacola, I use this hurried occasion to acknowledge the note from the Department of State, in order that any inadvertency or discrepancy, may be seasonably known to you, and if necessary so modified as to embrace a certainty of my passage to the Havannah from Florida, and from Cuba with the missing archives, should they be attainable, to the United States in any vessel of war there at the time bound home, with a view solely [sic] to their safety.

With great respect  
Your obedient servant.  
J. Robinson.

[2]

Tallahassee June 2nd, 1832.

To

The Honourable Edward Livingston  
Secretary of State &c, &c, &c,  
City of Washington D. C.

Sir :

I beg leave to inform you that having left Washington the 11th ultimo in the evening, I arrived at this place the 28th near night, when, on enquiry, I learnt that General Call was absent at Monticello in Jefferson county attending one of the courts-distant between thirty and forty miles ; which circumstance induced me to procure a conveyance to



that place: the evening of the 29th I delivered the despatch into his hands with which you entrusted me; and on his suggestion came back to Tallahassee the 30th ultimo.-

General Call assured me in Monticello that he would prepare the information sought for and required by the Government immediately after his return home to his residence near the City, which he stated he should do on Friday the 1st inst; but he did not reach here until today at an advanced hour, when he called on me and reiterated his purpose of having the papers and indications in reference to the withheld, detained, or missing Spanish Archives of the Floridas <sup>7</sup> ready for me by tuesday morning the 5th instant, saying that he should see me in the interim, and again at Mariana, a town or village on the road hence to Pensacola, by which route he advised me to travel.

From due investigation it is evident that no conveyance by water can be obtained either from St. Marks, or Magnolia to Pensacola, nor with certainty from any near points, and equally manifest that the journey the whole way by land is, or seems to be, the only alternative left to my choice.-a route of near three hundred miles where no stage travels, lonely, at this season hot, and always expensive-great part of the journey is without regular roads, habitations or conveyances ; yet, I undertake its performance with cheerful allacrity in the hope of being instrumental in promoting an accomplishment of the obejects of the Government, so far so far as relates to me; and of affording satisfaction to the President and yourself.

No conveyance has left Tallahassee going in the direction of Pensacola since the delivery of your

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<sup>7</sup> General Call himself had been sent, to Havana in 1829 on a like mission. (*Fla. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 12).

letter to General Call, - nor will one until the 5th by which I shall proceed.-

I have rather overfatigued myself in exertions to reach this with all possible promptitude, in a journey of 18 days, over a distance of about a thousand miles, productive of some illness, and present uncomfortable sensations, but which I trust will not prove ultimately injurious.

With great respect I have the honour to be  
Sir, Your Most Obdt humble servant  
J. Robinson

Tallahassee June 5th 1832.

P. S.

Sir

In consequence of a slight indisposition General Call did not furnish me with the information sought for until yesterday the 4th-contained in a letter present yesterday by his agent in this place, having himself suddenly left the evening of the 3rd for the county of Jackson, from. whence he directed Mr. Walker, his agent, to say that he should proceed to Mariana, where he will meet me, and make some further communications, about the 9th current proximo etc-With the information acquired I shall leave here in the weekly stage for Mariana at 6 o'clock this morning in expectation of joining General Call at that place.

With great respect  
Your Obdt servt  
J. R.

Quincy June 5th 1832-4 o'clock P.M.

2nd PS.

Sir :

I have this moment been told that at Mount Vernon, a place between this and Mariana, there may be a chance of procuring a passage from the former

place to Apalachicola Bay, where a vessel is expected from New Orleans about the 10 inst, which it is understood will touch for the purpose of landing a passenger at Pensacola.

Should this information prove correct, I shall be governed by circumstances at Mount Vernon as to the eligibility of embracing it provided however it should not preclude me from again meeting with General Call, no [r] prevent me from receiving such further information as General Call may have to impart.

Very respectfully  
Your Most Obdt servt.  
J. Robinson

[3]

Holmes Valley, W. Florida, June 16th, 1832.  
The Hone. Edward Livingston  
Secretary of State of the United States.  
City of Washington.

Sir :

Agreeably to my letter from Tallahassee and Quincy, I reached Marianna for the purpose of meeting with General Call, the evening of the 6th instant : And on the return of Genl. Call the 7th, who had been absent at Webbville, he entered on the business which occasioned my visit ; but which, owing to his previous engagements, which obliged him a part of the time to be again absent in the vicinity, was not concluded until the 10th, when I continued my journey towards Pensacola, through this valley, by the route of Achatto, or Holmes creek, Choctawhatchie river, and Santa Rosa Bay and Sound, in a small river, or creek boat, no other conveyance presenting comparitively so certain and eligible.-

The Stages run no further than Marianna - the mail thence is carried on horseback once a week, with

difficulty and incertitude to Pensacola, in consequence of freshets, which have carried away the bridges, rendering the road impassable for carriages; and horses could not be procured except by purchase, or hire at a rate equivalent to purchase.\*

I am now waiting for the boat, which. is hourly expected here at a distance of about two hundred miles (by water) from Pensacola.

The delays which have occurred, and. are a source of regret to me, are unavoidable, notwithstanding my utmost efforts, as General Call can. testify.

The inland navigation is both intricate and slow yet I hope to be in Pensacola in about eight days from the time of gaining the boat, where some further enquiries may be requisite :-those completed, and a conveyance offering, I shall proceed, without loss of time, to the ultimate destination designated, in accordance with your instructions.

With great respect,

Your most obdt. hble. servant.

J. Robinson

\*Greater part of the road is represented as running through an almost uninhabited swampy country . . . in some places without a house for sixty miles. . . .

[4]

The Honourable Edward Livingston  
Secretary of State  
City of Washington

Pensacola July 5th, 1832.

Sir :

In consequence of the boat in which I was a passenger from Holmes Valley having been wrecked on the Island of Santa Rosa in a gale of wind the 24th I did not reach this place until the 26th ultimo.

In conformity with the suggestions of General Call, I have examined the records of the archives,

and as many of the Archives themselves appertaining to the Floridas deposited here, as the time would permit, besides having held such guarded conversation with several persons in consonance with his views concerning them, as were supposed to possess information illustrative of the position and character of such as he deemed most important, or are missing.

The result has been merely to procure partial and uncertain indications of the departments of the Government of Cuba where they ought to be found with some of the names of the former colonial officers of Spain in Florida and that Island, as well as of their heirs and relatives at Havanah, who may possibly hold some of the documents liable to reclamation, or are perhaps able to impart information in relation to their existence, and the places of their present deposition.

The United States Schooner Shark, Lieutenant Boerum commander, arrived here the 27th ultimo, and will sail to day for Havanah, in which vessel I shall embark for that destination.

On my safe arrival at Havanah, the information desired from General Call, with that obtained here, shall be communicated to Mr. Shaler, or his official substitute, where I shall be governed by your instructions, and his negotiations, as to the time I may remain there and the period of my embarkation embarkation for the United States.

Lieutenant Boerum states, that he recently conveyed from Tampico several persons late residents of the republic of Mexico to the Balize, expelled by the revolutionary commanders from that port of Mexico, a portion of whom were, or appeared to have been, naturalized citizens of the United States, And moreover, that vexation had been experienced by the native citizens of the latter-merchants and

others-through the dictation or coercion of the dominant party in the former, manifested in violations of their personal, neutral and commercial rights, guaranteed by the treaty between the United States and Mexico, which that party did not recognize, accompanied by arbitrary exaction of the payment of impost duties in anticipation of their becoming due at the Custom House, with other abridgement of priveleges.-

Whether the naturalization of these alien persons in the United States referred to had been in compliance with the laws applicable to that subject, or how far those persons were, or may have been divested of their citizenship by subsequent acts of expatriation on their part which might impair or even forfeit their claim to her protection, does not appear.

Under your general verbal authority to acquaint you with any event, or incident, having an influence on the intercourse or interests of the United States, the preceeding statement is submitted: and I furthermore beg leave respectfully to suggest, whether a withdrawal of the Ud States squadron from the West Indies, the Coast of Mexico, and this station at this juncture, might not prove prejudicial to the commerce and interests of the former in those quarters, both as regards a maintenance of her rights and interests, and as affording an opportunity for a renewal of piratical depredations, at present apparently suspended.

Perhaps it may be useful, and is also due to candour, to observe, that the spirit of concord is less perfect and predominant in this section of the Union than is desirable.

With great respect  
Your obedient servant  
J. Robinson.

P. S. Pensacola July 6th 1832.-

Among the Spanish archives here, the original decree of the Captain General of Cuba sanctioning an alienation of Indian lands, permitted by the Spanish Governor of Florida, to the house of *John Forbes & co* as is set forth on a document purporting to be a copy of that decree, used by these claimants in the judicial tribunals of this territory, in evidence of their assumed rights, is not found; and, if it ever existed, is either among the archives elsewhere, or has been abstracted from them-perhaps surreptitiously-respecting the genuineness and validity of which doubts are entertained. The great claim of Messrs. Forbes & co pending in the Supreme Court of the United States on the appeal of their representatives, is my motive for adverting to that topic.

Relative to the posture of public affairs in Mexico, the advices received here are not so specific as to afford a sufficient data for the establishment of a sound judgment on their entire character. Some of the facts cited in the foregoing letter respecting them may have had their origin in a conservative principle, which may eventuate in a good order of things, not well understood.

It is expected that the Shark will sail at an early hour of this day, when there will be no other vessel of the United States at this station.

Very respectfully  
Your Most obd servt  
J. R.

## THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS

LETTERS OF AND TO JOHN FORBES

Nassau 12th January 1814

My Dear Sirs

On the 10th instant your letters by Pau came to hand ; their inclosures will be forwarded by the fleet which sails after the 18th by which time I expect Pau will be ready to return, & by him I shall write you more particularly than I can by the present circuitous route. This man's Vessel was condemned before he reached Nassau, on the principle of Blockade, but the Judge is said to have been to precipitate, and Mr. Armstrong has recommended an Appeal; we are unable here to speak positively as to the operation of Sir John B- Warren's proclamation as it solely embraces all the outlets of the Mississippi.

There is little doubt but our friends will exert themselves in procuring a serious reversal of the measure, and if successful there will be an ample field for you opened and in the meantime you must only be cautious in not committing yourselves or the property under your charge to the chances of War.

I never thought of claiming from the Spanish Government a document to prove what the constitution itself has declared to be a fundamental Law of the Nation. If necessary I can procure it hereafter but in order to obviate any doubts on the occasion at present I will send you thro' Mitchel a certified copy

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Note.-These letters are in continuation of the series of records of Pantan, Leslie & Co., and its successor John Forbes & Co., the publication of which has been continuous in the *Quarterly*. These are in the possession of Mrs. John W. Greenslade, a descendant of John Innerarity, the last surviving partner of the latter firm. She has transcribed them.

A new series of these records will begin in an early number of the *Quarterly*.



of General Pinkneys' letter to Governor Kindelan in which I am recognized by him as a Spanish subject. My residence in the Spanish Dominions for upwards of Twenty years of itself confers that character upon me, nor can my casual residence in Nassau affect my real Estate in the Floridas, however it may render my property found afloat, during that residence, liable to be made prize.

In claiming these Lands in our own name I think you are perfectly right. I detest covers of every kind and never yet made use of them but I had reason to be dissatisfied with myself afterwards.

You will be pleased to attend particularly to what I have written Mr. Craik on the subject of the Appalachicola Lands; in your next letter I wish you to say something to him on the probability of all the family being inclined to give up their interest in them for a specific Sum-Mr. Gordon has hinted that it is but right you should be remunerated out of them for your trouble, but he must speak plainer before I understand the general expressions which I have often found to mean anything.

I think your apprehensions. about the Americans totally groundless. Destitute as Madison & Co. are of principle, they will not at this moment think of embroiling themselves with Spain who now can look forward to the liberation of her Provinces, and will not submit as heretofore; the late events on the Continent of Europe will naturally encourage the one & depress the other. I almost look for the preliminaries of peace being at this moment signed in the Old World.

You need not look for the Drania, as I am informed, but shall be more particular in my next.

I remain very Truly yours

JOHN FORBES

[Superscription lacking. To John Forbes & Co. Pensacola or to James and John Innerarity]

Nassau 7th January 1814

My dear James :

I wrote the House and you by Andres Fernandez who came here to claim a Vessel of Martiattus. In my letter to you of the 1st October I omitted mentioning your Grandfather's legacy of 1000 which must be remitted separate & distinctly in conformity with the annexed abstract of Accounts which have been transmitted to Mr. Craik.

Copy of my letter to that gentleman is put up under this cover, by which you will see that you stand fairly committed to them for any delay that may occur in the business. I am determined to throw the load off my shoulders, as I think my exertions have exceeded anything that the parties could reasonably expect. I have settled as far as the a/c are made up with my Nephew & Niece each of whom share about nine thousand pounds. I have settled Archibald Leslie's bequest and his Brother Alexander's in full.

William Leslie's & Margaret Gordons children partially, the latter not fully on account of some scruples of Mr. Gordon's respecting the Accounts, which I hope his good sense will get over. I should be sorry that he above all men should take up my accounts as that of a common administrator. My House Expenses here, & clerks, etc. exceed my commissions as Executor.

I cannot express my disappointment at your inability to meet me by the last voyage of the Drania. In my present situation your advice would have been of the utmost importance, & your presence a consolation to my harassed mind.

I should be in England now for our own sakes.

The President's speech offers no Prospect of Peace, and the measure of an Embargo, which we

hear is on the topic will render your situation horrid indeed-I remain

My Dear Sir  
Your obedt. hble. servt.

JOHN FORBES

[James Innerarity, Mobile?]

\* \* \*

Chickasaw-Hay  
August 13th 1803

Sir :

I received your letter of 20 June on the Path near Pearl River, and (retarded by ill health) did not reach this place until yesterday.

I have conversed with Mr. Simpson and am doing whatever may with consistency and Propriety be done to reconcile your Interests to those of the United States, and should I succeed, the result is the only reward I desire; indeed the consciousness of having done a good deed, is in my estimation the richest of all rewards.

I shall press forward to the Creeks, and will be near Marshalls about the 15th Proximo, where I shall be happy to meet you if convenient, as I propose to return by Pensacola, should no impediment occur.

I hope my Associates may succeed with the Creeks, but I doubt it, as the Confederacy or compact formed at the Hickory Ground, is replete with mischievous tendencies, is unwise even as respects the four Nations, and should have been discountenanced-for the very first commotion between these Nations and the Whites, will seal the destruction of the former and overturn the beneficent plans we are pursuing.

The circumscription of the Indian Hunting Grounds will promote the progress of the Civil Arts among them on which their existence as a people

absolutely depends; and this pact is opposed to any sale. These sentiments are uninteresting to you and I have inadvertantly committed them.

I therefore Beseech you to treat them with reserve as I apprehend they clash with those of my friend Hawkins, and I reluctantly give pain to any one.

The present is certainly a most critical moment to you, and I should be diligently and judiciously employed here and at the Seat of the Government of the United States-where I have reason to believe you are misrepresented, and where it becomes indispensable for you to make your arrangements, with views to a permanent Commercial Intercourse with the Indians, within our limits.

With respectful consideration

I am Sir

Your obdt Servt

J. A. [?] WILKINSON

John Forbes Esqr.



