



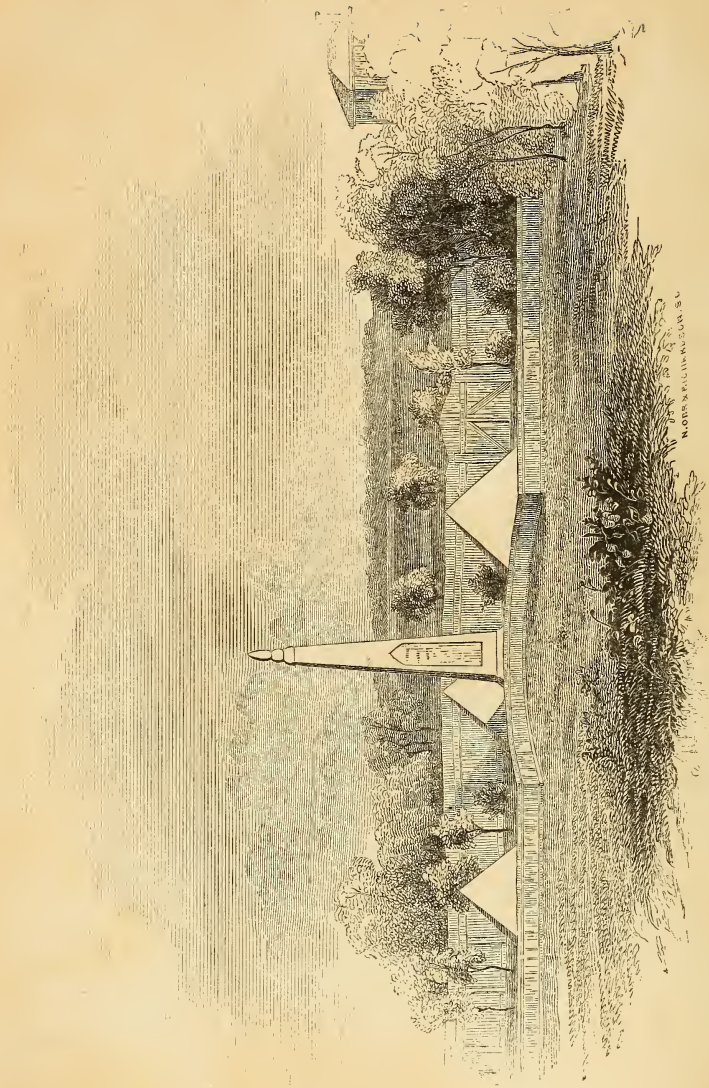
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THE
ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND CONCLUSION
OF THE
FLORIDA WAR;

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

A RECORD OF OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, MUSICIANS, AND
PRIVATES OF THE U. S. ARMY, NAVY, AND MARINE CORPS,

WHO WERE KILLED IN BATTLE OR DIED OF DISEASE.

AS ALSO THE NAMES OF

OFFICERS WHO WERE DISTINGUISHED BY BREVETS, AND
THE NAMES OF OTHERS RECOMMENDED.

TOGETHER WITH THE

ORDERS FOR COLLECTING THE REMAINS OF THE DEAD IN FLORIDA, AND THE
CEREMONY OF INTERMENT AT ST. AUGUSTINE, EAST FLORIDA,
ON THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1842.

BY

JOHN T. SPRAGUE,

BREVET CAPTAIN, EIGHTH REGIMENT U. S. INFANTRY.

NEW-YORK:
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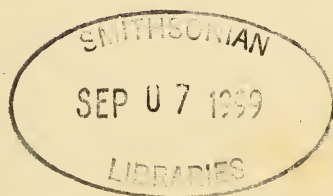
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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO THE
ARMY, NAVY, AND MARINE CORPS
OF THE
UNITED STATES,
By J. T. S.





P R E F A C E.

IN presenting this volume to my comrades, and to the public, I am aware that I have much to answer for, but I have the satisfaction of feeling that my sins are those of omission, rather than commission.

Frequent interruptions in the preparation of the work have compelled me to pass over incidents and events in too cursory a manner, involving much that is due to a faithful history of the Florida War, as well as to individual reputation and character.

The voluminous correspondence illustrative of *the origin of the war*, appears at first sight to be a defence of the Seminole Agent, Colonel Gad Humphreys. This is not designed, nor is it necessary. The letters to and from the various parties connected with the General and Territorial Government, as well as the *Talks* of the Indian chiefs, speak for themselves. They are official papers, records of the times, a part of a nation's history, and if they exhibit a state of affairs discreditable and pernicious, it is but right the facts should be known, that the remedy may be applied to the borders of our country, where the evil is liable to exist, thereby obviating bloodshed, sorrow and poverty. The causes of the difficulties in Florida must be apparent to the minds of careful and intelligent readers; causes not springing up in a day, but nourished for years, aggravated as opportunities offered to enrich adventurers, who had the temerity to hazard the scalping-knife and rifle, and were regardless of individual rights or of law. It must be remembered that Florida, at the period referred to, was an Indian border, the resort of a large number of persons, more properly temporary *inhabitants* of the Territory than citizens, who sought the outskirts of civilization to perpetrate deeds which would have been promptly and severely punished if committed within the limits of a well regulated community. This is the case on all frontiers. It is unavoidable until well disposed citizens become so numerous as to exert the supremacy of law, when the innocent but too often suffer with the guilty. These temporary *inhabitants* of Florida, rather than its citizens, have had an active participation in the events that have transpired within her limits for twenty years past. They provoked the Indians to aggressions, and upon the breaking out of the war ignominiously fled, or sought employment in the service of the General Government, and clandestinely contributed to its continuance. The Federal Government, without a regular force to intimidate the savage, and meet with vigor the

emergency, was compelled to see her citizens basely plundered at noon-day, and cruelly murdered upon their very thresholds.

Official reports and other papers illustrating the *progress of the war* are given. The incidents connected therewith, have been obtained from chiefs and sub-chiefs, who were among the principal actors. In the reports of different commanders, some officers have been favorably noticed. These do not comprise all, deserving the meed of praise. Those who diligently and intelligently performed their duty, merit as high encomiums as others who were more fortunate in encountering the enemy. Courage was a secondary consideration, as illustrated by the maxim of Napoleon:—"That the first quality of a soldier is constancy in enduring fatigue and hardship: courage is the second. Poverty, privation and want, are the teachers and school of the good soldier."

To examine the details of this seven years' war, and to weigh justly the merits and successes of various commanders, as well as the numerous plans proposed and executed, would require a critical examination into records not within my reach, and a maturity of judgment surpassing my own, in order to discuss questions involving the characters of men long in their country's service, and well tried "in many a hard fought field."

On the *concluding scenes* of the contest, I have been more minute. Inquiry, participation, and access to private and public papers, have enabled me to attach some interest to the incidents that occurred between the officers, the soldiers, and the Indians, not otherwise to be obtained. I am well aware that the names of officers deserving well of their country, are not mentioned. So many having claims, it was impossible to do justice to all. It is enough for both officers and privates to say—"I served and did my duty in Florida."

Of those who have fallen, regulars, volunteers, and militia, their memories remain, and are cherished by their countrymen. They are beyond censure or praise. They fell in the excitement of battle, leaving a brilliant example. Others wasted away by lingering disease, without a voice to soothe and recall the wanderings of the feverish mind, or a gentle hand to smooth the rugged pillow of a soldier's couch. "Sleep on! Never shall the polluted breath of slander blow upon your ashes; we will watch with pious care the laurels that shall shade your urn, and wear your names engraven upon our hearts."

J. T. S.

September, 1846.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—FROM JULY 17, 1821, TO MARCH 21, 1830.

Cession of the Floridas to the United States.—Relation towards the Indians.—The country occupied by them.—The Seminole nation.—Emigration of the Seminoles from Georgia to Florida, in 1750, under the chief Secoffee.—His character and last words to his sons, Payne and Bowlegs.—A second emigration of Seminoles, in 1808, under Micco Hadjo.—The Mickasukie tribe.—The appointment of Colonel Gad Humphreys as agent of the Seminole Indians.—Governor William P. Duval, superintendent.—The number of Indians occupying the country in 1821: number of negroes.—The villages and location.—Treaty of Fort Moultrie.—Colonel James Gadsden, William P. Duval, and Bernardo Segui, commissioners.—Opposition of the Indians to a treaty.—Difficulties in accomplishing the object.—The policy of the federal government towards the Indians.—Embarrassments in carrying out the designs and securing justice.—The superintendent and agent enter into the execution of the treaty.—The Indians remove within the limits assigned.—Apprehended distress for the want of food.—Serious difficulties in keeping the whites and Indians within their limits.—The first blood shed between the whites and Indians: its effect and consequences.—Letter of the agent to the Hon. J. L. Smith, judge U. S. District Court, upon the subject.—Agent's letter to the Acting Governor Walton in regard to the intrusion of the whites, and sale of liquor.—Claims of whites upon the Indians for slaves.—Letter of Governor William P. Duval in reference to the adjustment of claims.—Letter of the agent to the commissioner of Indian affairs respecting the acts of the territorial legislature in regard to Indians found without the boundary.—Agent's letter to Governor Duval, detailing the state of Indian affairs.—The application of the territorial legislature to remove the Indians from the country.—Instructions of the commissioner of Indian affairs in relation to the disposition of negroes in possession of Indians and claimed by whites.—Letter of William P. Duval upon the same subject.—Critical state of affairs.—Agent's letter to the U. S. district attorney.—Acting-Governor McCarty informs the agent that the whites had killed an Indian near Tallahassee.—The agent's letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs.—The Indians complain of the non-payment of their annuity granted under the treaty of Fort Moultrie.—The assistance of the military force asked to arrest negroes in possession of the Indians, and refused by the war-department.—The Indians murder a white man; steps taken by the chiefs to arrest the offenders.—The *talk* of Micanopy and Jumper in regard to the demands made by the war department for negroes in their possession.—Letters from Colonel G. M. Brooke, U. S. army, commanding at Tampa Bay, and from the Hon. J. L. Smith.—Instructions from the commissioner of Indian affairs.—The *talk* of the chief John Hicks in reference to the demand for slaves.—Letters from Governor Duval and Colonel Gad Humphreys.—Hostilities seem inevitable.—The Indians consent to send a deputation to Arkansas to examine the country.—The *talk* of the Seminole nation through the chiefs to the president of the United States.—Embarrassing relations between the whites and Indians.—Colonel Gad Humphreys informed by the com-

missioner of Indian affairs, that his services as agent to the Seminoles would be dispensed with.—Colonel Humphreys, the manner in which he discharged his duties.—Strong prejudices of the whites against him, and friendship of the Indians. 17

CHAPTER II.—FROM MARCH 21, 1830, TO DECEMBER 31, 1835.

Major John Phagan appointed agent to the Seminoles.—He accompanies the delegation of Seminoles to Arkansas.—Charges preferred against him.—Treaty of Payne's Landing.—The Indians sent to Arkansas to explore the country.—Commissioner appointed to meet them there: they sign the additional treaty putting in force the treaty of Payne's Landing.—Dissatisfaction of the tribe on their return to Florida.—Conduct and language of the chiefs and Indians in reference to a fulfillment.—First appearance of Oseola or Powell.—The Indians positively refuse to emigrate.—General Wiley Thompson, of Georgia, appointed agent in the place of Phagan.—The general feeling and state of affairs within the nation.—Correspondence of J. H. Eaton, governor of Florida.—Lewis Cass secretary of war.—B. F. Butler attorney-general.—General Clinch.—Colonel Gadsden.—General Thompson agent.—Lieutenant Harris, Captains Graham, and Russell, U. S. A.—The Indians assemble in council at Fort King.—The conduct of Micanopy, Jumper, Alligator, and Oseola.—The commanding influence of the negroes over the Indians.—The duplicity and cunning of Oseola.—He placed in irons and under guard in the fort.—Murder of the chief Charley-E-Mathla for favoring emigration.—The Indians prepared for the conflict.—The massacre of General Thompson and Lieutenant Smith by Oseola and party.—Massacre of Major Dade's command: Alligator's account of it.—General Clinch attacked on the Withlacoochee by Oseola.—A fight: he retreats.—Florida War commenced.—The character of the contest. 72

CHAPTER III.—FROM JANUARY 1, 1836, TO DECEMBER 31, 1840.

The number of Indian warriors in Florida, and tribes to which they belonged.—Number of negro warriors.—Names of the various Indian chiefs, and their importance and characters, viz., Micanopy, Jumper, Little Cloud, Alligator, Holartooche, King Philip, Coacoochee, Sam Jones, Tiger-Tail, Nethlockemathlar, Chekika, Hospetarke, Octiarohe.—The negro Abraham, his importance.—Oseola or Powell, his birth, rank, character, and age.—Measures taken to subdue the Indians.—Cost of the Florida war.—Relative cost of troops between regulars, volunteers, and militia.—General Towson's letter on the subject.—The regular troops, and militia serving in Florida in 1836, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41.—Generals Clinch, Scott, Call, Jesup, Taylor, Armistead, and Colonel Worth, commanding.—Depredations of the Indians.—General Clinch authorized to call for militia.—General Eustis ordered to Florida.—The movements of General Gaines.—The burial of the dead of Major Dade's command.—Arrival at Fort King of General Gaines.—Returns to Fort Brooke *via* the Withlacoochee river.—His arrival, and encounter with the enemy.—Death of Lieutenant Izard.—The troops in a pen.—General Gaines's designs.—The attack upon the pen.—The arrival of a messenger from the Indians.—Interview of Adjutant Barrow of the Louisiana volunteers, and Captain Hitchcock, U. S. A., with Oseola and others.—The conduct of Caesar disapproved of by the Indians.—The day when the troops in the pen were to be attacked.—The number of warriors on the ground.—Final result.—General Gaines relinquishes the command to General Clinch.—General Scott ordered to take command in Florida.—His steps taken to prosecute the war.—General Scott takes the field.—Success of his campaign.—Ordered to conduct the war against the Creeks in Georgia.—Complaints of General Scott's conduct in prosecuting the Florida war.—Difficulties in effecting his object.—General Scott's defence before the court of inquiry, convened at Frederick, Maryland.—His acquittal.—General C. K. Call takes command of the Florida army.—Attack upon Micanopy by Oseola or Powell.—Major Hieleman's official report.—Colonel Pierce's expedition to Fort Drane.—His official report of the affair.—General Call's campaigns.—The Tennessee brigade and General Armstrong.—The U. S. marine corps under Colonel Henderson.—Officers of the Creek volunteer regi-

ment.—General Call's second campaign.—Tennesseans attack the Indians.—The result.—Colonel Pierce with the regulars joins General Call.—Battle of the Wahoo Swamp.—Official report of Colonel Pierce of the affair.—The object gained.—General Jesup's operations 12th January, 1837.—Battle of Fort Mellon.—Official report of Colonel Fanning.—Battle of Hatch-Luste Creek.—General Jesup's report.—Colonel Henderson's report.—Disposition of the Indians.—They ask for peace.—The capitulation at Fort Dade.—The Indians agree to emigrate.—Large numbers assemble at Tampa Bay.—Vessels in readiness to take them to New-Orleans.—The surrender of Oseola with his family at Fort Mellon.—He desires peace.—The Florida war supposed to be ended.—Volunteers and militia discharged.—The marines under Colonel Henderson sent north.—Letter of Mr. Poinsett on the subject.—Citizens return to their homes.—The Indians break up their camp near Fort Brooke, and take to the woods under the direction of Oseola and Coacoochee.—The country alarmed.—General Jesup desires to be relieved from the command of the army of Florida.—His letter to the adjutant-general on the subject, July 25th, 1837.—Another campaign in preparation.—Creek regiment of Indians discharged.—The feeling of citizens towards the Indians.—Volunteers called for from Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida.—The address of General Jesup to the army, October 24th, 1837, at the commencement of the campaign.—General Jesup's report of his campaign, July 6th, 1838.—General Jesup's proposition to effect an arrangement with the enemy.—Mr. Poinsett's answer.—Report of the fight on Jupiter river.—General Jesup's letters.—General Taylor's report of the battle of Okechobee.—Indians commanding in the battle.—Their arrangements for the battle.—Death of Colonel Thompson, Colonel Gentry, Captain Van Suerengen, Lieutenants Center and Brooke.—Capture and death of Oseola.—The manner of capture, and his conduct, &c.—General Jesup relinquishes the command of the Florida army to General Z. Taylor.—General Taylor's report of operations.—He districts the country.—Not carried out.—General Macomb arrives in the territory.—His arrangement for peace.—His orders to citizens, and report to the secretary of war.—Citizens again return to their plantations.—Confidence partially restored.—The Indians murder express-men, and attack the settlements.—General consternation throughout the interior.—Lieutenant-Colonel Harney's command massacred on the Carloosahatchee river.—The report of the assistant adjutant-general.—Lieutenant Hanson captures at Fort Mellon a band of Indians.—Preparations for another campaign.—Extract from the report of Mr. Poinsett in regard to the war.—Governor Reid's message to the territorial legislature.—Blood-hounds sent for to pursue the Indians.—Thirty-two obtained.—Their arrival, and cost.—Manner of tracking the Indians.—The result.—Complaints of memorialists to congress.—Correspondence of the Hon. H. A. Wise, secretary of war, and General Taylor upon the subject.—Troops withdrawn from the field.—General Taylor relieved from the command of the Florida army, by his own request.—Brevet Brigadier-General Armistead succeeds him.—The Spanish Indians participate in the war.—Indian Key attacked by a band of Indians under the Spanish Indian chief, Chekika.—The murder of Dr. Perrine, and the particulars of the escape of his family. 96

CHAPTER IV.—FROM JUNE 1840, TO MAY 1841.

State of affairs in Florida.—General Z. Taylor relinquishes the command of the army to General Armistead.—Strength of the army, regulars and militia.—Appropriations.—Attack of the Indians upon a detachment of the 7th infantry between Fort Micanopy and Watkahoota.—Murder of Mrs. Montgomery.—Death of Lieutenant W. M. Sherwood, commanding the party, and Sergeant-Major Carroll.—Affair with Halleck-Tustenuggee and band at Orange Creek.—Resolute conduct of Lieutenant Alburty, 2d infantry, and his men.—Troops take the field.—Colonel Worth's interview with Coacoochee or Wild Cat, at Camp Cummings.—Consents to assemble his band, and cease hostilities.—His appearance and that of his followers, in coming into camp.—His talk.—He goes out again and returns.—Proceeds to Fort Brooke to see General Armistead.—Entire failure of negotiations through friendly Indians.—Coacoochee promises to assemble his band at Fort Pierce.—His supposed infi-

delity there.—Orders transmitted for his seizure.—General Armistead, in compliance with orders from Washington, relinquishes the command of the army to Colonel W. J. Worth, 8th regiment infantry. 247

CHAPTER V.—JUNE, 1841.

Instructions to Colonel Worth on taking command of the army of Florida.—Embarrassments in prosecuting the war.—Strength of the army.—Sick Report.—Monthly expenses of the army.—Civil employés.—Character of guides, interpreters, and Spaniards.—Number and location of the enemy.—Their desperate character.—The Creeks west of the Suwannee river.—A summer campaign determined upon.—Night attack upon the camp of Halleck-Tustenuggee, and disappointment of the troops.—Seizure of Coacoochee or Wild Cat, with fifteen warriors and three negroes.—Sent to New-Orleans.—L. G. Capers, Esq., Indian agent, dispatched with orders from Colonel Worth to intercept and bring them back to Florida.—Importance of the step.—Much dissatisfaction expressed by the public.—Coacoochee and warriors in irons.—Combined movements of the army to root out the enemy.—Their dispersed condition.—General devastation of crops, camps, and wigwams.—Character of the country through which operations were conducted.—Number of fields, &c., destroyed.—Sick report, and sufferings of the troops from disease.—Duties of officers.—Governor Call urges the necessity of a militia force to co-operate with the army.—Major D. L. Wilcox, U. S. A., engaged in inducing settlers to return to their homes, as authorized by the president of the United States. 266

CHAPTER VI.—JULY AND AUGUST, 1841.

Coacoochee and warriors arrived at Tampa Bay in irons.—Interview between the commander of the army and these warriors, on the 4th of July, on board the transport in the harbor.—Coacoochee's talk.—He directed to bring in his band or suffer death.—Five messengers appointed to proceed to the interior of the country, to communicate with his band.—His last words to his followers.—Anxiety of Coacoochee for the return of the messengers.—Forty days, allowed them.—Arrival of the band, with old Micco.—Irons taken off Coacoochee, and he permitted to go on shore to receive his warriors.—His reception.—His dress and conduct.—His speech to them.—A messenger sent to Holatter Micco and Sam Jones.—Coacoochee's last words to his brother Otulka.—Departure of the messenger at midnight from the prison-ship.—General operations of the army.—Embarkation of the 1st infantry for New-Orleans.—The service of the regiment, its loss from disease, &c.—Death of Second-Lieutenant Lancaster, 1st infantry.—Arrival of Otulka.—Coacoochee proceeds to Pease Creek.—Colonel Worth at Camp Ogden.—Coacoochee proceeds to Hospetarke's camp.—Returns with him and eighteen warriors.—Capture of Hospetarke and warriors.—Taken to Fort Brooke, and confined to the prison-ship.—Their designs when visiting the camp.—Coacoochee's tact and sagacity.—The warriors of Coacoochee in irons.—Liberated and put on shore.—Reports of scouts made by officers of the army, during the months of July and August.—Sent to Washington.—Strength of the army.—Sick, &c.—Retrenchment, &c., &c.—Negroes permitted to accompany Indians to Arkansas.—The policy.—Florida, its position and importance. 286

CHAPTER VII.—SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1841.

The state of affairs.—The contest drawing to a close.—The arrival at Fort Brooke of an emissary from Tiger-Tail and Nethlockemathlar, desiring peace and friendship.—Capture of Indians belonging to the band of Halleck-Tustenuggee.—The murder of his sister who desired to surrender.—He crosses the river St. John's.—Negotiations opened with Pascoffer, a Creek chief, on the Ocklockonne river, through two white men.—Lieutenant Anderson, 2d infantry, surprises an Indian camp and captures the women and children.—Communication had with Arpeika or Sam Jones in the Big Cypress Swamp.—Efforts made to obtain an interview with Halleck-Tustenuggee through friendly Indians.—Partial suspension of military

operations.—Negotiations in progress through Coacoochee and the old chief from Arkansas, Holartooche.—Coacoochee with six warriors, proceeds to the Annutlilga Hammock.—Interview on the margin of the hammock between Tiger-Tail with his band and Coacoochee, at night.—Promise of Tiger-Tail to assemble his band.—Wishes to see Alligator before surrendering.—Arrival of the remainder of Hospetarke's band, and release from the prison-ship.—Escape of Sampson, a negro interpreter, from the Big Cypress Swamp.—His narrative.—Harney's massacre on the Carlosahatchee.—The government and councils of the Indians within the swamp.—Authority of the Prophet, Sam Jones, and Billy Bowlegs.—Murder of Messrs. Daniels, Harroll, and Jennings, by the Indians at Martin's Point.—Indians in camp at Fort Brooke alarmed.—Critical state of affairs.—Coacoochee, with nine warriors, proceeds again to obtain an interview with Tiger-Tail.—Friendly Indians dispatched to all quarters, giving notice that negotiations would end in a few days.—The chiefs attribute the murders to young warriors.—The return of Coacoochee.—Brings favorable reports from Tiger-Tail.—Coacoochee expresses his anxiety that his band should embark for Arkansas.—Hospetarke concurs.—Preparations at Fort Brooke to prevent the escape of Indians.—The day of embarkation determined upon.—Captain W. Seawell, 7th infantry, ordered to conduct the Indians to Arkansas.—The feeling manifested by the women on their departure from Florida.—The Mickasukie tribe, character, and feelings.—Coacoochee's farewell to Colonel Worth and his staff.—His conduct and appearance on the occasion, and his *last talk* to the officers present and to his band.—The birth, life, and character of Coacoochee, and the vicissitudes he had encountered.—His peculiarities, and participation in the attack upon Fort Mellon, and in the battle of Okechobee.—His capture, imprisonment at St. Augustine, Florida, and escape.—His dreams and religious opinions.—The origin of the white men; the first ever seen in Florida.—The prevalent feeling in Arkansas among the Indians, demanding precaution and vigilance on the part of the federal government.—Arrival of Alligator from Arkansas.—He proceeds to the camp of Tiger-Tail and Nethlockemathlar, and returns with the latter chief.—Arrival of Tiger-Tail and his band at Fort Brooke.—Arrival of six companies of the 4th infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Garland, U. S. A.—Lieutenant-Colonel Garland dispatched on special duty to subdue the Creeks west of the Suwannee river.—Five companies 2d dragoons ordered out of Florida.—3d artillery retained.—Contemplated movements in the Big Cypress Swamp and Everglades.—Depots established at Punta Rossa.—Violent gale on the coast and its disastrous effects.—It alarms the Indians and deters them from surrendering.—Troops in readiness to take the field.—Report of Lieutenant J. T. McLaughlin, U. S. N., commanding the Florida squadron, and the report of Captain Burke, 3d artillery, of their expeditions in the Everglades.—General character and results of the operations during the months of September and October.—Sick report of the army. 311

CHAPTER VIII.

Extracts translated from the Manuscript of the Commandant of St. Augustine, East Florida, Manuel de Montiano, deposited in the public archives of St. Augustine, describing the bombardment of the fort in 1740, by General Oglethorpe, . . . 337

CHAPTER IX.—NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1841.

Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, 4th infantry, on special duty to expel the enemy east of Tallahassee, to the Suwannee river.—Preparations for a combined movement in the Big Cypress Swamp.—Major Belknap, 3d infantry, proceeds to the Carlosahatchee river to take command.—Death of Midshipman Niles, U. S. N.—Yellow fever in camp.—Depot and Camps established.—Instructions to the different commanders: plan of co-operation.—Troops take the field under Major Belknap.—Major Childs and Lieutenant McLaughlin in canoes.—Colonel Worth meets the different commanders at Waxe Hadjo's.—Landing on the edge of the Everglades.—Operations of the troops in the Big Cypress Swamp and Everglades.—Major Belknap's report.—Lieutenant McLaughlin's report.—Extracts from the journal of an officer of the army, kept from day to day in the swamp.—Lieutenant McLaugh-

lin reports his passage up the Carlosahatchee river through Fish-eating Creek to Lake Okechobee.—Captain M. Burke's, 3d artillery, expedition in the Everglades.—Letters from Captain McClellan, topographical engineer, in reference to the Carlosahatchee river, and its head-waters.—Lieutenant Marchand's report of an expedition in the Everglades.—Head-quarters re-established at Fort Brooke.—Success of Major Wade, 3d artillery.—Capture of sixty-three Indians.—His report.—The Florida squadron commanded by Lieutenant McLaughlin.—Its depot.—Strength and efficiency of officers and men.—Murder of two friendly messengers by the Creeks near Fort Fanning.—Cowardly spirit of Tiger-Tail.—Declines acting himself, and deters others.—Lieutenant-Colonel Garland's correspondence.—Meeting of Nethlockemathlar and the Creek chief, Octiarche, at the mouth of the Withlacoochee river.—The latter chief refuses to visit the steamboat.—He is unable to assemble his band: appoints the 12th of January for another meeting.—Embarrassing state of affairs.—Attack made upon the settlement of Mandarin, by Halleck-Tustenuggee.—His haunts found.—The breaking up of the confederacy in the Big Cypress Swamp.—Surrender of the sub-chief Waxe Hadjo.—Reports that Bowlegs, Sam Jones, and the Prophet, had fled for safety.—State of the army: number taken sick, died, and discharged, during the months of November and December.—Successful establishment of settlers at exposed points.—Citizens armed and provisioned. 347

CHAPTER X.

Correspondence between the executive of the territory of Florida, and of the state of Georgia, with the federal government, and with Colonel W. J. Worth, commanding the army of Florida, in regard to the mustering of militia to co-operate with the army for the protection of the frontier.—Character of the applications made by citizens for employment.—Remarks upon the expediency of calling out militia to expel the Indians, or to prevent incursions.—Letters from officers of the army, showing the state of the frontiers of Florida and Georgia; the necessity of troops, and the disposition among the border-settlers.—The firmness of the Hon. J. C. Spener and Major-General Scott added much to the successful progress of the war, and to its termination. 403

CHAPTER XI.—JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1842.

The hiding-place of Halleck-Tustenuggee found; strength and character of his band; his own character.—Precautionary measures taken to prevent his surprising the settlements.—Major Plympton ordered to take the field with three companies of the 2d infantry.—Fight with Halleck-Tustenuggee.—Band retreats.—Two Indians taken prisoners.—Pursuit of Halleck by Captain Casey, 2d infantry, with one hundred men.—Lieutenant Wessels ascends the Ocklawaha river to intercept him.—He eludes them successfully.—Capture of Powis Fixico or Short-Grass.—Nethlockemathlar repairs to the mouth of the Withlacoochee to meet the Creeks.—The Creeks plotting to take his life, and rescue the Indians encamped at Fort Brooke.—Indignation of the chief.—He organizes an armed party; takes the field to punish the Creeks.—Thirty Indians, armed completely, proceed to Fort Clinch.—Conduct of Tiger-Tail or Thlocklo-Tustenuggee in council.—Escape of Tiger-Tail from Fort Brooke.—His schemes frustrated.—His wife and child recaptured.—His repeated interviews with Octiarche to concert means of releasing the Indians in camp.—The Indian war-party supposed to be privy to his escape.—Orders sent to Fort Clinch to disarm the party at once.—They sent to Cedar Key, thence to Fort Brooke.—Indignation of the chief Nethlockemathlar.—Active measures of the army.—Troops recalled from the south.—Campaign in the Big Cypress ended, resulted as anticipated.—Major Belknap secures a sub-chief and sixty-seven followers.—Supposed hiding-place of Bowlegs, the Prophet, and Sam Jones.—Much praise due the troops, if the service was understood.—Ponce de Leon landing in 1522 on the margin of the Everglades.—Memorandum of reports of officers.—Scouts.—Explorations sent to the adjutant-general.—Orders issued for the relief of the 3d artillery.—Movements of the regiment, and their service in Florida.—Dispo-

sition of the troops from the south.—2d dragoons; 4th, 6th, and 8th infantry.—Embarkation of two hundred and thirty Indians.—Creeks, Seminoles, Uches, and Mickasukies, their character and feelings vicious and abandoned.—Detachment 8th infantry fired upon in the Wahoo Swamp.—Movement of troops to find the Creeks.—Indians under Octiarche attack the settlement with arrows, killing women and children.—They pursued.—Night attack upon their camp in the Swamp.—Capture of the women.—Men escape.—Humanity of officers and soldiers.—Embarrassments in closing the contest.—Colonel Worth's letter of February 14th, urging upon the government certain measures to finish it.—Major Cooper, assistant adjutant-general, dispatched to Washington.—The contents submitted by the secretary of war to a council of officers.—Not acceded to.—General Jesup dissents from the opinion expressed.—The measures prosecuted, though uninstructed by the commander in Florida.—Orders issued for retrenchment.—6th infantry relieved, and ordered to Jefferson Barracks; its service; its loss by disease and battle.—Sick and deaths in the army in January, February, and March.—The total number in the army taken sick, during nine months' active service.—An asylum for old soldiers and invalids.—Condition of those discharged the service for disability. 428

CHAPTER XII.—MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY, 1842.

A crisis in the affairs of Florida.—The army discouraged by the rejection of the proposed means to end the war.—The course pursued: Retrenchment, reduction of force, discharge of employés from the service.—The Prophet's and Sam Jones's influence destroyed.—Holatter Micco, or Billy Bowlegs, proclaimed chief.—The scattered condition of the enemy.—The influence and conduct of Tiger-Tail among the Creeks.—The Indians assemble in the Wahoo Swamp to concert means of safety.—Tracks seen.—Negotiation at an end; capture or death.—Embarkation of Indians for New-Orleans in charge of L. G. Capers, Esq., of the Indian department.—Departure of the chief Nethlockemathlar; his character and influence; his life.—Indians at New-Orleans.—The army in the field, in pursuit of Halleck-Tustenuggee; Peter, an Indian, sent to him; he never returned.—Combined movement of the army on the Wahoo Swamp and surrounding country.—Detachments of the 2d, 4th, and 8th infantry enter the swamp; disappointment.—Farther preparations for pursuit.—The chief Holartooche baffled by the enemy; he rides around the country and discovers a single Indian track, leading to the Palacklakaha Hammock, supposed to be a spy upon the troops.—The troops take up the line of march, and encamp at Abraham's old town.—Preparations made to attack the enemy.—Holartooche visits the commander's tent at midnight, and pleads for the life of women and children in the approaching conflict.—The troops on the march for the hammock; conduct of guides and negro interpreters.—Sagacity of Holartooche; a foot-print discovered and followed three miles to the hammock.—Spirited attack upon the Indians in their camp, protected by logs and palmetto, led on by Colonel Garland, 4th infantry.—Assailed by Colonel Worth, with a company of dragoons, cutting off the enemy's retreat.—The Indians separate into small parties, giving battle in all quarters.—Total defeat; troops in their camp.—Burial of Private Wandell, 2d dragoons; killed and wounded.—Detachments follow up trails leading from the hammock.—Capture of O-son-e-Micco (the Old Man of the Lakes), son-in-law of Halleck-Tustenuggee, who desires to take a talk to the chief.—He to return in five days and meet the command at Warm Spring.—The number of Indians engaged in the affair.—Embarrassments of the troops in advancing.—The appearance of Halleck-Tustenuggee in the fight.—Indians painted red; in a state of nudity.—Their last battle-ground.—Their fire concentrated upon the Indian guides and interpreters.—Interpreters Gopher John and Morris in the fray.—The appearance and valor of the chief Holartooche.—Indians' first discharge effectual; manner of loading in battle.—The spirit, gallantry, and forbearance of officers and men in the affair.—Colonel Worth's report.—The return of O-son-e-Micco to the camp at Warm Spring.—He reports Halleck-Tustenuggee, with his band, six miles off.—Halleck-Tustenuggee comes into camp with his two wives and children.—His appearance and reception.—Officers assemble to meet him.—Colonel Worth's private conversation with him.—He not inclined to leave the country.—His good

feelings secured.—Sends five messengers to Ocutiarche, the Creek chief.—Large demands for provisions.—Insolent conduct and language of Halleck-Tustenuggee and followers.—His fidelity much doubted.—Major Graham, Captain McCall, and Lieutenant Sprague, visit his camp, to reconnoitre, to surprise and capture.—From its position, deemed impracticable.—Other means resorted to.—The Indians become shy and suspicious.—The chief and his wives accompany Colonel Worth to Fort King; his object in going there to purchase powder and lead.—Orders left with Colonel Garland to seize the entire band in the absence of Halleck-Tustenuggee.—Colonel Garland effects the object, ties the Indians, and sends them to Tampa Bay.—The measures adopted to accomplish it, and the conduct of the Indians.—Colonel Worth announces to Halleck-Tustenuggee, at Fort King, the capture of his band, and that he now was a prisoner.—His anger and appearance on the occasion.—Proceeds under guard to Fort Wacassassa.—Arrival there of the five messengers sent to Ocutiarche.—They taken prisoners.—A midnight scene between Halleck-Tustenuggee and these five men, who upbraided the chief for selling his followers and land.—His patriotism.—Meeting at Horse Key of both parties; their haggard appearance arising from intemperance.—A sub-chief attempts suicide.—East Florida relieved from apprehension.—Indians guarded by one hundred and fifty men on Horse Key.—Halleck-Tustenuggee harmless.—The activity of the army, 7th and 3d infantry, in pursuit of the Creeks in Middle Florida.—Two months in the field; results.—A party of eight Indians attack the settlements under Halpatter-Tustenuggee; commit murders, and defeat six soldiers.—Closely pursued, overtaken, abandoning their plunder, and whipped.—They join Ocutiarche, who disapproves of their conduct, as peace was restored.—Citizens abandon their homes, and flee for safety.—The army discouraged; no end to the war.—The approach of the summer; prospects of another summer campaign.—Movements of troops unavailing; calculated to exasperate the enemy, without capturing or defeating.—Usefulness of Halleck-Tustenuggee, who takes the terms of peace to the Creeks.—His reception and their promises.—The terms of peace.—The Creek Indians on the Ocklockonnee river obtain an interview with Colonel Vose, through two white men.—The terms of peace accepted.—Assembling for emigration.—Departure of the 2d regiment of infantry for the north; its length of service in Florida, and efficiency.—Deaths of officers.—N. C. officers and soldiers.—Death of Captain Samuel Russell by the enemy.—Orders issued for the departure of the five remaining companies of the 2d dragoons; character and length of their service in Florida.—Death of officers.—N. C. officers and privates.—The sick report for March, April, and May.—The Florida war approaching a close.—State of the army and prevailing feeling. 449

CHAPTER XIII.—JUNE, JULY, AND TO THE 17TH AUGUST, 1842.

Instructions received by Colonel Worth to bring the war to a close.—Message of the President of the United States to Congress upon the subject.—Letter of instructions from the secretary of war to Major-General Scott.—His views upon the subject.—The measures for a time postponed.—Treachery of Halleck-Tustenuggee and dissatisfaction of Ocutiarche.—Their designs.—Holartooche proceeds to Ocutiarche's camp with twenty armed Indians.—Their meeting, and the promises of the chief to surrender.—Halleck-Tustenuggee, finding his plans unsuccessful, prepares for emigration.—Wounded Indians brought in.—Runners dispatched to bring in the plunder of the band.—A messenger sent to the southern Indians.—Holatter-Micco or Billy Bowlegs made chief, who sends an emissary to the whites to obtain peace.—The embarkation of Halleck-Tustenuggee and band for Arkansas.—Their appearance and feeling, and the anger of the chief.—Departure of Holartooche and the Arkansas delegation for their homes.—Halleck-Tustenuggee; his age, character, and qualities.—His first appearance in council.—The 7th infantry relieved from duty in Florida.—Its service and loss.—Death of Lieutenant Sanderson.—Lieutenant Sherwood's death.—His gallantry, and the conduct of Private L. Burlington, in protecting the remains of Mrs. Montgomery.—Arrival of Bowlegs and others at Fort Brooke, to make peace.—The influence and authority of Sam Jones and the Prophet disregarded.—They accompany the commander of the army to Cedar Key, and proceed to the camp of Ocutiarche.—Ocutiarche and Tiger-Tail

return with them.—Peace determined upon.—The appearance of Tiger-Tail.—Orders promulgated announcing that hostilities with the Indians in Florida had ceased.—Troops remaining in Florida concentrated.—Retrenchment and reduction in all departments.—Stations and strength of the 3d infantry, of the 8th infantry, and six companies of the 4th.—The loss and service of these regiments in officers and men.—Death of Lieutenant J. H. Harvie, and Lieutenant J. A. Reill, 8th infantry.—Colonel Worth ordered to proceed to Washington City.—He relinquishes the command of the ninth military department to Colonel Vose, 4th infantry.—Correspondence between Colonel Worth and Lieutenant J. T. McLaughlin, in closing up the contest.—Lieutenant McLaughlin's instructions to Lieutenant Henry, who succeeded in command of the Florida squadron. . . . 475

CHAPTER XIV.—FROM AUGUST 17, TO OCTOBER 31, 1842.

Colonel Vose in command of the 9th military department.—The Indians annoyed by encroachments and aggressions of the whites.—Southern Indians within the boundary: none but Creeks without.—Apprehensions of Tiger-Tail and Octiarche realized.—Attack upon settlements.—Citizens killed.—Pursued by Colonel Bailey, and citizens.—Indians overtaken and punished.—Complaints among citizens.—Facts not known or understood.—Arrival of Tiger-Tail and Octiarche.—Excitement in the country.—Complaints of citizens to the governor of the territory, and to the authorities at Washington City.—Orders received by Colonel Vose to take the field.—Colonel Vose postpones the execution.—His reasons.—The Indians' camps plundered.—Officers of the army sent to the camps.—The Indians doubt the sincerity of the commander and his officers.—Delay and debauchery of the Indians.—Large demands for liquor.—Embarkation of the six companies 4th infantry.—The effect upon the Indians.—The gale at Cedar Key.—Indians refuse again to visit the island.—Agree upon Fort Brooke as the future place of meeting.—Effects and continuance of the gale at Cedar Key.—Loss of public and private property.—A council of Indians to be held at Fort Brooke, on the 1st of November. . . . 494

CHAPTER XV.—FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1842, TO DECEMBER 31, 1845.

Brevet Brigadier-General Worth resumes the command of the 9th military department.—Colonel Vose, at Fort Brooke, to meet Octiarche and band.—Objects attained during his temporary command.—Fears of Octiarche, and the threats of the Seminoles.—Major Seawell, 7th infantry, ordered to seize the band of Octiarche, at Fort Brooke.—His success.—The reasons for such a step.—Tiger-Tail at Cedar Key.—His conduct and infidelity.—Officers sent to reconnoitre his camp.—Position of his camp, and his condition.—Instructions to Captain J. M. Hill, to secure Tiger-Tail.—His success.—Lieutenant Jordan, 3d infantry, dispatched to surprise the camp.—Brings Tiger-Tail into Cedar Key on a litter.—He confined to Horse Key.—Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Hitchcock, commanding 3d infantry, to take the field.—His operations.—Surrender of Pascoffer and band.—The doubts and fears of the Indians, and quiet of the country.—Embarkation of Octiarche and Tiger-Tail with their followers, for New-Orleans, in charge of Lieutenant Britton, 7th infantry.—Departure of Pascoffer and band, in command of Lieutenant W. S. Henry, 3d infantry.—Creeks, Seminoles, Mickasukies, and Uchees, leave Fort Brooke for New-Orleans.—The character, feeling, and condition of the Indians assembled at the New-Orleans Barracks.—Death of Tiger-Tail at the Barracks, New Orleans.—His last words.—His birth, character, and intercourse with Colonel Gamble's family, in Florida.—His intelligence, influence, and infidelity.—Octiarche.—His birth, and character in battle and in council.—General Worth's report, in regard to the number of Indians in Florida, of November 17th, 1843.—Captain Sprague's letter to the citizens of Florida, in reference to the relation of the Indians towards the whites.—The number of Indians in Florida, December 31st, 1845: their condition and feelings.—The character of the chief and sub-chief, and future prospect of emigration to Arkansas. . . . 498

CHAPTER XVI.—QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT—COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT—SETTLEMENT OF THE TERRITORY.

The quartermaster's department of the army.—The efficiency of its officers, and their importance in the discharge of duties in the field.—The concurrence given by General Jesup in carrying out retrenchment in Florida.—Officers on duty there.—The manner in which duty was discharged.—Report of retrenchment made by Lieutenant-Colonel T. F. Hunt, deputy quartermaster-general of the army of Florida.—The subsistence department.—The importance and good effect of the log-hut in defeating the Indians, and deterring them from aggressions.—Exertions made to induce settlers to occupy the interior of the country.—The efforts for a time successful.—The act of congress of February 1st, 1836, for the relief of distressed inhabitants.—Instructions from the president of the United States under its provisions.—Major D. S. Wilcox, 5th infantry, intrusted with the duty of settlements and issuing of rations.—His instructions from the commander of the army.—Death of Major Wilcox.—Lieutenant Patrick, 2d infantry, ordered to assume the duty.—His instructions in reference to the discontinuance of government supplies.—The total failure of establishing permanent settlements.—The conduct of those who professed to occupy the country and draw rations.—Lieutenant Patrick's final report of settlements, the number of persons, ages, &c.—Steps taken to cause citizens drawing rations to re-occupy their plantations.—Success.—Abuse of the act of congress in issuing supplies. 514

APPENDIX.

Circular, Orders, &c., connected with the erection of a Monument in Florida, to the memory of those who have fallen in the contest.	521
Statement, exhibiting, by Regiments, the names of the Officers, non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, Artificers, and Privates, of the United States Army, who were killed in action, or died of wounds received, or diseases contracted, during the late hostilities with the Florida Indians, commencing August 11, 1835, (the day when Private Dalton, the express-rider, was murdered by the Indians,) and ending in 1842.	526
List of Officers belonging to the Medical Staff of the United States Army, who died from disease and other causes, from service in Florida.	548
Table, exhibiting the names of Officers, Seamen and Marines, belonging to the United States Navy, who died whilst employed in the Florida Squadron, operating against the Indians of Florida.	549
A statement, exhibiting the names of Officers, non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, and Privates of the United States Marine Corps, who were killed in action, or died of wounds received, or disease contracted, during the Florida War.	550
Table, showing the number and names of Marines on <i>Sea Service</i> , who died in Florida between 1836 and 1842.	550
List of Officers, of the United States Army and Marine Corps, upon whom have been conferred Brevets for services in Florida.	551
Names of Officers, of the United States Army recommended for Brevets by Brigadier-General W. J. Worth, commanding the forces in Florida, April 25, 1842. Upon some of the number, the distinction has been conferred.	554

LIST OF ENGRAVINGS.

MONUMENT AT ST. FRANCIS' BARRACKS, ST. AUGUSTINE	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
COACOOCHEE (Wild Cat)	page 98
THLOCKLO TUSTENUGGEE (Tiger-Tail)	99
NEGRO ABRAHAM	100
OSEOLA, OR POWELL	101
DEATH OF WAXEHADJO	254
SCENE AT TAMPA BAY, FLORIDA	286
CASTLE OF ST. MARK, now called Fcrt Marion, St. Augustine	337
HALLECK TUSTENUGGEE ON THE ST. JOHN'S	429
GOPHER JOHN, SEMINOLE INTERPRETER	459



THE FLORIDA WAR.

CHAPTER I.

FROM JULY 17, 1821, TO MARCH 21, 1830.

CESSION of the Floridas to the United States.—Relation towards the Indians.—The country occupied by them.—The Seminole Nation.—Emigration of the Seminoles from Georgia to Florida, in 1750, under the Chief Secoffee.—His character and last words to his sons, Payne and Bowlegs.—A second emigration of Seminoles, in 1808, under Micco Hadjo.—The Mickasukie tribe.—The appointment of Colonel Gad Humphreys as agent of the Seminole Indians.—Governor William P. Duval, superintendent.—The number of Indians occupying the country in 1821: number of negroes.—The villages and location.—Treaty of Fort Moultrie.—Colonel James Gadsden, William P. Duval, and Bernardo Segui, commissioners.—Opposition of the Indians to a treaty.—Difficulties in accomplishing the object, —The policy of the federal government towards the Indians.—Embarrassments in carrying out the designs and securing justice.—The superintendent and agent enter into the execution of the treaty.—The Indians remove within the limits assigned.—Apprehended distress for the want of food.—Serious difficulties in keeping the whites and Indians within their limits.—The first blood shed between the whites and Indians: its effect and consequences.—Letter of the agent to Hon. J. S. Smith, Judge of the U. S. District Court, upon the subject.—Agent's letter to the Acting Governor Walton in regard to the intrusion of the whites, and sale of liquor.—Claims of whites upon the Indians for slaves.—Letter of Governor William P. Duval in reference to the adjustment of claims.—Letter of the agent to the commissioner of Indian affairs respecting the acts of the Territorial Legislature in regard to Indians found without the boundary.—Agent's letter to Governor Duval, detailing the state of Indian affairs.—The application of the Territorial Legislature to remove the Indians from the country.—Instructions of the commissioner of Indian affairs in relation to the disposition of negroes in possession of Indians and claimed by whites.—Letter of William P. Duval upon the same subject.—Critical state of affairs.—Agent's letter to the U. S. district attorney.—Acting Governor McCarty informs the agent that the whites had killed an Indian near Tallahassee.—The agent's letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs.—The Indians complain of the non-payment of their annuity granted under the treaty of Fort Moultrie.—The assistance of the military force asked to arrest negroes in possession of the Indians, and refused by the war-department.—The Indians murder a white man; steps taken by the chiefs to arrest the offenders.—The *talk* of Micanopy and Jumper in regard to the demands made by the war-department for negroes in their possession.—Letters from Colonel G. M. Brooke, U. S. army, commanding at Tampa Bay, and from the Hon. J. L. Smith.—Instructions from the commissioner of Indian affairs.—The *talk* of the chief John Hicks in reference to the demand for slaves.—Letters from Governor Duval and Colonel Gad Humphreys.—Hostilities seem inevitable.—The Indians consent to send a deputation to Arkansas to examine the country.—The *talk* of the Seminole nation through the chiefs to the President of the United States.—Embarrassing relations between the whites and Indians.—Colonel Gad Humphreys informed by the commissioner of Indian affairs, that his services as agent to the Seminoles would be dispensed with.—Colonel Humphreys; the manner in which he discharged his duties.—Strong prejudices of the whites against him, and friendship of the Indians.

To determine satisfactorily the cause of the Florida War, requires a critical review of the events which transpired between the citizens and Indians, for a period of fourteen years, as well as an examination of the course pursued towards all parties by the federal government.

This must necessarily commence on the 17th day of July, 1821, when Spain ceded the Floridas to the United States.

The Indians, inhabiting the country, had roamed unmolested throughout the peninsula, enjoying the confidence and association of the inhabitants, mostly Spaniards, who participated in a lucrative trade, while the authorities of Spain insured them protection, and treated them with kindness and distinction. The United



Sketch of the Southern part of FLORIDA.

*Exhibiting the routes of the detachments that
penetrated the Big Cypress in Decr. 1891 and June 1892,
also routes across the Everglades and from Fort
Lauderdale to Lake Worth and the Everglades.*

*Scale of miles.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10*

States government, upon establishing its functions here, found the Indians in possession of the most desirable portions of the country, upon which were located villages, surrounded by cultivation, producing enough to supply their wants. The acquisition of a new country, so interesting from its historical events, induced emigrants from adjoining states to explore, securing at the same time good portions of land, which was guarantied under certain provisions of law to the first discoverer. It was found, however, much to their disappointment and embarrassment, that the most eligible points were preoccupied by a race degraded, and for which they entertained but little sympathy or charity. To remove this difficulty, and to give to the enterprise of the white man full scope, the preliminary step was to hold a treaty with the Seminoles, and by rewards induce them voluntarily to relinquish the soil, and thus commence the great work of civilization.

The liberty allowed them was to be circumscribed, and they brought to know, and to feel too, that they were temporary occupants of the soil; and while indulgently allowed to remain in any part of the territory, law, good order, sobriety, and subserviency to the whites must prevail.

The Seminole Nation, or those generally denominated the Florida Indians, were originally Creeks. Their villages were situated on the Chattahooche river, about ten or fifteen miles north and west of Columbus, Georgia. From continued misunderstanding among the head-men, which extended through families, and in some instances resulted in bloodshed, a separation of the tribe took place.

In the year 1750, a noted Creek chief by the name of Se-coffee, broke out from the nation, and with many followers settled in the section of country called Alachua, about the centre of the peninsula, and by far the most fertile part. He was a man of noted courage, violent passions, and possessed a most active and vindictive mind. Combined with an indomitable will, his seductive oratory and subtle cunning secured him influence, and insured success to all his measures. To the Spaniards he was an inveterate foe. To the English, up to 1784, he was a most valuable ally. Upon the recession of Florida to Spain, he repaired to St. Augustine to ascertain the truth. Not being received and treated with that distinction to which he had been accustomed, he returned to his village, meditating revenge. He embodied a large force and took the field; but the exposure and exertion incident to active operations in the summer season, was too much for an enfeebled constitution. He died in the year 1785, at the advanced age of seventy, and was buried near the present site of Fort King. He was, in fact, the founder of the Seminole nation. Finding himself fast approaching his end,

he called his two sons to his side, Payne and Bowlegs, and in a most fervent and pathetic manner detailed his plans, enjoining upon the former, who was to succeed him, the prosecution of the expedition. He required him to put to death fourteen Spaniards, which number, added to eighty-six slain by his own hand, aided by kindred, would make one hundred, which had been revealed to him by the Great Spirit as requisite to secure the peace and happiness of his soul in a future state.

Payne was of a different character, and not to be led astray and blinded by absurd revelations and traditions. Though a bold and intrepid warrior, he cared more for the happiness of his people than the indulgence of vicious passions, or the influences of superstitious feelings. By his example and counsels, he secured the confidence of the Spanish government, and died at an advanced age, honored and respected.

In the year 1808, another band came into Florida under Micco Hadjo, and settled near the present site of the town of Tallahassee. Ever after, that portion of the Creek nation settled in Florida were called Seminoles, or *runaways*. Here both these parties of emigrants encountered the Mickasukie tribe of Indians, the legitimate owners of the soil. Much dissatisfaction was manifested at this intrusion; but too weak to resist, they soon became amalgamated, and joined in efforts to resist the common foe—the white man.

The privileges granted the Indians of Florida, alternately by the English and Spanish governments, had caused them to overrate their own importance. The most violent passions were excited when advised, or in any way or manner interfered with by a white man, who, in other words, was only an American. This could not be tamely submitted to, and the federal government immediately commenced a system of supervision, or what was termed “patronage and protection.” On the 20th of May, 1822, Colonel Gad Humphreys was appointed agent to the Florida Indians. William P. Duval, Esq., governor of the territory, was *ex-officio* superintendent of Indian affairs. The number of Indians occupying the country at this period, was fifteen hundred and ninety-four men, thirteen hundred and fifty-seven women, and nine hundred and ninety-three children—total, three thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine; and one hundred and fifty negro men (slaves), with six hundred and fifty women and children. Their villages extended, dotting the country, from the neighborhood of St. Augustine to the Appalachicola river. Most of them consisted of log and palmetto huts, surrounded by cleared fields of from two to twenty acres of land. The loud and unceasing complaints of citizens, who were seeking homes in a newly acquired country, made it imperative upon the general

government speedily to adopt measures to dispossess the Indians, and confine them to certain limits, in the hope of avoiding bloodshed, which seemed inevitable from the virulence of feeling towards the Indians, who were considered as undeserving of liberty, or kindness.

Accordingly, James Gadsden, William P. Duval, and Bernardo Segui, of Florida, were appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty, having for its object the removal of the Indians to such parts of the territory as would meet the wishes of citizens, and thus open a wide field for speculation, at the same time satisfy the public mind. The Indians were surprised at the proposition thus early to make a treaty. They were in possession of their homes; and though at times annoyed by whites, they looked with confidence to their great father at Washington, to protect and vindicate their rights.

As they resisted the efforts to assemble for the purpose of making a treaty, innumerable difficulties accumulated from day to day, which pressed heavily upon them; and surrounded as they were by influences enforced by the arguments of those professing to be friends, a majority of the nation reluctantly consented to meet the commissioners at such a time as might be most expedient. This was with the hope, that ever after they would be permitted to remain unmolested. Fort Moultrie, five miles south of St. Augustine, on the coast, was agreed upon as a desirable position. A number assembled on the day appointed; but the absence of the most influential chiefs, who looked suspiciously upon all such steps, caused much delay. With the larger portion, this council was considered but a prelude to farther demands and encroachments. On the 18th of September, 1823, the following treaty was signed.

TREATY OF FORT MOULTRIE.

Treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded between William P. Duval, James Gadsden, and Bernard Segui, commissioners on the part of the United States, and certain chiefs and warriors of the Florida tribes of Indians.

ARTICLE 1. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves and their tribes, have appealed to the humanity, and thrown themselves on, and have promised to continue under, the protection of the United States, and of no other nation, power, or sovereignty; and in consideration of the promises, and stipulations hereinafter made, do cede and relinquish all claim or title which they have to the whole territory of Florida, with the exception of such district of country as shall herein be allotted to them.

ARTICLE 2. The Florida tribes of Indians will hereafter be concentrated and confined to the following metes and boundaries: commencing five miles north of Okehumkee, running in a direct line to a point five miles west of Setarky's settlement on the waters of Amazura (or Withlahuche river), leaving said settlement two miles south of the line; from thence, in a direct line, to the south end of the

Big Hammock, to include Chickuchate; continuing, in the same direction, for five miles beyond the said hammock: provided said point does not approach nearer than fifteen miles the sea coast of the Gulf of Mexico; if it does, the said line will terminate at that distance from the sea coast; thence south twelve miles; thence in a south thirty degrees east direction, until the same strike within five miles of the main branch of Charlotte river; thence in a due east direction, to within twenty miles of the Atlantic coast; thence north, fifteen west, for fifty miles, and from this last to the beginning point.

ARTICLE 3. The United States will take the Florida Indians under their care and patronage, and will afford them protection against all persons whatsoever; provided they conform to the laws of the United States, and refrain from making war, or giving any insult to any foreign nation, without having first obtained the permission and consent of the United States: And in consideration of the appeal and cession made in the first article of this treaty, by the aforesaid chiefs and warriors, the United States promise to distribute among the tribes, as soon as concentrated, under the direction of their agent, implements of husbandry, and stock of cattle and hogs, to the amount of six thousand dollars, and an annual sum of five thousand dollars a year for twenty successive years, to be distributed as the president of the United States shall direct through the secretary of war, or his superintendents and agents of Indian affairs.

ARTICLE 4. The United States promise to guaranty to the said tribes the peaceable possession of the district of country herein assigned them, reserving the right of opening through it such roads, as may, from time to time, be deemed necessary; and to restrain and prevent all white persons from hunting, settling, or otherwise intruding upon it. But any citizen of the United States, being lawfully authorized for that purpose, shall be permitted to pass and re-pass through the said district and to navigate the waters thereof without any hindrance, toll, or exactions from said tribes.

ARTICLE 5. For the purpose of facilitating the removal of the said tribes to the district of country allotted them, and as a compensation for the losses sustained, or the inconvenience to which they may be exposed by said removal, the United States will furnish them with rations of corn, meat, and salt, for twelve months, commencing on the first of February next; and they further agree to compensate those individuals who have been compelled to abandon improvements on lands not embraced within the limits allotted, to the amount of four thousand five hundred dollars, to be distributed among the sufferers, in a ratio to each, proportional to the value of the improvements abandoned. The United States further agree to furnish a sum, not exceeding two thousand dollars, to be expended by their agent, to facilitate the transportation of the different tribes to the point of concentration designated.

ARTICLE 6. An agent, sub-agent, and interpreter shall be appointed, to reside within the Indian boundary aforesaid, to watch over the interests of said tribes; and the United States further stipulate, as an evidence of their humane policy towards said tribes, who have appealed to their liberality, to allow for the establishment of a school at the agency, one thousand dollars a year for twenty successive years; and one thousand dollars a year for the same period, for the support of a gun and blacksmith, with the expense incidental to his shop.

ARTICLE 7. The chiefs and warriors aforesaid, for themselves and tribes, stipulate to be active and vigilant in the preventing the retreating to, or passing through, the district of country assigned them, of any absconding slaves, or fugitives from justice; and further agree, to use all necessary exertions to apprehend and deliver the same to the agent, who shall receive orders to compensate them agreeably to the trouble and expense incurred.

ARTICLE 8. A commissioner, or commissioners, with a surveyor, shall be appointed by the president of the United States, to run and mark (blazing fore and aft the trees) the line as defined in the second article of this treaty, who shall be

attended by a chief or warrior, to be designated by a council of their own tribes, and who shall receive, while so employed, a daily compensation of three dollars.

ARTICLE 9. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves and tribes, having objected to their concentration within the limits described in the second article of this treaty, under the impression that the said limits did not contain a sufficient quantity of good land to subsist, and for no other reason, it is, therefore, expressly understood, between the United States and the aforesaid chiefs and warriors, that should the country embraced in said limits, upon examination by the agent and the commissioner, or commissioners, to be appointed under the eighth article of this treaty, be by them considered insufficient for the support of the said Indian tribes, then the north line, as defined in the second article of this treaty, shall be removed so far north as to embrace a sufficient quantity of good tillable land.

ARTICLE 10. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves and tribes, have expressed to the commissioners their unlimited confidence in their agent, Colonel Gad Humphreys, and their interpreter, Stephen Richards, and as an evidence of their gratitude and humane treatment, and brotherly attention to their wants, request that one mile square, embracing the improvements of Enehe Mathla, at Tallahassee (said improvements to be considered as the centre), be conveyed, in fee simple, as a present to Colonel Gad Humphreys. And they further request, that one mile square, at the Ochesee Bluffs, embracing Stephen Richards's field on said bluffs, be conveyed, in fee simple, to said Stephen Richards.

The commissioners accord in sentiment with the undersigned chiefs and warriors, and recommend a compliance with their wishes to the president and senate of the United States; but the disapproval on the part of the said authorities of this article, shall, in no wise, affect the other articles and stipulations concluded in this treaty.

In testimony whereof the commissioners, William P. Duval, James Gadsden, and Bernard Segui, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, have hereunto subscribed their names, and affixed their seals. Done at camp, on Moultrie Creek, in the Territory of Florida, this eighteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three; and of the independence of the United States the forty-eighth.

WILLIAM P. DUVAL,	L.S. WOKSE HOLATA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
JAMES GADSDEN,	L.S. AMATHLA HAJO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
BERNARD SEGUI,	L.S. HOLATEFISCICO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
NEA MATHLA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. CHEFISCICO HAJO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
TOKOSE MATHLA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. LATHLOA MATHLA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
NINNEE HOMATA TUSTENUKY, <i>his</i> × <i>m'k</i> ,	L.S. SENUFKY, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
MICONOPE, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. ALAK HAJO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
NOCOSSE AHOLA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. FAHELUSTED HAJO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
JOHN BLUNT, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. OCTAHAMICO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
OTLEMATA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. TUSTENECK HAJO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
TUSKANEHA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. OKOSKEE AMATHA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
TUSKI HAJO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. OCHEENY TUSTENUKY, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
ECONCHATIMICO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. PHILIP, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
EMOTELEY, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. CHARLEY AMATHLA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
MULATTO KING, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. JOHN HOPONEY, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
CHOCHOLOHANS, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. RAT HEAD, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
EMATHOLOCHEE, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S. HOLATA AMATHLA, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.
	FOSHATCHIMICO, <i>his</i> × <i>mark</i> ,	L.S.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

GEORGE MURRAY, <i>Sec. to the Comm'r.</i>	HARVEY BROWN, <i>Lieut. 4th Artillery.</i>
G. HUMPHREYS, <i>Indian Agent.</i>	C. D'ESPINVILLE, <i>Lieut. 4th Artillery.</i>
STEPHEN RICHARDS, <i>Interpreter.</i>	WILLIAM TRAVERS.
ISAAC N. COX.	HORATIO S. DEXTER.
J. EWING, <i>Capt. 4th Artillery.</i>	

Nea Mathla, John Blunt, Tuski Hajo, Mulatto King, Emathlochee, and Econchatimico, six of the principal chiefs, for a long time obstinately and stubbornly refused to negotiate in any manner. It was feared the attempt to effect a treaty would be an entire failure.

To subdue these feelings, large concessions were made to these head men. The more humble were required to remove within a stipulated boundary; while their chiefs, and a few friends were permitted to remain in their old towns, and participate alike in the annuities and other benefits accruing under the treaty. To effect the great object, the subjoined "ADDITIONAL ARTICLE" was agreed upon, and with the treaty was ratified by the senate of the United States on the 2d of January, 1824:

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

Whereas, Nea Mathla, John Blunt, Tuski Hajo, Mulatto King, Emathlochee, and Econchatimico, six of the principal chiefs of the Florida Indians, and parties to the treaty to which this article has been annexed, have warmly appealed to the commissioners for permission to remain in the district of country now inhabited by them; and, in consideration of their friendly disposition, and past services to the United States and the aforesaid chiefs, that the following reservation shall be surveyed and marked by the commissioner or commissioners to be appointed under the eighth article of this treaty. For the use of Nea Mathla and his connexions, two miles square, embracing the Tuphulga village, on the waters of Rocky Comfort Creek. For Blunt and Tuski Hajo, a reservation commencing on the Apalachicola, one mile below Tuski Hajo's improvements, running up said river four miles; thence west two miles; thence southerly to a point two miles due west of the beginning; thence east to the beginning point. For Mulatto King and Emathlochee, a reservation commencing on the Apalachicola, at a point to include Yellow Hair's improvements; thence up said river for four miles; thence west one mile; thence southerly to a point one mile west of the beginning; and thence east to the beginning. For Econchatimico, a reservation, commencing on the Chatahoochie, one mile below Econchatimico's house; thence up said river for four miles; thence one mile west; thence southerly to a point one mile west of the beginning; thence east to the beginning point. The United States promise to guaranty the peaceable possession of the said reservations, as defined, to the aforesaid chiefs and their descendants *only*, so long as they shall continue to occupy, improve, or cultivate the same; but in the event of the abandonment of all or either of the reservations, by the chief or chiefs, to whom they have been allotted, the reservation or reservations so abandoned shall revert to the United States, as included in the cession made in the first article of this treaty. It is further understood that the names of the individuals remaining on the reservations aforesaid, shall be furnished by the chiefs in whose favor the reservations have been made, to the superintendent or agent of Indian affairs, in the territory of Florida; and that no other individual shall be received or permitted to remain within said reservations, without the previous consent of the superintendent or agent aforesaid. And, as the aforesaid chiefs are authorized to select the individuals remaining with them, so they shall be separately held responsible for the peaceable conduct of their towns, or the individuals residing on the reservations allotted them. It is further understood between the parties, that this agreement is not intended to prohibit the voluntary removal, at any future period, of all or either of the aforesaid chiefs and their connexions to the district of country south, allotted to the Florida Indians by the second article of this treaty, whenever either

or all may think proper to make such an election; the United States reserving the right of ordering for any outrage or misconduct, the aforesaid chiefs, or either of them, with their connexions, within the district of country south, aforesaid. It is further stipulated by the United States, that of the six thousand dollars appropriated for implements of husbandry, stock, &c., in the third article of this treaty, eight hundred shall be distributed in the same manner, among the aforesaid chiefs and their towns; and it is understood that, of the annual sum of five thousand dollars, to be distributed by the president of the United States, they will receive their proportion. It is further stipulated, that of the four thousand, five hundred dollars and two thousand dollars, provided for by the fifth article of this treaty, for the payment for improvements and transportation, five hundred dollars shall be awarded to Nea Mathla, as a compensation for the improvements abandoned by him, as well as to meet the expenses he will unavoidably be exposed to by his own removal, and that of his connexions.

In testimony whereof, the commissioners, William P. Duval, James Gadsden, and Bernard Segui, and the undersigned, chiefs and warriors, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals. Done at camp on Moultrie Creek in the Territory of Florida, this eighteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and of the Independence of the United States, the forty-eighth.

WILLIAM P. DUVAL,	L.S.	TUSKI HAJO, <i>his</i> X mark.	L.S.
JAMES GADSDEN,	L.S.	MULATTO KING, <i>his</i> X mark.	L.S.
BERNARD SEGUI,	L.S.	EMATHLOCHEE, <i>his</i> X mark.	L.S.
NEA MATHLA, <i>his</i> X mark.	L.S.	ECONCHATIMICO, <i>his</i> X mark.	L.S.
JOHN BLUNT, <i>his</i> X mark.	L.S.		

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

GEORGE MURRAY, *Secretary to the Commission.*

JA. W. RIPLEY.

G. HUMPHREYS, *Indian Agent.*

STEPHEN RICHARDS, *Interpreter.*

The following statement shows the number of men retained by the chiefs who have reservations made them, at their respective villages.

Number of Men.		Number of Men.	
Blount,	34	Econchatimico,	38
Cochran,	45	Nea Mathla,	30
Mulatto King,	30		
Emathlochee,	28	Total,	214

The foregoing treaty was ratified on the 2d day of January, 1824.

This treaty threw around the Florida Indians a net from which there was no escape. Their destiny, their happiness, and prosperity were now in the hands of the people. Upon the cession of Florida they claimed the entire country, and so far as Spain interfered, they possessed it. Now, they were within limits, and the United States could, under a fair pretext, control them, by demanding their prompt compliance with the stipulations of the treaty, and if they persisted in disobeying, there was an instrument in existence justifying their expulsion or destruction. They could, as circumstances required, be considered as rebellious chil-

dren, or if other objects were to be attained, they assumed the rights and prerogatives of a sovereign people, possessing the undoubted authority to negotiate treaties, so far as to dispose of their lands. But wishing this privilege for self-government, or other purposes, was considered a usurpation demanding punishment. In this light they, as a nation, have ever been considered, which has subjected them to a vacillating policy, causing the utmost confusion and dissatisfaction. The federal government is considerate and liberal in the execution of treaty stipulations with this unfortunate race; but in opposition to this are arrayed the prejudices of a multitude actuated by selfish motives, together with the waywardness and depravity of a border population in a new country. These present serious obstacles to the administration of justice, and defeat, in a great measure, all exertions to ameliorate the condition of the savages, and causes an apparent indifference to their repeated demands for protection. The agent who is brought immediately in contact with the Indians, must be possessed of resolution, tact, and intelligence, to maintain his position in the midst of so many complicated difficulties. The executive of the state or territory will listen to the complaints of the citizens, and by repeated representations to the Indian agent, endeavor to allay the excited feelings incident to real or imaginary wrongs. The agent, if faithful in the performance of his duties, is obliged from his position to resist the encroachments of the whites; if otherwise, he would soon be accountable for the lives and property of all within the range of an Indian rifle. His activity and resolution in maintaining their rights, deters them from violent acts to gain them, in the hope that through him justice may be awarded by the general government. But the demands of the executive, through the representatives in congress, are too potent to be disregarded, and the government is compelled to acquiesce, and, through its agents, give instructions actuated more by the disposition to gratify the populace than to vindicate the rights of the savages. These conflicting influences are constantly in operation, until the agent, if conscientious in his duties, is discharged, when a more pliant instrument succeeds, who in the hands of designing men soon perfects the object so eagerly sought.

The Indian, discouraged in his endeavors to add to the happiness of his people, revolts—desolates the frontier, murders the unprotected—when the president of the United States is called upon again by the state authorities, to quell the outbreak by regular troops, and enforce treaty stipulations, which results, after years of rapine and murder, in the expulsion of the Indians.

The agents of the general government, as well as the Indians, entered at once into the execution of the treaty of Fort Moultrie.

Colonel Humphreys, the agent, established himself at Camp King, in the centre of the nation. The governor of the territory and superintendent of Indian affairs, William P. Duval, resided at Tallahassee. These duties were commenced with commendable zeal, and, in the execution, a disposition was manifested to vindicate, and if possible, to maintain the rights of the Indians. The agent, living in their very midst, realized his peculiar and responsible position. Though fully persuaded that in defence of those whose guardian he was, he would be subjected to obloquy, yet, he was determined to carry out the intentions and disposition of his government in opposition to the selfish demands and interests of those who were settling the country, and who were in large numbers crowding around him.

The correspondence of Colonel Humphreys and that of others, which is here given, together with the *talks* upon several occasions of the important chiefs, go much farther to give a correct understanding of the cause of the Florida war than the expression of an opinion, which at this late period is too apt to be influenced by popular prejudice and misrepresentation. The year 1824 was occupied in locating the Indians within the prescribed boundaries, which upon examination were found to be too limited for the convenience of those who were required to remove. Accordingly, upon the representation of Col. Gadsden and Governor Duval, twenty additional miles were granted, so as to include a desirable section of country, called the Big Swamp. In order to stimulate the Indians to agricultural pursuits, and thus supply their own wants by cultivating the soil, the rations allowed them under the fifth article of the treaty were ordered to be reduced; which at this early period, and in their present condition, was calculated to cause starvation and much discontent. The agent was enabled to judge correctly of their condition. He at once addressed the acting governor upon the subject, which had the effect to postpone the order, and thus calm the excited feelings of the chiefs who had been instrumental in bringing upon those around them the prospects of immediate want, as shown by the following letters:

“ *Tampa Bay*, June 14th, 1825.

“SIR—I reached this place on the 12th instant, after a fourteen days’ passage. It is with extreme regret I learn that since my arrival the drought in this section of country, and indeed through to the ‘Big Swamp,’ has been so severe that the crops of the Indians are, in some instances, wholly destroyed. The emigrants particularly, it is to be feared, will make little or nothing, owing to their having had to open new fields, and the consequent lateness of their planting.

"I am greatly apprehensive, that this failure of crops will produce much distress among these people, unless arrangements are adopted to continue to them issues of rations beyond the period stipulated in the treaty. It may not, perhaps, and will not, I trust, be necessary to make extensive and regular periodical issues; but humanity seems to require, that some provision should be made to meet the cases of actual want.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

Superintendent of Indian }
affairs, *Tallahassee.* }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians."

"*Tallahassee, 25th May, 1825.*

"SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the 19th, 20th, and 22d instant, and deem it an imperative duty to state, in reply to that of the 19th, which directs a limitation of the number of rations hereafter to be issued to the Indians to 1000 daily, that the effect of such an abridgment of the stipulated supply of provisions, will be, at the least, loud murmuring and discontent; and that suffering among the Indians from hunger, which has hitherto scarcely existed except in imagination, will shortly become a distressing reality. That those people can have but scanty and indeed no certain means of existence, independent of the sustenance provided by the United States, until the opening of fields and growing of crops at their new location, will be readily supposed; and the entire inadequacy of one thousand rations, to the support of something more than 1600 people, is too obvious to require comment: and I feel constrained to add my belief that the emigrant Indians, conceiving themselves entitled by the treaty of the 18th of September, 1823, to a punctual allowance of provisions for the specified time, at the rate of one ration per day to each individual, will not quietly submit to a non-performance (on the part of the government) of the stipulations of the compact.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE WALTON, Esq., Att'y Gen'l, }
&c., of Florida, *Tallahassee.* }

G. HUMPHREYS, *Agent."*

From their unsettled condition, a result of their removal from old habitations to new ones within an imaginary line, the Indians roamed throughout the country, causing dissatisfaction among settlers, who were inclined to doubt their friendship, and improved opportunities to seize their rifles, and threatened and maltreated them, to compel them to remain permanently within the boundaries as defined by the treaty. The agent, on the 20th of May, thus writes to the commissioner of Indian affairs:

“*Florida Agency*, 20th May, 1825.

“SIR—I have the honor to suggest that the running and making of the northern boundary of the Indian territory, is highly desirable, in order to enable me to show a line of demarcation to the white settlers, who are already thronging to the vicinity of the Indian settlements; and some, as I apprehend, have taken positions near to, if not south of, where the line will necessarily run; and will, I fear, if not expelled, become troublesome, and create disturbance among the Indians,—they are squatters upon the public lands, and, of course, liable to be removed at the instance of the government, whenever it shall direct. I should be glad of *instructions upon this subject*.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. THOS. L. MCKINNEY, }
Indian Bureau.

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Florida Indians. }

The difficulties anticipated were soon realized. A planter, a Mr. Salano, residing on the St. John's river, arrived at St. Augustine, and reported to the commander of the United States troops there, that six Indians had been at his house in pursuit of three others, who, from long absence, they supposed were murdered by the whites. Accompanied by threats and insolent conduct, they declared their determination to be revenged upon the whites, if unsuccessful in finding their friends. On the 21st of June, Lieut. Canfield, U. S. A., was dispatched with a detachment of twenty men to see this party, and to ascertain the facts. The detachment, when emerging from Cabbage Swamp, on the ensuing morning, about twenty-eight miles from St. Augustine, discovered the Indian camp. Lieut. Canfield, Mr. Salano, and a Mr. Dummit, together with the interpreter, approached the camp, in advance; and as they proceeded, Mr. Salano directed the interpreter not to explain their object to the Indians, as they stood in the distance looking with astonishment. Upon discovering the soldiers in the rear, they attempted to seize their rifles and flee. In violation of the officer's orders, Mr. Salano discharged a pistol, which drew from the detachment a volley, supposing a fight had commenced. Two Indians were secured, one slightly wounded, together with four rifles, and a large quantity of skins. One of the prisoners was sent immediately into the swamp, to inform his companions that the discharge upon them was accidental. What aggravated this occurrence, and made it still more unfortunate, was, that written passes from the agent were found in the camp. These men, thus outraged, returned to their tribes, causing a general sympathy, and exciting the most bitter feelings of revenge. The agent was in a critical position. Entirely within their power, they demanded redress in the most

imperative manner, and commenced organizing war parties, to retaliate upon the settlements from one extent of the country to the other. Though the encounter with the troops was accidental, and attributable to the imprudence of Mr. Salano, too many wrongs and abuses had been inflicted, yet unatoned, and for which they had received nothing in return but excuses and regret. The country was in arms—an Indian war was proclaimed, and the citizens fled to the towns, and gathered in numbers for safety. The regular troops at St. Augustine were ordered into the field, and two companies of infantry under Capt. Dade marched from Fort Brooke to Camp King, with such dispatch as to deter the Indians from acts of open hostility. Fortunately, the three young Indians supposed to be murdered returned, which, together with promises of pay to the outraged party at Cabbage Swamp, induced the Indians once more to resume a friendly intercourse. “I am fully sensible,” says Col. Gadsden to Col. Humphreys, in a communication, of August 15th, “of the delicacy of your situation.”

“*Charleston, S. C., 15 August, 1835.*

“MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 25th ultimo was forwarded to me to this place, and I am gratified at the happy adjustment of the Cabbage Swamp affair. I feel sensible of the delicacy of your situation, and of the complicated difficulties you must necessarily encounter in bringing the Florida Indians into a state of subordination and discipline. They must be controlled, but treated at the same time with due consideration and great humanity. You know that you can command any aid I can give in facilitating these desirable objects; and in volunteering an opinion which I hope will be well received, I cannot urge too strongly upon you the great necessity of establishing the agency, and of remaining for a time stationary at it.

“You may make yourself comfortable; and your example in cultivating the earth, attending to the increase of your stock, &c., will have the happiest effect in improving the habits of the savages.

“The sooner they abandon, to a certain extent, the chase, and are converted from hunters to herdsmen and agriculturists, the sooner will they be reconciled to their change of location, &c.

“They cannot live as hunters; the game is nearly destroyed, and unless some efforts are made to impress strongly upon them the great necessity of depending upon the soil for their subsistence, I apprehend much distress and want the ensuing year.

I remain yours, &c.,

Col. G. HUMPHREYS, Agent of the }
Seminole, Fort King, Florida. }

JAMES GADSDEN.”

The agent's letter to the Hon. J. L. Smith, enters fully into the character of the difficulties surrounding him :

“ *Florida Agency*, 8th July, 1825.

“ SIR—Ere you are in possession of this, you will be advised by my communication of yesterday, per return express, that the difficulties which have for a short time existed between some of the red and white people of the territory, are in progress to a favorable and speedy termination.

“ The seasonable restoration to their friends of the lost young men, has had great influence in producing this happy state of things. The news of their safety, immediately followed by the appearance of one of them, who arrived to-day, seems to have almost entirely subdued every feeling of animosity ; and I entertain a confidence, that after I have visited the wounded man, which I shall do in the course of the day, and fixed (under a proposition which Col. Gadsden in behalf of some of the citizens of Augustine has authorized me to make) upon the compensation he is to receive, the most perfect harmony will be restored, and a renewal take place of the friendly feelings which have heretofore prevailed. It is due, however, to candor and truth, and I must be allowed to say it, that greatly as I desire the return of order and tranquillity, and much as I have already exerted myself to recall such a state of things, I should not deem it a duty to urge the aggrieved individual to the acceptance of pecuniary compensation for an injury like that in question, could I perceive any other way in which the matter could be adjusted without prejudicing the interest of the territory by delay. As it is, acquiescence in the proposition from your city will be suitably recommended. Another consideration influences me : the great disadvantage under which the almost proscribed children of the forest labor for want of credibility as witnesses in our courts of law, destroys every thing like equality of rights ; forbids the idea of their success in legal controversy, in opposition to their white neighbors, and thus virtually excludes them from our halls of justice. To this must be mainly attributed their proneness to take punishment into their own hands, despairing as they do of obtaining redress for injuries by recourse to the laws of the whites, which have in but few cases, when they have been appealed to by the Indians, afforded any remedy for evils complained of. In the case before us, Mr. Salano, who is the author of it, being permitted to depose, has enjoyed and exercised the power to fix upon the Indians an imputation they could not merit, and which for lack of admissible testimony, or the want of a hearing, they could not repel. These remarks are drawn from me, in a settled belief which I entertain, that the Indians do not

deserve that censure in regard to the Cabbage Swamp affair, which is attempted to be heaped *upon them*; and that, could a full and fair investigation of their previous conduct, which is cited as the leading cause to that affair, be had, it would be found in a great degree, *if not wholly*, free from the impropriety which is charged. Is it probable, let me ask, if they had *meditated* the violence Mr. S. accuses them of threatening, that they would thus publicly have declared their intentions? I answer no! Reason and common sense forbid the idea, as being wholly irreconcilable with the known character of the Indian, whose proceedings of a hostile kind are always *covert* and *unadvertised*. The language then, here ascribed to them on this occasion, is improbable and incredible. That Mr. Salano had any sinister or improper motive in the representation he made at St. Augustine, which produced the disaster under consideration, I do not wish to say; or if he had dishonest views, I am unable to determine precisely *what* they were. I cannot believe his *whole* object was plunder; yet I am informed by the interpreter, who accompanied the party, that he, S., went loaded to his own house with *skins, meat, &c.*, taken from the pillaged camp of the unfortunate fugitives. If this be true, it is clear that whatever motives led him to move the assault, he did not omit to enrich himself with the spoils of the assailed.

“Why (it is right to inquire), if he were actuated by fair and harmless intentions in visiting the camp of the Indians, did he refuse explanation, though it was earnestly solicited by them as they saw troops approaching, leaving them to form the worst conjecture? A few words, making known the object of the visit, would have satisfied the Indians, and prevented their flight and the outrage which followed it.

“For reasons best known to himself, Mr. S. positively refused the satisfaction sought, and even forbade the interpreter to speak to the Indians. Was it to be expected that conduct so little indicating an amicable purpose, would be well received by those people, and that they would, without an effort, yield to a doom they knew not how terrible? Unquestionably not; nothing else ought, under the circumstances, to have been anticipated than precipitate retreat; and how that retreat could be construed, as I am informed it was, into an evidence of guilt, and justification of assault, I am, I confess, wholly unable to comprehend. They were not even charged with, much less convicted of, any overt act, and I am not acquainted with any law (owing probably to my limited knowledge of the books upon that subject) which could warrant or authorize the proceeding to a forcible detention and imprisonment (which appear to have been the object) of the

persons of the inhabitants of our free country, either *red* or white, in manner like that attempted in the case in question. On a full review of the transaction, I cannot resist the opinion that it is strongly characterized by illegality, to say the least; and I regret most truly that the troops of the United States should have been drawn into it, as I am satisfied that it neither consists with their will, or advances their reputation, however unexceptionable their intentions on the occasion may have been; and I rejoice sincerely on their account, and the welfare of the territory, as well as the interest of the unhappy red skins, who are *too weak* to enforce their rights against their white and more powerful neighbors, that a fortunate issue of the affair is likely to be effected.

“Before closing, I am constrained to say, that an examination of the part Salano has acted in the *affair*, forces upon me the conclusion, that he has throughout been influenced by feelings of hostility to the Indians; there is not, I believe, the shadow of a doubt that he inflicted the wound given in the Cabbage Swamp attack. He was heard, I understand, to boast of the accuracy with which he sighted upon his victim, when he levelled his rifle, and to express his astonishment that the Indian did not fall. He was probably prompted to the act, to revenge some fancied personal injury to himself. He has for a long time (if I am correctly informed) been on terms with them far from peaceful; indeed, I am told that his animosity to them is almost proverbial; and that he often, in a light manner, speaks of shooting them, and has been heard to say that he would dispatch one with as little scruple as he would a ‘wolf;’ thus estimating their lives to be of as little value as those of the *vilest* beasts of the forest. If sentiments like these are extensively cherished by our inhabitants, there is little hope of long preserving a good understanding between them and their red neighbors; but such cannot be the case; and this, I trust, is a solitary instance of an entire disregard of the established obligations of citizenship, and a total abandonment of the common principles of humanity. Such a man should be watched as being (in disposition) dangerous to the peace and interests of the territory—and his conduct in the late affair, however favorably that affair may terminate, ought, I must insist, to be closely investigated and scrutinized; and if any ground presents itself justifying punishment, it should be promptly inflicted, to prevent a like offence in future; and it is but *proper to suggest*, of the Indians, that notwithstanding the strength of their desire to live in friendship with the whites generally, has induced them to accept of the terms of adjustment offered, it would be difficult for them to reconcile the entire escape of Salano, whom they look upon as the sole cause of their recent trouble, from punishment,

with the boasted justice of Americans. Something is therefore necessary to be done in the matter, for the preservation of our national character, even should the claims of justice be denied.

"To you, sir, as a conservator of the public peace, and an impartial administrator of the laws, I submit the case, with a perfect confidence that it will receive all the attention to which its importance entitles it.

I am, with the highest respect,

Your obedient servant,

Hon. JOS. L. SMITH, Judge Sup. Court, }
E. Florida, *St. Augustine.* }

G. HUMPHREYS."

Also that of August 4th, to Secretary and acting Governor Walton :

" Seminole Agency, Aug. 4th, 1829.

"SIR—I am compelled by a sense of duty, to address you upon a subject, in which the welfare of this nation is deeply involved.

"I am aware that the statement I have to make and the views I shall present, will interfere, if entertained, with the projects of certain white inhabitants of Florida, who, since the emigration of the western tribes, have located upon the public lands in the immediate vicinity of the Indian territorial boundary, for purposes by no means equivocal or even undeclared.

"It is known to all, who are acquainted with the Indian character, that it has in its composition one besetting and fatal weakness, a proneness for intoxicating drinks; and that spirituous liquors (which are not allowed to be vended in the nation) will command from these people almost any price that the exorbitance of the vender may prompt him to ask. This fact furnishes encouragement, and the unsettled condition of the country affords an inviting field, for the operations of those whose defectiveness in morals or thirst for gain will lead them to seek the acquirement of it without a suitable regard for the means to be employed. The condition of the tribes hereabouts during the last two weeks, and at the present moment, gives abundant evidence that such is the general character of the individuals who have established themselves upon the adjoining public lands, and creates the most grievous and discouraging anticipations for the future well-being of the nation.

"Drunkenness and riot have reigned triumphant. To detect those who practice the nefarious traffic which produces such deplorable consequences is morally impossible; they are sufficiently shrewd, and on the alert to avoid committing themselves before admissible witnesses, and may therefore, as long as they are suffered to remain where they are, prosecute their illicit business in comparative security. Some effective remedy should be applied

without loss of time ; and the only thing which suggests itself to me as likely to succeed, is that of a rigid enforcement of the laws against the unauthorized occupancy of the unsold government lands. I earnestly invite your early attention to this subject ; and shall with great anxiety wait your instructions.

With much respect, your obedient servant,

GEO. WALTON, Esq., Sec'y and Dep'y }
Gov. of Fla., Tallahassee.

G. HUMPHREYS, Agent."

Together with the application of the agent to the district attorney :

"Sem. Agency, 1st July, 1825.

"DEAR SIR—A case of outrage (wholly unprovoked as is stated here) committed upon a party of Indians, who were in search of missing friends, on the east side of the St. John's river, by a party of whites headed, the Indians say, by a Mr. Philip Salano, has produced great excitement among the Indians in this quarter, and unless speedy redress is obtained, serious consequences are to be apprehended.

"I solicit your official attention to the subject, and refer you for further information, to the bearer, Mr. Tingle.

In haste, respectfully yours,

EDGAR MACON, Esq., U. S. Dist. }
Att'y, St. Augustine.

G. HUMPHREYS, Agent."

Another difficulty, quite as embarrassing, increased from day to day, and which ultimately led to an open rupture. The Indians had in their possession a number of slaves, many who were born among them, and others purchased from the whites. The Indians possessing no rights in a court of justice or in law, and the negroes having been purchased and paid for, efforts were made to take possession by force.

The Indian, conscious of his rights, and knowing that he paid the money, though incapable of showing the papers executed under the forms of law, as he had received none, and relying upon the honesty of the white man, protested most earnestly against these demands, and resolutely expressed a determination to resist all attempts thus to wrest from him his rightfully acquired property.

The superintendent, Governor Duval, writes to Col. Humphreys on the 15th of January, as follows :

"Tallahassee, January 5th, 1825.

"SIR—On the subject of the runaway slaves among the Indians, within the control of your agency, it will be proper in all cases, where you believe the owners can identify the slaves, to have

them taken and delivered over to the marshal of East Florida, at St. Augustine, so that the federal judge may inquire into the claim of the party and determine the right of property. But in all cases when the same slave is claimed by a white person and an Indian, if you believe that the Indian has an equitable right to the slave claimed, you are directed not to surrender the said slave, unless by an order from the Honorable Jos. L. Smith, federal judge, residing in St. Augustine, and in that case you will attend before him or at his court, and defend the right of the Indian, if you believe he has right on his side. You will in your discretion remove out of the Indian boundary, all free negroes, or other persons, who may attempt to reside in the nation, without permission from the Supt. or yourself. You will keep an exact account of the number of days you shall be actually engaged in attending to the business of the nation, and also your daily expense while so employed. Where any white person holds forcible, or fraudulent possession of any slave or other property, belonging to an Indian, under your agency, it is your duty to have justice rendered to the Indian, and you are directed to employ counsel when it may be necessary, and take all legal measures to obtain justice for the Indian. The licenses which have been granted to Capt. Thornton and Capt. Pelham to trade with the Indians at Tampa Bay, you will notify them or their agents, will be withdrawn, from and after the 9th day of March next, and that in future, no license will be granted, except where the individual shall reside with the goods in the nation, and under the control of the agent. All spirituous liquors must be kept out of the nation, and if any individual shall sell or otherwise trade to the Indians any intoxicating liquors, it is your duty to have him prosecuted in the federal court. If any trader without license should come into the nation for the purpose of traffic, the law directs you to seize upon his goods. White men are not to visit the Indian towns, or to quit the high road established by congress, to examine the Indian lands, without your special permission.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. G. HUMPHREYS, Agent for }
the Florida Indians. }

WM. P. DUVAL."

It was evident, from the causes of complaint both among the Indians and citizens, increasing as the country settled, that misunderstandings and collisions would ensue, and as neither party could effect their design, bloodshed would follow.

The agent of the government resolutely vindicated the native, and as promptly lent his aid to adjust all demands made by the citizens. But he was alone, and while he stood firmly breasting

the popular current, and endeavoring to soothe the Indian chiefs, the voice of the people became more potent at Tallahassee—through the legislature, whence, in exaggerated and exciting language, it was transmitted to Washington City. The agent represented and protested, but his exertions availed but little; and on the 9th of February, he addressed the subjoined letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, Thomas S. McKenney:

“ *St. Augustine*, Feb. 9th, 1825.

“SIR—Although I have not as yet had opportunity to investigate sufficiently to make a full report, as promised in my letter from Charleston, touching our Indian relations, I have learnt enough since my arrival here to make me feel it to be an imperative duty to address you without delay, for the information of the department, in the hope that the interpositions of the competent power may be exercised in time to prevent the disastrous consequences which must inevitably flow from a prosecution of the system of severity recently adopted towards the Indians. I allude particularly to a law of the last legislative council, which is in the following words: ‘An Act to prevent the Indians from roaming at large, throughout the Territory. Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, that from and after the passing of this act, if any Indian of the years of discretion venture to roam or ramble beyond the boundary lines of the reservations which have been assigned to the tribe or nation to which said Indian belongs, it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons, to apprehend, seize and take said Indian and carry him before some justice of the peace, who is hereby authorized, empowered and *required*, to direct [if said Indian have not a written permission from the agent, to do some specific act] that there shall be inflicted not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, at the discretion of the justice, on the bare back of said Indian, and moreover to cause the gun of said Indian, if he have any, to be taken away from him, and deposited with the colonel of the county, or captain of the district in which said Indian may be taken, subject to the order of the superintendent of Indian affairs.’ The want of good policy of this law, to say nothing of its inhumanity and injustice, it appears to me (with all due deference to the legislative council I say it) must be obvious to every reflecting mind, and I do not hesitate to predict, that an enforcement of its provisions will produce an excitement on the part of the Indians which must unavoidably lead to bloodshed and distress in our frontier settlements. It is not to be expected, that this people, who though greatly and cruelly oppressed, are by nature and every principle of right, if not of human law, free, will tamely submit to the ignominy of stripes, and that for

no other offence, than the mere exercise of a privilege common to all who are not slaves. No, sir! carry this law into effect and war in reality may be expected sooner or later to follow as a consequence : indeed, if I may take the word of a member of the council, such consequence was calculated upon by that body, when the bill was under consideration. 'For,' said he, in a conversation I held with him in relation to this law, 'it is found impossible to bring them to negotiate for a removal from the territory, and the only course, therefore, which remains for us to rid ourselves of them, is to adopt such a mode of treatment towards them, as will induce them to acts that will justify their expulsion by force.' This, sir, is the benevolent language of an *enlightened* American legislator.

"However reasonable or rather natural the wish on the part of the white inhabitants, as a matter of convenience to themselves, that the unfortunate children of the forests should be removed from Florida, justice and honor forbid that means so inhuman as those proposed should be resorted to to effect that object ; and the character of our government and country demand that the abomination should be prevented, and the foul blot of the law in view wiped from the records of our legislation.

"From all I can learn here, there is little doubt that the disturbances near Tallahassee, which have of late occasioned so much clamor, were brought about by a course of unjustifiable conduct on the part of the whites, similar to that which it appears to be the object of the territorial legislature to legalize. In fact, it is stated that one Indian had been so severely whipped by the head of the family which was destroyed, in those disturbances, as to cause his death ; if such be the fact, the subsequent act of the Indians, however lamentable, must be considered as one of retaliation, and I cannot but think it is to be deplored that they were afterwards 'hunted' with so unrelenting a spirit of revenge. As the agent of the United States, as a citizen of Florida desirous to preserve harmony and prevent a further needless effusion of blood, I make this communication, and am

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. THOMAS L. McKENNY, Office of {
Indian Affairs, Washington. }

G. HUMPHREYS, Agent."

This was followed by another on the 6th of March, 1827 :

"*Seminole Agency, March 6th, 1827.*

"SIR—I am sorry to be obliged to report to you that the condition of the Indians of this nation is one of great suffering from hunger. There is not at this moment, I will venture to say, in the whole nation a bushel of corn, or any adequate substitute for

it. The *coutee* and *brier root*, which have hitherto been to them a tolerable *dernier* dependence, are almost entirely consumed. For nearly a year past they have been compelled to rely mainly upon these, and the cabbage-tree, for sustenance, of the vegetable kind. What they are to do another year I dare not imagine. They have not corn for this year's seed, nor can I procure it for them; I have sent to the St. John's, and inquired for it through the Alachua settlements without the smallest success. The situation of some of these people is wretched, almost beyond description; those particularly who during the late alarm were robbed of their guns, have been absolutely famishing. Their appearance is sufficient to excite the commiseration of the hardest heart. Towards a people like the Indians, whose chief dependence for a subsistence is upon the chase, a greater cruelty could not be practiced, than to deprive them of the implements so important and indispensable in their mode of life. That offences have been committed which deserved chastisement, whatever may have been the causes on the part of the whites that led to them, is quite probable, but I do not conceive that any thing, of which I have as yet been informed, in relation to the recent disturbances, can justify the indiscriminate and extreme severity which has been inflicted; and in this I am certain you will agree with me, when you are acquainted with all that has been done, and the extent to which humanity has been outraged. There are facts connected with the operations of this campaign (as I suppose it will be called) at the recital of which every heart, not callous, must shrink with horror.

"Tottering age, feeble childhood, and females, whose peculiarity and delicacy of condition awakens, even in the bosom of the condemned savage, emotions of tenderness, were huddled together and hurried forward with as little of compassion as is extended to the brute when driven forth to meet the slaughterer's knife. There is one attending incident which I would fain withhold, but truth and candor demand that as naught should be set down in malice, so should nothing be extenuated. The circumstance I am required to record is this: On an occasion when a party was sent to collect stragglers, it gathered a number, among whom was a female far advanced in pregnancy. When a return march to *head-quarters* took place, this helpless and unpitied woman was forced onward with such precipitancy as to produce a premature delivery, which was near terminating her life. Truly, this is a most extraordinary lesson in humanity for a civilized nation to place before a people whose barbarism we so loudly and freely condemn. It was well enough, I admit, to employ, if it became necessary, force, to apprehend for trial those who perpetrated the acts of violence near the Oscilla; but the necessity for the general

alarm which was created, and parading of military detachments through the country in warlike fashion, in a time of peace, I am *not* able to perceive; but the evils almost unavoidably consequent upon the procedure, I can too plainly see. And any man who reads the history of this inglorious *war* and its effects, will learn and see much which, as an American, a member of a nation calling itself *Christian*, he must blush at; and I find it a duty to say to you, that upon the subject of this treatment of the Indians, the chiefs exhibit great feeling. 'We cannot understand,' say they, 'why unoffending men, and helpless women and children, should be made to suffer for the faults of a few turbulent spirits, whose bad deeds the nation does not justify, though done in retaliation of injuries inflicted upon themselves, and as was the case in the Oscilla murder, by the white man whose family fell victims. We have been told by the whites, that those who commit offences are the only ones who should be punished for them; and although it was the custom among us for a man to take satisfaction into his own hands, and if he could not find the individual who had committed a murder in his family, punish the nearest blood of his he *could* find, such is not our way now. Shortly after our agent came among us, he convinced us that this was wrong, and we altered our laws, which now stand like those of the whites; though some of our hard-headed men, who have no sense, will not as yet, we are sorry to say, listen to the new law, but follow the old one, and when injured take revenge the shortest way they can get it; they were such men that did the murder on the Oscilla, because they had not patience to wait and let the white people's laws give them satisfaction; and because, perhaps, they did not believe those laws would do them justice.'

"Assuredly, there is something decidedly wrong—our system of management in regard to those people is essentially faulty; and until it is amended, and less characterized by overbearing and severity, it will be difficult, nay, impossible, to convince them that we mean to deal with them kindly or even justly.

Gov. WM. P. DUVAL, }
Tallahassee.

G. HUMPHREYS, Agent."

The agent was so unfortunate, during a brief absence at Washington City, on duty, to be presented by the grand jury convened at St. Augustine. In a letter to Governor Duval, he alludes to this in a proper spirit of indignation:

"St. Augustine, Fla., February 8th, 1827.

"The grand jury of this district, through the influence of some of my enemies, took occasion to notice my recent absence, in the way of condemnation, in their general presentment, not knowing

that I had for my absence such authority as would scarce feel itself bound, either by duty or courtesy, to ask even that august, high-minded, and enlightened body's sanction for its acts. I scorn and have a sovereign contempt for the breeders of such impotent malice.

"I shall, as I have ever made it a point to do, act honestly but *independently*, regardless of the interested murmurings and calumnies of the malevolent and discontented spirits of the land. I am well aware, that in this country, filled, as it is at present, with reckless adventurers from all quarters of the globe, such a course is calculated to make me an object of vituperative assault; but for these I care not, so long as I am sustained by a consciousness of my own rectitude of purpose. When I entered upon the duties of my present office, I chose for myself a line of conduct from which I have never wittingly deviated—one, to be sure, that has given me much difficulty, and subjected me to severe and illiberal animadversions, but one which will nevertheless, I feel a comforting certainty, eventually bear me triumphantly through the trying ordeal of public opinion.

I am your obedient servant,

Gov. WM. P. DUVAL, }
Tallahassee.

G. HUMPHREYS, Agent."

The territorial legislature had memorialized congress, in the mean time, in regard to the Indians, as will be seen by the following extract from the paper transmitted :

"The tract of country assigned to the Florida Indians by the treaty of 1823, has always been complained of by them as incompetent to their support, and the additional grant subsequently made them, has been the occasion of much dissatisfaction among many of our citizens, and probably not without cause. In addition to this, the present location is in the pathway of our settlers, and has already seriously impeded the settlement of the fairest part of Florida, and will now cloud all its prospects. The land in this vicinity is excellent, and but for the obstruction by this unfortunate though not less obnoxious tribe of beings, would, before this, have borne on the current of the St. John's all the rich and luxurious products of a tropical clime. Besides, they have never gone within their boundary, but have scattered themselves in different parts of the territory, to the great annoyance of our citizens. They have stripped the corn from our fields before our eyes; they have burned our houses, and murdered our citizens. All this they did, and have been doing for the last season, within twenty miles of the walls of St. Augustine, and with impunity. But more recent outrages have been committed,

which have thrown a damper on the spirit of our agriculturists, and present our country under a gloomy aspect. The most inhuman butcheries have been committed by them; a whole family has fallen a sacrifice to their vengeance, and individuals have been murdered while on the highway, and engaged in that industry which constitutes the soul and energy of our country. Our corn-houses have been broken and plundered, our cattle killed, and our settlers driven from their homes, and threatened with all the horrors of Indian cruelty, within the space of the last two months, and within forty miles of our capital. The vigilance of our governor and the promptness of our militia have, for the present, checked their outrages, and in some degree quieted the fears of our citizens; but at what time and in what place the bent bow will let slip its arrow, the blood of our citizens, we fear, will soon proclaim. In this gloomy situation of affairs, your memorialists beg the speedy removal of those people out of the territory. If they are dissatisfied with their present situation, as appears; if they have never complied with the stipulations of their treaty, as is manifest; if they have been guilty of the most glaring and unprovoked outrages, certainly they have forfeited their claim to humanity, and are the subjects of our policy. We must earnestly recommend, that they be forthwith called to their boundary, and commissioners appointed to hold a new treaty with them, stipulating their immediate removal from the territory to the new country west of the Mississippi, and the commissioners be vested with full power to carry the same into execution."

The demands for negroes said to be among the Indians, continued to agitate the country, threatening the most serious results. These applications were now made upon the president of the United States, who, through the secretary of war and commissioner of Indian affairs, required them to be surrendered by the Indian agent. "I now, by direction of the secretary of war," says the commissioner, on the 8th of February, 1827, "call your attention, &c."

"Department of War, Office Indian Affairs, Feb. 8th, 1827."

"SIR—Frequent complaints have been made to the department, respecting slaves claimed by citizens of Florida, which are in possession of the Indians; all of which have been acted on here, in issuing such orders to you as it was expected would be promptly obeyed, and lead to such investigations as should issue in fixing the right of the claimants or establishing the contrary; and that these proceedings would be followed by the proper reports to the department—nothing satisfactory has been received of you.

"I now, by direction of the secretary of war, call your attention to this subject, in a general way, and particularly in regard to the claim of Margaret Cooke, and require it of you forthwith to cause the negroes claimed by her to be surrendered to her, upon her entering into a bond with sufficient security, of which you will judge, to abide by the decision of such tribunal as it may be esteemed proper by the secretary of war to establish, to decide upon the claim.

"You will, at the same time, satisfy the Indians of the propriety and justice of this course. Tell them the claim is set up, and that this act is merely to secure the property until the right is decided, when, if it be in them, it will be restored, and if in the claimant, they ought not to expect to hold them. It is expected of you to report generally upon such other like claims as may exist in regard to slaves.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
 Col. GAD HUMPHREYS, } THOS. L. McKENNEY."
Agent to the Florida Indians. }

Further instructions were received by the agent upon the subject, from the superintendent. On the 20th of March he thus writes :

" Tallahassee, March 20th, 1827.

"SIR—The superintendent or agent is not vested with judicial power to decide on the right of property, who may and have surrendered slaves to our citizens which were runaways ; we will, as heretofore, advise the Indians to surrender a slave where in justice they ought not to retain the slave, but in any litigated case the chiefs must decide the matter, the facts to be reported as herein directed. Many of the slaves belonging to the Indians are now in the possession of the white people ; these slaves cannot be obtained for their Indian owners without a law-suit, and I see no reason why the Indians shall be compelled to surrender all slaves claimed by our citizens when this surrender is not mutual. By the treaty they were bound to deliver up all the slaves that were at that time in the nation, who had absconded from their owners, and to return such as might in future flee to the nation ; but where a citizen and an Indian set up title to the same slave, and that slave is in the nation, the matter must be decided by the chiefs, and from the decision no other step can be taken on your part, but to refer the whole to the secretary of war. The negroes, claimed by the Indian woman Nelly, may be given up to her ; or if you believe it just and proper, the same can be retained under your orders until the case shall be determined.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,
 To Col. G. HUMPHREYS, Agent, } WILLIAM P. DUVAL."
Fort King, Florida. }

The agent, with such powers enjoined, was in an awkward dilemma, as well as one of great responsibility. To adjust rights in this vexed and complicated matter, which was to involve the United States in an open rupture with a people whom they had voluntarily bound themselves to protect, was a situation far from being *désirable*. In the first instance, their claims were to be submitted to the judge of the federal court—next, the agent was to decide; but he, feeling the delicacy of his situation, submits them to the superintendent, who avoids the responsibility, and says, “The superintendent or his agent is not vested with judicial powers to decide on the right of property. The chiefs must determine.”

The chiefs were determined not to surrender their property into the hands of any one for investigation. But they were ready to give bonds to deliver the slave, when proved before a proper tribunal to belong to the claimant. Deprived as they were of a voice in the halls of justice, the surrender of the negro at once dispossessed them, without the least prospect of ever getting him returned. Discontent and the spirit of retaliation pervaded the entire country. The settler had no confidence in the Indian, which was most heartily reciprocated.

When favorable opportunities offered, the Indian suffered from personal abuse, and when made beastly intoxicated was robbed of his ornaments and rifle. In most instances, upon recovering he would find that he had, as told, sold his horse for a drink, and thrown away his money. This to him was incredible, but what he had lost was far beyond the hope of recovery. In retaliation, and to obtain that which he conceived, very justly too, had been stolen from him when intoxicated, he improved the first opportunity to secure cattle and hogs, by driving them within the Indian boundary, and claiming and defending them as his own. Travellers complained of being intercepted on the highway, maltreated and robbed. Houses were said to have been forcibly opened, in the absence of the occupants, and provisions stolen. To put a stop to these proceedings, a company of mounted militia was ordered out on the 2d of April, to scour the country, and bring the depredators to justice. The chiefs appealed to the agent for protection, denying unequivocally that their warriors had been guilty of overt acts. Those attributed to them they believed, as many respectable persons did, had been committed by vagrant whites, who under the cry of hostilities shielded themselves from punishment. In the progress of this quasi war, two whites were killed. The Indians had good cause to believe this to have been the act of their own people. Nehemathlar, the chief, promptly assembled his warriors, and after a pursuit of two months secured the fugitives, and delivered them to the agent for trial. Such

alacrity was an evidence on their part of a desire to act justly and decisively when complaints were made upon sufficient ground. On the 9th of September, the agent writes to the district attorney in reference to the Indian prisoners, who, after a fair trial, were acquitted.

“ *Seminole Agency*, 9th September, 1827.

“DEAR SIR—In consequence of a letter of disapproval received from Gov. Duval, I, some weeks since, directed the two Indians who were released from confinement at the time you were at the agency, to be arrested and sent to Tallahassee for examination, &c.; which order, I am informed, has been obeyed. It has this day been suggested to me, by a gentleman from Alachua county, that there is a plan on foot, to have them sent into Georgia for trial, in the belief that their chance for escape from punishment and death will be weakened by such procedure, it being easy, as the friends of the measure say, to show that the crime, if committed by them, was perpetrated within the limits of that state. The suggestion of corrupt trial is a calumny upon the character of that commonwealth, and the measure indicated, no man, not an ignoramus, can think of carrying out. That the most unscrupulous efforts will be made to convict, need not be questioned. Knowing your character, I am aware that there is no necessity of making an appeal to your benevolence of feeling, in behalf of those unfortunate men. I am satisfied that, in the discharge of your duties of public prosecutor, you will not lose sight of the principles of justice, or forget what is due to humanity. I most confidently believe in the entire innocence of the accused of the blood, the spilling of which is attempted to be fastened upon them; and that, though they may have committed depredations upon the property of the whites, their guilt wears no deeper hue. Should the incipient judicial examination result in further confinement and a trial, in season to enable me to reach Tallahassee to attend it, it is my own wish, and that of the chiefs, that I should be present. His excellency appeared by his letter to be highly displeased, that I consulted you in relation to the release; and says, that I ought not to have suffered myself to be influenced by your opinion, as you are not authorized to decide for the judge or jury.

Respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

U. S. District Attorney, }
Tallahassee, Fla. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians.”

In spite of the exertions of the *citizens* and well-wishers of the country, the disposition to trample upon the Indians, manifested itself in all quarters. The secretary and acting governor

McCarty, informed Col. Humphreys, on the 26th of November, of a murder committed in the neighborhood of Tallahassee :

" Indian Office, Tallahassee, Nov. 26th, 1827.

"SIR—It gives me pain, to apprise you of a distressing event which occurred in this vicinity on the 20th ult. An Indian (who accompanied Billy and his wife, who had a pass from you to visit their relations in the Creek nation) was shot, as appears from the verdict of the jury of inquest. Two persons have been apprehended, and I have issued a proclamation for a third, who is also suspected of participating in this shocking outrage. You will explain this circumstance to the nation, with such remarks as may occur to you to be proper on the occasion. The Indian, who was shot, had no pass ; but he no doubt considered himself as under the protection of that which you had granted to Billy and wife. This melancholy occasion is much deplored by the people in this neighborhood, who have manifested much zeal for the apprehension of the offenders ; and of this the nation should be fully apprised. They should, moreover, be instructed to admonish their people not to pass the boundary without permission in writing from yourself.

I am, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. G. HUMPHREYS, Agent, {
Fort King, Fla. }

WILLIAM M. McCARTY,
Sec. and Act. Gov. and Act. Sup't. Ind. Aff. in Fla."

The agent assembled the chiefs as directed, and thus answers the acting governor :

" Seminole Agency, 19th Dec. 1827.

"SIR—On my return yesterday from an excursion into the Indian nation, I was put in possession of your letter of the 26th ultimo, communicating the unpleasant news of the murder of an Indian, near Tallahassee.

"It fortunately so happened, that I was visited on the day of my return by Hicks, and several other chiefs, to whom I made known the subject of your letter, adding such remarks of my own as the occasion seemed to call for. The chiefs were, as was to be expected, much annoyed by the intelligence ; but they nevertheless deported themselves with perfect temperance and propriety, and assured me, that, believing exact justice would be done in the matter, they would quietly await the result of the investigation, which I have informed them is to take place.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM McCARTY, Esq., {
Sec. and Act. Gov. of Florida. }

G. HUMPHREYS, Agent."

These men, relying upon the sense of justice which had actuated them in the arrest of fugitive Indians accused of a like

offence, awaited calmly the action of the white man's laws to punish the offenders.

In the midst of these difficulties, the claims for negroes in possession of the Indians were pushed upon the war department, through the delegate of the territory, Col. J. M. White, who peremptorily demanded redress for the grievances complained of by his constituents. Col. Humphreys was ordered to deliver forthwith the negroes claimed by Mrs. Margaret Cook. The refusal of the Indian chief to comply caused some delay, when the order was reiterated on the 6th of February, and further required that the agent "should see that it was done."

The agent wrote the following letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, showing that the neglect was not attributable to himself, but to the spirit of opposition manifested by the Indians :

" *Seminole Agency*, March 1st, 1828.

"SIR—Your letter of the 7th instant, communicating the order of the secretary of war, in relation to the delivery of Mrs. Cooke's negro Jack or John, was received here last mail, and in reply thereto I have to request, that you will say to the secretary, that at the time the order came to hand, the fourth party which had been sent by me in pursuit of the negro in question, within the last six months, was out. It has returned without success, and the Indian men declare their inability to take the fugitive. Under these circumstances, I have to ask of the Department, what is to be done? and whether in this particular case I am authorized to put in requisition the military force stationed near the agency? and if so, to request that I may be placed in such relation with regard to it, as will insure a compliance with such calls as I may find it necessary to make. From one portion of your letter under consideration, it is to be inferred that the department has been imposed upon, or at least, that it is in error in relation to the situation of the property in question. You say that the negro Jack or John *must be delivered* up to Mrs. Cook, on the same condition as she received the other negro claimed by her, viz., on her giving bonds, &c. Such conditions are not at all required, so far as the interests of the Indians are concerned, inasmuch as they do not pretend to dispute the title with Mrs. C., whom they admit and believe to be the legitimate owner of the slave, and to whom they are willing (as their efforts in her behalf in this case fully prove, however she may assert the contrary) to give such aid as they can, and more than she has a right to ask, towards the recovery of her property. But they will not, I apprehend, consent further to risk their lives in a service, which has always been a thankless one ; and has lately proved so to one of

the most respected and valuable chiefs in the nation, who was killed in an attempt to arrest a runaway slave.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOS. L. McKENNEY, Esq.,
Com'r of Indian Affairs. }

G. HUMPHREYS, Agent."

Connected with these causes of dissatisfaction, the Indians complained that the annuity granted under the treaty was withheld. This had been done in the belief that a suspension of payment would impel the Indians to surrender the negroes, so long and unwisely contended for. A letter from the agent to Governor Duval, of March 8, 1828, makes known the dissatisfaction of the chiefs :

"Seminole Agency, March 6, 1828.

"SIR—Under the impression, from what has been stated to me, that there remains a considerable unexpended balance of the appropriation of \$20,000 made by congress to furnish provisions for the relief of the Florida Indians, I feel it a duty to state, that if such balance exists, it might at this time afford great benefit to the nation, if judiciously applied to the purchase of corn, &c. The last year's crop of the Indians, which was scanty, is entirely exhausted, and they are beginning to feel the pressure of want, from which they receive only such precarious relief as is to be found in the woods. They do not, however, even under these circumstances, make any new calls upon the munificence of the government ; but if there is any portion of its former bounty, that has not reached them, it would be exceedingly acceptable, and an act of humanity to impart it to them, in this their time of need. I yesterday received a formal visit from Hicks, and several other chiefs, the object of which was to request me to address you on this subject.

"I shall be glad to be instructed what to say to them in reply. I have of late been much importuned on this subject of the annuity, which has been some time due.

The Indians are extremely anxious to have it, and desire that it may be paid in specie. They are not content with the manner in which it has been thus far given to them. They say, that when paid, as heretofore, in goods or bank notes, it is impossible for them to apportion and distribute it in such a way, as that each individual shall get the exact amount to which he is entitled ; and this difficulty, which is the cause of dissatisfaction among the members of the nation, can only be prevented by the mode of payment now asked for.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Gov. WM. P. DUVAL, Superintendent
of Indian Affairs, Tallahassee, Fla. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Sem. Indians."

The commissioner of Indian affairs, in answer to the communication of the agent, of March 27, says that "the military cannot be employed in arresting Indian negroes."

"Department of War, Office Indian Affairs, }
March 27th, 1828. }

"SIR—I have received your two letters of the 7th instant. In regard to the negro, the property of Mrs. Cooke, it was expected that, if within your reach, or the means at your disposal, you would comply with the order. *The military will not be employed.*

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. G. HUMPHREYS, }
Agent Fa. Indians, *Fort King, Fa.* }

THOS. L. MCKENNEY,
Com'r In. Affairs."

The military had already been put in requisition, through the *request* of the agent, and voluntary offer of Major Glassell, U. S. A., commanding at Fort King, but confined to the country in their immediate neighborhood. It was thought the presence of troops would intimidate the Indians, and cause an instant delivery. But the demand, under such circumstances, was ridiculed, and while the commander was wasting his arguments, the negroes were immediately taken to the swamps and hammocks, under direction of experienced guides. These proceedings naturally inflamed the passions of all, and while the chiefs were calmly maintaining their rights, in the face of an authority capable of crushing them as a nation, the younger class listened attentively, anxiously awaiting the time when they could act as their feelings dictated, and revenge their wrongs, accumulating from day to day, and which seemed to become more aggravated as they attempted to resist them, and defend themselves. The most influential chiefs endeavored to calm the feeling so rife, encouraged as it was by white men lingering upon their border, demoralizing them by the sale of whisky, and adding to their depraved condition by pernicious example and advice.

The agent reported to the superintendent, on the 6th of April, 1828, the murder of a white man by an Indian :

"Seminole Agency, April 6th, 1828.

"SIR—I have to report that a murder has recently been committed upon a white man in the neighborhood of 'Hamly's Old Store,' by an Indian who lived near the *Oklawaha* river. The cause which led to the outrage, or whether there was any provocation, I have not learned; though there is reason to believe the deed was altogether wanton. Upon being informed of the affair, I sent for some of the principal chiefs, who promptly attended, and declared their unqualified disapproval of the act: indeed, so

exasperated were they, particularly the emigrants settled on 'Big Swamp,' that some difficulty was experienced in restraining and preventing them from proceeding at once in pursuit to inflict summary justice; but as the offender is of the old Seminoles, between whom and the tribes of the west there appears, unfortunately, not to exist the most perfect cordiality, I deemed it advisable, in order to harmonize and check, if possible, an increase of unkindly feelings, to stop proceedings in the matter, until measures could be entered into to bring the different tribes to act in concert.

"The occasion, though a melancholy one, seemed favorable for entering on the first step towards a more perfect union between them; which is so essential to their own happiness and the interests of the United States. I accordingly detained some of the head-men from the west, and sent for Micanopy and Jumper, who had just returned, as was understood, from the hunting grounds. Jumper was found to be still out, and Micanopy, though at home, was confined to his *lodge* by severe sickness; of course, neither attended. Under these circumstances, I concluded to send *Tuskeneha* to Micanopy, whose place is only about eight miles from here, to ascertain his sentiments in relation to the murder, and whether he was disposed to join in bringing the perpetrator to justice. His conduct on the occasion, as reported to me by *Tuskeneha*, was entirely correct, and such as does him credit. He said the man deserved death by their own laws, and although he was unable to go to aid in carrying the law into effect, he should give his voice in favor of immediate punishment, and would fully sanction whatever the other chiefs might do. It was then resolved by the council that the offender should expiate his offence by death; and a party, led by *Tuskeneha*, proceeded to enforce the sentence. At the request of the Indians, I sent a young man named Brutan (who has been some time employed by me to herd the public cattle), as a witness. This they desired, they said, in order to satisfy the whites, some of whom might otherwise doubt them, that they were faithful. I strongly urged that the murderer should be given up to be tried by the laws of the white people; but to this the Indians as strongly objected, as being contrary to their custom. They never attempted to take a murderer alive, it would be attended with danger, and might cause the death of one or more of the party; for once notified of his detection he knew his fate, and would doubtless fight till the last. 'Twere better,' they said, 'that so bad a man should lose his forfeited life, than jeopardize the safety of any good one by unnecessary formality;' and, on the whole, though I could have desired to see them pursue a course more in consonance with the received notions of civilization, I could not believe it to be a point of sufficient import-

ance to authorize me to press it, at a risk of a total failure of justice, and therefore told them to pursue their own method.

"The party went, but did not entirely succeed, though there is reason to believe the object in view was essentially effected;—the culprit was fired upon, as he was taking shelter in a swamp, and fell, but recovered his feet, and got into the swamp. Blood was found where he ran, after the shots.

"I was informed yesterday, that all search of the friends of the fugitive, which has been constant, has proved unavailing; and the conjecture (a very probable one) is, that in attempting to swim the *Oklawaha*, which is very high, in his wounded condition, he has been drowned.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

Gov. W. P. DUVAL, }
Tallahassee, Florida. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians."

The determination of the chiefs to punish the murderer, again evinced the kindest disposition towards the inhabitants, though so long aggrieved by efforts to wrest from them their property.

The talk given by the principal men upon the subject, shows a determination to award justice; showing at the same time a just appreciation of their own rights, in opposition to the arguments and threats which the agent had resorted to, in endeavoring to fulfil the requirements of claimants, coming as they did from the secretary of war, under instructions from the president of the United States:

Minutes of a talk held at the Seminole Agency, the 17th April, 1828, at which were present Tuskal Mathla, *Head Chief*: Mico Nopy, Jumper, Halata Emathla, Halata Mico, Fee-ke-lusta, Hajo, and Cooper. *Witnesses, or white persons, present*: Capt. Saunders, *Sutler at Tampa*; Lieut. Eaton, 4th Infantry; Mr. Ganes, and Mr. Lockwood.

Agent.—I understand you have come to have a talk with me: if so, proceed; I am ready to hear you.

Mico Nopy.—We are told there is a white man come into our country after certain negroes. I want to know what right he has to come after them; we have been told that white people should not come into our country: besides, these negroes are ours, and the whites have no right to them.

Agent.—This man has an order from the secretary of war to get the negroes, and I am directed to give them up to him, on his giving bonds, in the same way that Mrs. Cook got the negroes *she* claimed from Nelly Factor. Should the white woman who calls for these negroes, not prove her claim, the negroes will be returned to you. If you do not give them up, I shall have to send and take them by force.

Jumper.—This negro woman, who is now wanted from us, belonged formerly to a white man, who 'tis now said (by those who wish to get her and her children away from us) gave her to his daughter. May-be this is true, may-be not; but if he did give her to his daughter, for some reason, he took her away again and brought her and sold her to the Indians, who honestly paid for her, and are therefore the fair owners of her. It seems that the white people will not rest, or suffer us

to do so, till they have got all the property belonging to us, and made us poor. The laws of the whites appear to be made altogether for their own benefit, and against the Indians, who can never under them get back any of *their* property; if it once gets, no matter how, into the white people's hands, we fear their laws will leave to us nothing. If we could see them work so as to restore the property that has been stolen, and otherwise unfairly taken from us, and not so as to rob us of the little we have left, we should have more reason to believe them just, but as it is, the benefit to be had from them goes all to the white people's side.

It is well known that a great deal of our property, negroes, horses, cattle, &c. is now in the hands of the whites, and yet their laws give us no satisfaction, and will not make them give this property up to us. The property which this white man is after, we know to belong to our people, and we cannot therefore consent to give it up. If you send and take it from us by force, as you say you must, we cannot help ourselves, but shall think it very hard in the government to force from us that which we have purchased and fairly paid for, when it will not use the same means to make the whites return to us property of ours which they have *dishonestly* got in their possession. We were promised *justice*, and we want to see it! These negroes are ours, and we will not consent to surrender them, or say we are willing to have them taken. If they are forced out of our hands, we may not resist because we have not the power; but we must insist, that the government does not show in this business that justice which has been so often and liberally promised to us. We have submitted to one demand after another of this kind, in the hope that they would cease, but it seems that there will be no end to them, as long as we have any thing left that the white people may want, and we have become tired and discouraged.

Agent.—You act wisely in not attempting to resist by force the orders of the government, which, you may rest assured will, as far as practicable, do you justice in this and every other matter. You must not suppose, because you are called upon to give up these negroes, that it is the wish or intention of the government to deprive you of any thing which of right belongs to you or your people. This course is taken in order that the dispute between you and the white claimant, which has been so long annoying both you and the government, may be settled and for ever put at rest. And I repeat, that should the white woman fail to prove her title to the property, it will be returned to you.

Juniper.—We heard the same talk about the negroes which were taken from Nelly Factor, *twelve moons* since, but the negroes have not come back. We know you tell us what you think, and wish and hope that your words may prove true,—but it is discouraging, and makes our hearts sad, to have the white people coming, every few days, to wrong us out of our honest property, when we can never get out of their hands that which they stole from us many years ago. The negroes this man is after are ours, and the white people *know* it is so; and if you take it from us, we shall think hard of it, and feel that the justice of the government is for the whites and not for us.

I have nothing more to say.

Col. George M. Brooke, U. S. A., commanding at Tampa Bay, had been induced, through the solicitations of Col. Humphreys, to assist him in the execution of his orders. He succeeded, with the aid of his troops, in arresting four negroes, claimed as the property of Mrs. Hannay, of St. Mary's, Ga.

Col. Brooke thus writes to the agent on the 2d and 6th of May:

"Canton Brooke, May 2d, 1828.

"DEAR SIR—I received by the hands of Mr. Mickler, a few days since, your letter of the 22d April, with Col. McKenney's of the 8th March. On inquiry, I have ascertained that the negroes claimed by a person in Georgia are not at Peas Creek, but probably on the Withlacoochee, or in the neighborhood of Pilacklichaha, and it would be useless for me to send a command after them, because they would be hid by the Indians from the most careful search. My command is, besides, so small, having only twenty-eight men for duty, that I could not well dispatch any part, which must be so weak as not to command any respect from the Indians, and in producing probable resistance, would result in an immediate state of hostilities. I have, however, seen the Indian who claims them, and who will deliver them to you or Major Glossell, but not to Mr. Mickler, who they are afraid will take them out of the nation, without their ever being able to get back the negroes, or the money which they have paid for them. It appears the old woman has been in the country for twenty years, and, at their own expense, the increase has been raised and supported. I am not to say any thing as it regards the proper title, but only state what the Indians have told me. Young Micanopy will be here on Monday next, and will proceed immediately in the direction of the negroes, and carry them to the agency. I do not believe that, without the consent of the Indians themselves, the negroes would have been had, without a considerable force and fatigue, and then with a risk of considerable consequences.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,
 Col. G. HUMPHREYS, } GEO. M. BROOKE, *Col. U. S. A. commanding.*
 Indian Agent. }

"Canton Brooke, May 6th, 1828.

"DEAR SIR—Sestaskee and young Micanopy will leave this to-day, for the agency, with a part of the negroes, and the remainder they will get at what is called their old place.

"I really pity those Indians, and although negroes are of little value to the Indians, being rather masters than slaves, still they view them as their property. So many claims are now made on them, that they begin to believe that it is the determination of the United States to take them all. This idea is strengthened by the conversations of many of the whites, and which they have heard.

"I would assume the responsibility of not delivering the negroes, unless the claim was perfectly satisfactory, and inform the government; and in any or all events, I would be perfectly satisfied as to the perfect ability of the persons who have signed the

bond. It is a delicate matter, after having received a positive order; but there is, and must be always, discretion, unless the person giving the order is on the spot.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. G. HUMPHREYS, }
Agent, Fort King, Fla. }

GEO. M. BROOKE, Colonel U. S. A."

Though every means had been adopted to meet the demands of the highest authority, in regard to slaves, Col. Humphreys was determined to be satisfied as to the responsibility of his own acts, done in obedience to orders received, while he was enjoined, at the same time, to give protection to the Indians, as agreed upon in the treaty of Fort Moultrie.

The letter from the Hon. Jos. L. Smith, judge of the supreme court of Florida, goes far to bear the Indian out in resisting the delivery of his property:

"St. Augustine, May 10th, 1828.

"SIR—Your letter of the 9th instant reached me yesterday, and I reply to the inquiries contained in it by remarking, that property belonging to Indians, or in their possession, under *bonâ fide* claim of title, cannot legally be taken from them, but by treaty, by their consent, or by decision of a competent court of justice. General principles would forbid, and I know of no special statute conferring such a power on superintendents or agents.

"In extreme cases, from necessity, as where there exists *reasonable* apprehension of hostilities, it would be right to take from them their arms and other means of aggression; but this, after all, would be an act of war in self-defence.

"I can perceive no equity in withholding from the Indians their annuity, because they do not give up to white claimants property which they allege is their own. The act of 1802, when they have committed depredations, and injured the property of the whites, authorizes compensation (on proof) to be made by stoppages from their annuity; and this under the direction, if I recollect the law correctly, of the president.

"In regard to runaway negroes, who have sought refuge in the nation of which you are agent, I understand from the department, that the question, in all cases of *adverse claims*, was to be investigated and decided by me, under the authority of which you have had notice. During the continuance of this arrangement, (decided and urged by the white claimants, and, as I have been informed, by the Indians also,) which would give opportunity for thorough investigation of proofs, on both sides, it was not to be expected that a summary order would have been issued by any functionary in the territory, that a negro in possession of the

Indians, with a claim of title, should be delivered to the white claimant, on his *ex parte* statement.

"A step like this, taken in a case actually undergoing investigation before me, would place me in an unpleasant position, rendering future proceedings uncertain, and, in fact, terminate the benefit, to white claimants and to the Indians, of the authority given to me by the department.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. GAD HUMPHREYS, }
Agent, &c. }

JOSEPH L. SMITH."

The department of war, finding itself, as well as its agents, so deeply involved in difficulties in the recovery of slaves, the course of adjudication as transmitted in the instructions given to the agent by the superintendent on the 5th of January, 1825, was resumed.

"Department of War, Office Indian Affairs, May 5th, 1828.

"SIR—You will direct Col. Humphreys, in order to a speedy decision in all cases which may be submitted for the recovery of runaway slaves, to refer them to the judge of the district; and if his decision be favorable to the claimants, you will order the slaves to be delivered, in pursuance of that decision, the claimant giving bonds to abide by such other legal proceedings as the parties holding the slaves may think proper to adopt.

"You will address the judge a line requesting him to decide, and report the cases to you, to be forwarded by you to the department, for its information. Let the report of the judge be on the basis of a judicial decision.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

His Excellency, WILLIAM P. DUVAL, }
Tallahassee. }

THOS. L. McKENNEY."

In one instance, the slaves demanded were in possession. Bonds were accordingly required, before surrendering them, to re-deliver the negroes to the Indian, if declared by a competent tribunal to be his property. Those offered were refused by the agent, as the persons tendered as security were irresponsible in all respects. The agent vindicates his course in a letter to the superintendent on the 14th of August:

"Seminole Agency, 14th August, 1828.

"SIR—Your two letters, of the 31st July and 1st August, were this day received. The order relative to the slaves claimed by Mrs. Hannay, shall be attended to, but I must confess my ap-

prehension, that I shall find some difficulty in determining upon the competency of the security she may offer (which it is presumable will be from among her friends and acquaintances in Georgia), as I am totally ignorant of the pecuniary circumstances of every individual in that state.

"My situation, it may be readily imagined, would be awkward and embarrassing in the extreme, and I should be liable to the charge of being untrue to my duty, were I (by mistake or otherwise) to accept security which should, in the end, prove insufficient, and the Indian who is the opposing claimant of Mrs. Hannay suffer in consequence the loss of her property. I take the liberty, therefore, to request that I may be furnished with specific instructions for my government on this subject.

"As the principal chiefs happened to be assembled at the agency in council, when your communication on the subject of the claim set up by Mrs. Cook was received, it was read and interpreted to them at once.

"The accompanying is a talk delivered in meeting, this morning, by Hicks in reply, which I have the honor to transmit to you, with a request from the chiefs, that it may be forwarded to Washington. They appear much hurt at the idea of M—— being allowed to wrest from them, as pay for a slave, a portion of the poor pittance which they are entitled to from the government, without their having had a shadow of value for it, and that too upon her own *ex parte* and interested statement, which, I think I hazard little in saying, will be found, on investigation, to be grossly erroneous; for I cannot suppose the department would, for a moment, think of giving sanction to a claim so unjust and extravagant as that preferred by Mrs. ———, had it not been imposed upon by an uncandid representation of the facts existing in the case. I am naturally led to infer from the tenor of your language upon the subject, as well as of that which you communicate as coming from the department, that an impression has been created there, ascribing to the Indians a wilful withholding from Mrs. Cook of the negro she claims. If such an impression exists, it is a libel on the nation; and those who have been instrumental in producing it are guilty of egregious if not deliberate misrepresentation. To Mrs. ——— and her son-in-law ———, have I repeatedly, verbally and by letter, explained the difficulties in the case, and at the same time apprised them of the earnest desire of the chiefs that the matter should be settled, and of the efforts they were making to bring the negro in question in—efforts they were induced to make by my assuring them that Mr. ——— was willing (for to that effect he had made professions to me) to pay a considerable balance which is yet due to the Indian of the original purchase-

money (none of which purchase-money, it is just for me to state here, went, as their chiefs allege, to the actual Indian owner of the negro, he utterly refusing, when sober, to accept the goods—a small packhorse-load only—which had been palmed upon him, during a period of intoxication, in exchange for his slave). He left them, and returned to his home. They were subsequently put into the possession of other Indians, (not at all interested in the trade about the negro,) by whom they were, it may be taken for granted, consumed. The negro never was delivered up, nor has there ever been exhibited to me evidence, if such exists, of any *written* title, upon which Mrs. ——— claims.

“It was upon the oral representations of her son-in-law, Mr. ———, made at an early period of my acquaintance with him, *as a business man*, that I was induced to give to the Indians the advice, on the subject of this claim, alluded to in their talk herewith sent. That advice was given, not because I had seen any proof of the legality of Mr. ———’s title, but because I was led to believe a valuable and sufficient consideration had been paid for the negro in question to the proper owner by Ferrard, who seems to have been the agent of the husband of Mrs. ——— in the transaction of purchase; and that, on this account, she had something like at least an equitable claim, which could be more easily adjusted by obtaining the consent of the nation to surrender the negro, and leaving them to settle the business among themselves by levying contributions upon those who had been the actual recipients of the articles given for the slave to indemnify his owner, or in any way they might prefer.

“A proposition, therefore, was made to that effect, and assented to by the chiefs, but solely upon the ground that the goods had, as it appeared, been consumed by members of their nation, and with the express understanding that the arrangement was to be considered one of entire gratuity on their part.

“Ever since this period, exertions have been made by the Indians to apprehend and give the negro up. Once, they succeeded in taking and delivering him here, during a short absence of mine on business in the nation. He was put in irons, but before my return effected his escape. The Indians are now in pursuit; and I have good reason to hope the fellow will, ere long, be re-surrendered. It is manifest from the foregoing facts, that, so far from the nation’s attempting to practice any unfairness towards Mrs. Cook in this matter, it is acting with a liberality that might *possibly* be looked for in vain, if the positions of the parties were reversed.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

His Excellency, WM. P. DUVAL, }
Governor of Florida.

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians.”

The talk of the chiefs is marked by good sense, and manifests a disposition to act justly in the matter. The peremptory demand made upon them, to which this talk is an answer, was accompanied by a threat to deduct from their annuity, in case of refusal, the value of the negroes, to be paid to the claimants :

Minutes of a talk given by the head-chief, John Hicks, in council at the Seminole agency, the 15th of August, 1828, made to the government through the agent, Col. G. Humphreys.

Brother, We have thought upon what you said last night, about the claim Mrs. — has set up against our nation on account of her negro. We don't like the talk sent from the Big House at Washington, because we think it unjust, and we cannot consent to have the money promised us for our annuity—which is at best a little sum to be divided among so many people—taken from us in the way threatened, when our *nation* has received nothing for it. We find that some of the whites are determined not to let us rest, as long as we have any thing that they want; and if every one who asks is allowed to take, we should soon be without money or any thing else worth possessing, and have nothing left but our nakedness and poverty; the right to which will not be disputed with us. We appeal to our Great *Father*, who has so often promised us protection and friendship, to shield us from the wrongs his white children seem determined to inflict upon us.

We know that the talk you gave us yesterday from him, which the government sent, was sent because of lies which have been told to him about us. We have been a long time trying to catch the negro that the talk is about: once we took him, and delivered him at the agency; this you know, and we wish you to speak for us. We did not bring this negro in because we thought ourselves bound to do it, but because you advised us to do it. He is not a runaway, but was raised in the nation, out of which he has never been. He was bought from the brother of the Indian with whom he was living at the time our people caught him. We know that Ferrard pretended to purchase him, but we also know that the trade was not a fair one, and that the negro was never properly paid for; but you told us that Mrs. — was willing to pay what was due, if she could get the negro; and advised us to take him, if we could, and give him up; and it was this advice which made us strive as we did to catch him. We think it very strange, after all this, that we should be told that we must pay Mrs. —, when it is clear she owes money to us; and we will not agree that she shall be permitted to wrong us out of the money which is our due from our Great Father; and which he has said should be punctually paid to us; and if it is taken from us for her benefit, or to satisfy any claim like hers, the thing must be done without our consent. We cannot believe our Great Father, when he hears the truth, will permit our rights to be thus taken from us.

We are sensible his power is *great*, and that he can do with us as he chooses; but we hope that his *justice* is as great as his power; and believe he will place it between us and those who wish to do us wrong; and we will endeavor, therefore, to keep our minds easy until we hear again from him. If we can take the negro we will do it. Some of our people have been in search for him ever since his escape. We beg our Great Father not to condemn us unheard, or open his ears too readily to the talks of his white children; some of whom we know, speak from a lying heart and with a forked tongue.

JOHN HICKS, Chief, *his* X mark.

Witnesses: G. HUMPHREYS, Agent.
Major GLOSSELL, U. S. Army.

In continuation of the subject, Col. Humphreys addresses a communication to the superintendent on the 23d of September :

“ *Seminole Agency*, 23d September, 1828.

“SIR—I have to state, in reply to an order from the department of war which was a few days since handed to me by the agent of a Mrs. Hannay, of Georgia, requiring the delivery of certain slaves claimed by her, which are now, and have been for many years, in possession of members of this nation, in virtue of a purchase from the *father* of Mrs. Hannay, that it is not in my power to make the delivery directed; the chiefs positively, but respectfully, object to the procedure. They are perfectly willing, they say, to abide the issue of a judicial investigation, and will cheerfully submit to such decision as a competent tribunal may make in the case; but they wholly refuse their assent to a relinquishment of possession of the disputed property, before the matter has been adjudicated upon, and an award given adverse to their title.

“If force is resorted to, to compel their compliance, they will not, they *cannot* offer any other opposition to it than that of appeal to the justice and good faith of the government, whose promises of protection and kindness they bear constantly in mind, and are inclined to set a high value upon. I think it is much to be regretted that the order of the 5th of May, directing the reference of claims to negroes in dispute between the whites and Indians to the judge of the district, is not adhered to; the measure is calculated to have a very happy effect, as it judiciously provides for at once carrying these troublesome controversies (which are productive of more ill feeling between the Indians and their neighbors than all other causes combined) before a tribunal adequate to decide them; and to which, whatever previous steps may be taken in relation to them, falling short of final settlement, they will in all probability have to be eventually submitted.

“I deem it proper to send this by express, that the department may be seasonably apprised of *facts*; and to prevent, also, the effect and influence of any uncandid and erroneous statements that may be made by those who are interested against the Indians in this case.

Respectfully, I am your obedient servant,

His Excellency, }
Gov. DUVAL. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians.”

The exasperated state of the public mind, ever so tenacious on the question of slave property, had arrived to such a crisis, that

the governor of the territory had become discouraged at the failure of his efforts to adjust the difficulties among the inhabitants, which became more complicated, and increased in magnitude, as the country filled up with settlers and adventurers. His position required him to lend a ready ear to the grievances of all. These were represented in the most aggravated form. No rights were conceded to the Indians, and every act which interfered with the designs of individuals crowding within the Indian limits in all quarters, was regarded as the commencement of hostilities. Personal abuse was heaped upon them, their property and persons disregarded; no law shielded them, and no protection was given, other than that which was sought by the untiring exertions of the agent. He, residing in the midst of the tribe, immediately in contact with them, heard their complaints with forbearance, and endeavored by all means within his power to allay their feelings, often highly exasperated, and assured them of that protection designed to be given by the federal government. This he owed to himself, to the Indian nation, and to his country. The calls of humanity—of the feeble, of the ignorant, of the oppressed—he could not disregard, nor did he; but with zeal, activity, and intelligence, stood firmly; thwarted on one side by the exasperated multitude, who threatened his life, and on the other, appealed to by every impulse which actuates the human heart in the protection of the defenceless.

To fully explain the state of affairs at this crisis, the following letters are subjoined:

“ Tallahassee, Indian Office, Sept. 22d, 1823.”

“SIR—I have received your several communications from the 15th ultimo up to the date of the 12th instant, with the talk of the chiefs in relation to the claim of Mrs. ——— and Hannay. Copies of the whole will be forwarded to the department of war, with my remarks.

“I shall state to the department, it is my opinion that you have not impressed the Indians with the necessity of complying with orders relating to the delivery of slaves in the nation; and that, if you had performed your duty, no difficulty would have occurred. I also apprise you, that William Everitt has filed in my office an affidavit to a claim he sets up to certain slaves in the nation, which will also be transmitted to the secretary of war.

“As the first officer of this territory, it is due to the country and my official character, to have the orders of the government promptly executed; and to accomplish this, every proper measure on my part shall be adopted.

“I shall give no further orders in Indian affairs, until I hear

from the war department. That part of the annuity claimed by the chiefs under your immediate control, and which they request may be forwarded to them, *cannot be remitted until the orders already given are complied with.*

"You will inform the chiefs they will not be called on to attend at this place, as I desire not to have their hunting season interrupted.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. G. HUMPHREYS, }
Agent of the Seminole Indians. }

WILLIAM P. DUVAL."

"Seminole Agency, 8th October, 1828.

"SIR—Your letter of the 22d ultimo was received per last mail, and read with no little surprise. It is to me matter of very great regret, that I am not able to obtain your approbation of the manner in which I have discharged my official duty in relation to the delivery of slaves claimed from the nation; and I cannot but feel aggrieved, [aware as I know you must be] of the many difficulties I have to contend with, and the lack of means at my command to enforce the orders I receive, being forbidden to employ the troops on such occasions. You attribute to me a disregard of duty no wise warranted by any circumstances that have occurred, and therefore inconsistent with that liberality and justice I had a right to expect at your hands. That delays have taken place in some cases when the delivery of slaves has been called for, I readily admit; but I must, in justice to myself, at the same time, protest against the ascription of such delays to any want of exertion on my part. Had the government placed at my disposal a competent military force, there would have been far less difficulty in enforcing obedience to the instructions of the department. The negro claimed by Mrs. — has been twice brought here since the receipt of your letter next preceding the last, in relation to him, and escaped, owing to the want of sufficient facilities for securing him. And in relation to those claimed by Mrs. Hannay, you will have learnt ere this by my letter of the 23d of the last month, sent per express, that the Indians have, for reasons explained in that communication, refused to make the delivery required.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

His Excellency, WM. P. DUVAL, }
Governor of Florida. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians."

"Seminole Agency, Oct. 10th, 1828.

"SIR—A letter from his Excellency Gov. Duval, (a copy of which I herewith transmit,) received by last mail, virtually declining, for the present, to have any thing further to do in the

Indian affairs of the territory, having closed against me the ordinary and prescribed channel of communication with the department, I shall, I trust, be excused in addressing you direct, on subjects appertaining to my office. By the letter alluded to, it will be perceived that I am so unfortunate as not to obtain his excellency's approbation of the manner in which I have discharged some of my public duties, and that, on this account, he had determined to report me as a delinquent. Of this course, which is predicated upon the *ex parte* statements of irresponsible and interested persons, and is wholly unwarranted by existing facts, I have good right to complain. Aware, as Governor Duval must be, of the difficulties I have to encounter upon the subject of litigated negro claims, and sensible as he is of the lack of means at my disposal to enforce obedience from the Indians, I cannot esteem his complaint against me as liberal, or even fair. I have the honor to refer you to the accompanying document,* being a talk given by some of the principal chiefs of the nation.

"From this talk (which was listened to by several white gentlemen, among them one or more officers of the garrison at Fort King) may be known their feelings in regard to the delivery required from them of certain negroes, and how far I am obnoxious to censure for the failure of the Indians to comply with the orders directing said delivery. If all the obstacles I have met with in the course of my duties touching litigated slave claims (which have been sufficiently explained to Governor Duval) have been by him made known to his official superiors, I have no fear of reproach from them.

"That I have questioned the policy, and even doubted the *justice*, of some of the measures directed in the property controversies between the whites and Indians, I am free to admit. Perhaps this was presumptuous, but if so, it was honest; and in all such cases I have been scrupulously careful not to impart my views publicly, and if ever I gave utterance to them it was done in such a way as that the Indians should by no possibility come to a knowledge of them, so that from me they can have taken no bias against the orders of the government to induce their opposition to them; and therefore, whatever they have done in that respect they have done of their own accord, in the exercise of an undeniable right, and I am in no wise accountable, and must solemnly protest against the attachment to me of any censure in relation to it. The good opinion of my government must ever be valuable to me, and its favor desirable, and it will therefore be a source of gratification if my conduct receives its sanction. I feel bound to add, that it is to be feared the course threatened by

* Talk given by the chief Hicks. See p. 57.

Governor Duval, in relation to the annuity, if persisted in, will be considered by the Indians an infraction of the treaty, and serve to impair their confidence in the kindness and justice of the government.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Hon. P. B. PORTER, }
Secretary of War. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians."

Governor Duval, in another letter on the 2d of October, reiterates his determination to abstain from interference in Indian matters :

" Tallahassee, Indian Office, October 2d, 1828.

"SIR—Your letter of the 23d ultimo was received from your express to-day. By the last mail, my reasons and opinions in relation to this and other orders, and the manner of their execution, were communicated to you.

"A copy of your letter will be transmitted to the war department, by the next mail, with my remarks. There can be but one course that the department can take, consistent with the policy they have unavoidably exercised in Indian affairs. I shall give no order or take any step, in the management of the Indians.

"The department must decide on the whole matters in controversy, and either approve your conduct—and thus surrender all direction of Indian affairs—or enforce their orders.

"I cannot see that any necessity requires that a special messenger should be sent with your communication to me, as the mail regularly goes to the agency.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. GAD HUMPHREYS, }
Agent for the Seminole Indians. }

WM. P. DUVAL."

Affairs had now assumed such an aspect, that an open rupture with the Indians seemed inevitable. The inhabitants had become reckless, looking anxiously for the time when by bloodshed they could punish the Indians, and secure their property. The Indians stood ready to retaliate at any moment, determined to resist to the last extremity. The executive, as might have been expected, was inclined to defend and vindicate the whites.

To avert, if possible, the commencement of hostilities, Col. Humphreys assembled the head men, and with an earnestness and sincerity which impressed them with the truth, besought them as they valued their lives to abstain from hostilities; and, as an alternative, urged them to appoint a delegation to visit Arkansas. This, he assured them, was the only hope of avoiding a collision, which must end in the total extinction of their nation.

This, long before, had been suggested, but they refused to listen in any manner to the proposition. After much persuasion, and contrasting the present difficulties, and those apprehended, with the quiet and independence in Arkansas, they consented to the measure. This was communicated to Governor Duval immediately, and to the Indian department, on the 20th of October :

" Seminole Agency, Oct. 24th, 1828.

"SIR—As a matter interesting to the territory, and one which will therefore, no doubt, be gratifying to you as the executive, I have the pleasure to state, that several of the chiefs of this nation, among whom is John Hicks, or *Tukose Mathla*, have recently consented to make a visit to the country proposed to the Indians, west of the Mississippi, for the purpose of examining it, with a view to the final removal of their nation. Should it be determined to send a deputation, it is the wish of the chiefs, that it may start early the ensuing spring. I, by the last mail, advised the department of the unexpected change in the minds of the Indians on this important subject.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

His Excellency Gov. DUVAL.

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians."

" Seminole Agency, Oct. 20th, 1828.

"SIR—I have the satisfaction to state, for the information of the department of war, that at a meeting of chiefs and others of the Seminole nation, held yesterday, at McKenzie's Pond, near the agency, pursuant to appointment made by me, for the purpose of procuring the nation to send a deputation to examine the country west of the Mississippi, it was determined that the measure should be adopted, if still called for by the government, and a deputation sent at the opening of the ensuing spring. The chiefs in council were Hicks, (head-chief,) Holata Emathla, Holata Mico, Tukeheste Hajo, Hitchitee Mico, Tuskenehaw, and the sub-chief Mad Lizard. The four first-named will doubtless be recollected by you, as part of the delegation which visited the seat of government in 1826. Their tribes, with two or three others not represented in the meeting, but which may be safely relied upon to join, should the wished-for emigration take place, comprise at least two-thirds of the numerical strength of the whole nation.

"I have good reason to suppose that this unexpected determination, on the part of the chiefs above named, has been induced (among other reasons) by my volunteering to accompany them on the proposed excursion, which I was led to do, from a belief that the step as primary to a final removal of the nation, is desired

by the government, and a conviction I have long felt, that such removal, under suitable and fair circumstances, would tend to the benefit and happiness of the Indians themselves, distressed as I know those people are, by irremovable evils within the present limits of their national territory, and harassed by the persecutions of their neighbors without. Judging from the reputed character of the new country offered to them, I think it may be confidently calculated, that a visit to it will result in a general and entire removal of the nation. If I have understood the views of the government aright on the subject, and the measure proposed receives its approval, little desirable to any one, in point of personal convenience and comfort, as the duty of executing it must necessarily be, it will nevertheless afford me gratification to be instrumental in carrying it into effect, especially as my engaging in it seems to be considered a point of so much importance by the Indians.

"In conferring as I have with the chiefs, in relation to the suggested journey, I have acted, it is true, without any formally delegated authority, but I have, at the same time, been influenced by a wish to promote the objects of the department; and should the step I have taken be sanctioned, it will be to me a source of gratification, thus to be instrumental in benefiting the territory and Indians, at the same time meeting the policy of the government.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

Col. THOS. McKENNY, Commissioner of }
Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians."

Several officers of the army were present, who bear testimony to what transpired.

We the undersigned have to state, that we were present at a talk, held by Col. G. Humphreys, agent Seminole Indians, at McKenzie's Pond, on the 19th October, 1828, for the purpose of prevailing on the chiefs of said nation to send a deputation from the nation to examine the country west of the Mississippi river, which it is proposed by the government to give to the Indians. On this occasion, there were present in council, Hicks, head chief of the nation; Holata Ematha, or Blue Warrior, chief of the Ocheeny band; Holata Mico, chief of the Talsy band; Tukehuskee Hajo, chief of the Red Stick band; Hitchitee Mico, chief of the Hitchitee band; Tuskaneha, chief of the Mickasuky, or Muscogee band; and Mad Lizzard, sub-chief of the Talsy band, and a number of Tustenuggees and warriors for the different tribes. It was determined by the above named chiefs, Tustenuggees, &c., in reply to a talk from the agent, Col. Humphreys, recommending to them to make an examination of the country proposed to them beyond the Mississippi, [it was agreed by said chiefs, &c.] that they would organize a deputation from the nation for that purpose, to start early the ensuing spring: *Provided*, the agent himself would accompany the said deputation on its tour of exploration; and provided, the expenses of said deputation are to be defrayed by the government of the United States; and provided, also, that nothing is to be in-

ferred from the journey of said deputation, in the character of an obligation on the nation (or any part of it) to remove to the country visited by said deputation ; and such removal is not to be expected from them unless of their own free will and accord, after making the proposed examination.

It was agreed by the chiefs aforesaid, that the agent, Col. Humphreys, should forthwith apprise the government of their assent to his proposition ; and that they would hold themselves in readiness, to act in accordance with it, at the time before specified. It being distinctly understood and made a condition, that he, the agent, shall fulfill his promise to accompany the party, without which nothing provided by said chiefs, as hereinbefore stated, to be considered binding upon them.

Given under our hands at Fort King (Florida), this 20th day of October, 1828.

H. S. HAWKINS,
Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A.
L. D. NEWCOMB,
Lieutenant, U. S. A.

No decided action was had on the subject. Procrastination discouraged the Indians, who soon after declared their determination to remain upon the land. They reluctantly visited the Indian agency upon any business whatever. Heretofore, when summoned for a talk, it resulted in a demand for negroes, which they repeatedly declared they never would surrender. If this was not urged, complaints of citizens were thrust upon them. Many had lost cattle, horses, and hogs, which was attributed to the Indians, who were considered common plunderers. Demands for payment were accompanied by denunciations and threats. The chiefs and those of the better class could exercise but little control, or even have a knowledge of the conduct of the dissipated and reckless, who, when intoxicated by liquor sold them by the whites, became insolent and vindictive. But the good were alike condemned with the abandoned. The chiefs, who were distinguished for intelligence and sobriety, were unwilling to submit to these humiliations, and therefore remained quietly at home to avoid discord and collisions. On the 14th of January a council was held by desire of the head men, when they came prepared to make a final talk to the president of the United States, in hopes that the protection which had been promised would be granted them, and they relieved from the embarrassments which threatened to involve them in an open warfare. This failing, nothing remained but to act in self-defence.

Minutes of a talk held at the Seminole agency, on the 14th of January, 1829, by some of the principal chiefs and warriors of the Seminole nation. Coahajo, one of the principal Seminole chiefs, spoke as follows :

This house was built for us, so that when we had any difficulty, we might come here and settle it. Many of our people have gone out a hunting, so that we could not bring them all to this talk, but what we could get in, are here. We have come now for the purpose of settling business by sending a talk to our *big father*. We understand that all the words of the Seminoles have been re-

ceived by our father as they ought to be—as *no jests*. This is what we always expect. We wish that the head-chief should give our *big father* the talk for us.

John Hicks, the principal chief, then spoke as follows :

Our great Father at Washington is our friend—he is our brother. I wish to send a few words to him from my people. At Washington I shook hands with him, and eat and drank with him. What he there told me I have not *crooked* from, and I expect that he will be straight-forward with me. I took the trouble to perform a long and tedious journey to see him, and what he told me I do not forget, nor have I departed from it. After having the big talk with him, I thought that all our troubles were at an end ; but it seems as if the white people would never let us rest, and therefore have we come to this council house to have our words written down, that our big father may see them. When I left Washington, the vessel I was in sprung a leak, and we were three days up to our middle in water. We are all Seminoles here together. We want no long talk ; we wish to have it short and good. We are Indians, and the whites think we have no sense ; but what our minds are, we wish to have our big father know. When I returned from Washington, all my warriors were scattered. Say to my father and brother at Washington, that I believe he is my friend, and knows my feelings. When I returned from Washington, in attempting to gather my people, I had to spill blood midway in my path. I had supposed that the Micanopy people had done all the mischief, and I went with my warriors to meet the governor with two. When I met the governor at Suwamea, he seemed to be afraid ; I shook hands with him. I gathered all my people and found that none was missing, and that the mischief had been done by others. The governor had them put in prison. I was told that if one man kills another, we must not kill any other man in his place, but find the person who committed the murder and kill him. I wish my big father to give me an answer when he sees this paper—they are my words. One of my people was killed, and his bones are now white at Tallahassee.

Another one that had done us mischief was killed at Alpaha. A black man living among the whites has killed one of my people, and I wish to know who is to give me redress : will my big father answer ? When our own law is allowed to operate, we are quick ; but they say the *black man* is subject to the laws of the white people : now I want to see if the white people do as they say !

When I returned home, I told all my people what our great father had said, to which they agreed, and scattered. We wish our big father to say whether he will have the black man tried for the murder of one of our people. If he will give him up to us, the sun shall not move before he has justice done to him : we work for justice as well as the white people do. I wish my friend and father to answer. In answer, we may receive a story, for men going backwards and forwards have not carried straight talks. I agreed to send away all the black people who had no masters, and I have done it ; but still they are sending to me for negroes. When I had the big talk, I thought that nothing was left behind. When an Indian has bought a black man, they come and take him away again, so that we have no money and negroes too. A white man sells us a negro, and then turns around and claims him again, and our big father orders us to give him up. My big father is living, and has not forgotten the talk we had, but I have to make the talk over again.

There is a negro girl at Charleston, that belongs to my daughter—her name is Patience. I want her restored to me. She has a husband here : she has a child about a year old, and I suppose that by this time she has two children. I want my big father to cause them to be sent to me, to do as he compels me to do, when I have just claims. If my father is a true friend, he will send me my property by our agent, who has gone to Washington. The mistress of the black girl is Sincothka. I have been told by the governor that all runaway negroes must be given up, but that all those taken in war, were good property to us ; but

they have taken away those taken in war, and those we have raised from children. My father told me that he had heard of my name a long time; that now he saw me. He told me that if ever I sent a talk to him, he would listen to it. Will he listen now to the voice of his children? He told me that we were to receive two thousand dollars' worth of corn—where is it? We have received scarcely any, not even half, according to our judgment, of what was intended for us. If the governor and the white people have done justly in this, we wish our big father to let us know. We were promised presents for twenty-one years; we have received nothing but a few promises. It seems that they have disappeared before they reached us—or that our big father did not intend to give them to us. We were promised money, but we have not received a *cent for this year*. What has become of it? We wish our big father to ask the governor. The white people say that we owe them, which is not true. We did take some goods of an Indian trader, Mr. Marsh, to whom the governor had promised part of our money. We took the goods because we were afraid we should never get what was ours, in any other way; they amounted to \$1,500.

We understand Mr. Bellamy has received from the governor \$1,600; what is it for? the Indians do not owe him any thing,—he has lost no property by us,—we have taken none of his cattle. If a tiger has killed one, it is charged to the Indians. If they stray away, and are lost for a time, it is charged to the Indians. He has lost nothing by us; but my people have suffered loss from him. He has taken all the Indians' hogs that he could lay his hands on. Some of the people from who he has taken hogs, are present now. He has taken hogs—one hundred head—from one man. We cannot think of giving away \$1,600 for nothing. According to the white people's laws, if a man takes that which does not belong to him, he has to return it, and pay for the damages. Will our great father see that this man restores to him what he has unjustly taken from us? for we look to our big father to fulfill his promises; and give to us the presents and money that is due to us. We understand that Col. Piles has received some of the money that is due to us; he is a good man; when we were perishing with hunger, he gave us to eat and drink. He is entitled to what he has received. It appears that the Seminoles, who have done no mischief, have to suffer, as well as the few that have been *guilty*—this does not appear to be right to us. By stopping our money, the governor has prevented our paying just debts, the debts we owe to the licensed Indian traders, who have trusted us, under the expectation that we would pay them when we received our money.

Our father has put two agents to look over us; our agent, Col. Humphreys, has not seen any of the money or presents that belong to us. It seems that the two agents have differences; we know not the cause, we are sorry for it, but cannot help it. We look to our agent to do his duty by us, and to see that we have our just rights.

I am getting to be very old, and I wish my bones to be here. I do not wish to remove to any other land, according to what I told my great father. When great men say any thing to each other, they should have good memories. Why does Col. White plague me so much about going over the Mississippi? We hurt nothing on this land. I have told him so before.

JOHN HICKS, *his* × *mark*.

COAHAJO, *his* × *mark*.

TUSKENAHA, *his* × *mark*.

Taken in the presence of

J. M. GLASSELL, *Capt. 4th Infantry.*

H. S. HAWKINS, *Assistant Surgeon.*

L. D. NEWCOMB, *Lieut. 4th Regt., U. S.*

The citizens and Indians, as they met in the woods and on the highway, hardly knew whether to recognize each other as

friends or foes. Both were smarting under excited feelings, and the opportunity was only wanting to inflict the most summary punishment. The settlers upon the border saw the defencelessness of their position, so soon as the Indians acted in concert; but deluded by the promises of others, were led to believe that the general government would promptly render adequate protection. The Indian, exasperated by repeated wrongs, was reckless of the future—indeed, cared but little for results. Revenge, ever sweet to him, whatever may be the consequences, was all he sought. He saw his destiny before him, which he could not avert, whether he adopted the terms of friendship or acted in open hostility.

Urgent demands followed repeated applications for regular troops, to overawe and punish the enemy. The commanders at St. Augustine, Fort King, and Fort Brooke, declined acquiescence, satisfied that those who were alarmed had brought these troubles upon themselves, and that so soon as a body of troops was known to be in pursuit of Indians, the country would be desolated from one extent to the other.

The deposition of Assistant-Surgeon Hawkins and the letter of Col. Humphreys are here given, showing clearly the relation now existing between all parties:

Territory of Florida, }
Alachua County, ss. }

This day personally appeared before me, George Downs, one of the justices of the peace of the county aforesaid, H. S. Hawkins, Esq., assistant surgeon in the United States army, who being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That about ten or twelve days since, to wit, on the 26th day of February, 1829, in consequence of a communication or communications received by the commanding officer of Fort King, from a citizen of Alachua, complaining that the Indians of the Seminole tribe were roaming at large among the whites, destroying their property, he, the deponent, went out with a detachment of United States troops from Fort King, for the purpose of bringing the straggling Indians within their boundary; that he proceeded as far as the Santa-fé settlement, to wit, Col. James Dell's, without being able to find any Indians in the whole route, with the exception of one man and his wife, who were staying at Col. Piles's, nor could he gain satisfactory knowledge or information where he might find any stragglers, notwithstanding he made particular and diligent inquiry on the subject in all the white settlements through which he passed. Deponent verily believes from what he has seen and heard, that most, if not all, the inconvenience experienced by the white inhabitants of the neighboring settlements from the occasional presence of the Indians in those settlements, is to be attributed to the strong inducement which traffic in spirituous liquors, and other articles, carried on by many of these inhabitants with the Indians, offers to said Indians to roam beyond the limits of their own territory, and not to a want of desire, or lack of exertion, on the part of the proper authorities to retain and keep said Indians within their limits; and deponent is decidedly of opinion, that so long as the traffic above mentioned is continued, it will be wholly impossible for any authority, not backed by a military force equal to the guarding of the entire frontier between the

whites and Indians, to prevent the Indians from wandering beyond the territorial boundaries. And further the deponent saith not.

H. S. HAWKINS,
Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A.

Sworn and subscribed to at Fort King, Florida, this 9th of March, 1829, before me,

GEORGE DOWNS, J. P. }
of Alachua county, Fla. }

Seminole Agency, 4th April, 1830.

"SIR—I have to state that the best investigation I have been able to make relative to the Indian depredations complained of by persons residing near Istec-Hatchie, as set forth in the affidavits which accompanied your letter of the 18th ultimo, has brought forth no testimony going to sustain the said complaints. The Indians deny, in toto, the charge made against them, in the affidavits of Johnson and others; and say that he, Johnson, is largely indebted to them for skins and other articles, which he has purchased from them, and not paid for. It is much to be regretted that a stop is not put to the traffic carried on between the Indians and the whites residing outside of the Indian territory; it is the only or principal motive the Indians have to go abroad; and they would almost, if not altogether, at once discontinue their wanderings, and thus put an end to the most fruitful cause of murmur against them on the part of the whites. But it is idle, I must repeat, to think of restraining and confining them at home by the mere power of words, while they are tempted, as they now are, by the strong inducement of trade in whisky, (to them the most resistless and pernicious kind,) to go beyond their limits.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES D. WESTCOTT, Jr., Esq., Sec. and }
Acting Governor of Florida, Tallahassee. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians."

Through the years of 1829 and 1830 this critical state of affairs existed. No one knew at what moment open hostilities might commence, and the country be laid waste by fire and blood. In the face of this, demands for negroes were still authoritatively made, and most criminally persisted in; though the most unequivocal evidences had been given, that a further prosecution of the subject would, ere long, involve the country in an Indian warfare. Enough had been done to place the matter upon equitable grounds, and, if necessary to urge it, the evils complained of by the Indians should have been removed, and their rights protected by some competent tribunal.

But to relinquish property in order to establish a right, is unprecedented in any court of justice, and with the Indian was a virtual abandonment, as experience had taught of all title, however justly obtained.

The following letter was the last written by the agent upon the subject :

“ *Seminole Agency*, 16th February, 1830.

“SIR—Your letter of the 20th September last, containing inquiries directed by the secretary of war, relative to certain slaves in the Indian nation, claimed by a Mrs. Hannay, of Georgia, came to me on the 12th inst., by Major Phagan, the sub-agent. To the first inquiry, ‘Why has not the order for the delivery of said slaves been complied with?’ I have to state, that the reasons were promptly communicated to the superintendent, in a letter written to him upon the subject, after the order was delivered, and read to the chiefs. The ground assumed by them was, that the property demanded of them belongs to members of the nation by purchase from the father of Mrs. Hannay, and that they could not consent to surrender it until the whole should be adjudicated upon by a competent judicial tribunal, and a decision adverse to their claim given by such tribunal; pledging themselves, at the same time, to make a surrender so soon as the question of ownership should be settled against them.

“To the second inquiry of the secretary, I answer, that the negroes in dispute have been, and I believe now are, in Florida, and in the Indian nation; but they are not within the control of the agent, denied as he is by the department, in a letter received from you some months since, the use of the means requisite to enable him to effect a compliance with its orders upon such subjects. A meeting of the chiefs of the nation is to take place here to-morrow, at which the order alluded to will be again read and explained to them, and a compliance with it urged upon them. I shall, at the same time, communicate to them the substance of a letter upon the same subject, received by Major Phagan, from the acting governor, to whom the result will, without delay, be made known.

I am your obedient servant,

THOS. L. MCKENNEY, Esq.,
Com'r Ind. Affairs, *Washington*. }

G. HUMPHREYS,
Agent Seminole Indians.”

By a letter from the secretary of war, of March 21st, 1830, Col. Humphreys was informed, that he would no longer perform the duties of agent to the Florida Indians. Eight years he had devoted to the interests of the government, his country, and the Indians.

It is not contended that, in the exercise of these functions, pressed on all sides by conflicting interests and motives, he was infallible. But his correspondence shows conclusively, a disposition to carry out fully the policy and designs of the government towards the natives, and which they had a right to demand. And

though discouraged, and ultimately defeated, he, throughout, was a sincere and uncompromising friend of the red man. They relied implicitly on his fidelity and zeal in their behalf, which, with such men, though rude and uncultivated, is not attained without years of repeated trials.

He foresaw, when entering upon the duties, at so early a period, the complicated difficulties. These, instead of diminishing as he became accustomed to the Indians and the country, increased from year to year, by the enterprise and cupidity of those seeking fortunes in a new land.

In the relative proportion as his activity and intelligence protected and vindicated the savage, so did the acrimony of the populace increase, until, by loud complaints to high authority, and constant murmurings among the people, he was ejected from office.

This was doubtless anticipated; and, had he any designs beyond the conscientious discharge of his duties, he could have pandered to the public appetite, and thus secured his position, and received a due proportion of the plunder generally accruing in the expulsion of the Indian. But he relinquished his office in the midst of discord and threatened hostilities, bearing with him the best evidence of fidelity and integrity, in the condemnation and derision of the whites, and receiving from the red man the unaffected testimony of his confidence and regard.

The events which transpired between the 17th of July, 1821, and the 21st of March, 1830, as shown by the accompanying correspondence, talks, &c., give a partial insight into the origin of the Florida war.

CHAPTER II.

FROM MARCH 21, 1830, TO DECEMBER 31, 1835.

Major John Phagan appointed agent to the Seminoles.—He accompanies the delegation of Seminoles to Arkansas.—Charges preferred against him.—Treaty of Payne's Landing.—The Indians sent to Arkansas to explore the country.—Commissioner appointed to meet them there; they sign the additional treaty putting in force the treaty of Payne's Landing.—Dissatisfaction of the tribe on their return to Florida.—Conduct and language of the chiefs and Indians in reference to a fulfillment.—First appearance of Oseola or Powell.—The Indians positively refuse to emigrate.—Gen. Wiley Thompson, of Georgia, appointed agent in the place of Phagan.—The general feeling and state of affairs within the nation.—Correspondence of J. H. Eaton, governor of Florida; Lewis Cass, secretary of war; B. F. Butler, attorney general; Gen. Clinch; Col. Gadsden; Gen. Thompson, agent; Lieut. Harris, Capt. Graham, and Capt. Russell, U. S. A.—The Indians assemble in council at Fort King.—The conduct of Micanopy, Jumper, Alligator, and Oseola.—The commanding influence of the negroes over the Indians.—The duplicity and cunning of Oseola.—He placed in irons and under guard in the fort.—Murder of the chief Charley-E-Mathla for favoring emigration.—The Indians prepared for the conflict.—The massacre of Gen. Thompson and Lieut. Smith by Oseola and party.—Massacre of Major Dade's command: Alligator's account of it.—Gen. Clinch attacked on the Withlacoochie by Oseola; a fight; he retreats.—Florida War commenced.—The character of the contest.

THE treaty of *Payne's Landing* forms another and important era in the history of the Florida Indians. Major John Phagan was the successor of Col. Gad Humphreys in the duties of Indian agent. Without the requisite qualifications for the office, he brought with him the patronage of the executive, as well as the partialities of the people. The condition of the Indians during his administration was far from being improved. They became more restless and dissatisfied, from day to day, on finding that their agent, instead of being a bold and independent vindicator of their rights, was an active instrument in perfecting the designs of those by whom they were surrounded. Though totally unqualified, both by education and morals, as an example and an adviser, he nevertheless bore an important part in the measures adopted during his period of office to expel the Indians, and thus inflict upon the country a protracted and sanguinary war. He conducted the delegation of chiefs sent to Arkansas to explore the country, under the stipulations of the treaty of Payne's Landing, and returned with them in the spring of 1833, and continued in the discharge of the duties of his office until the last of November, 1833. Complaints had been frequently made by the chiefs of his brutal treatment of their people, and his total disregard to their demands for justice and protection. James D. Westcott, Jr., then secretary and acting governor of the territory, investigated the matter, though at rather a late period, and addressed a communication to the commissioner of Indian affairs, on the 5th of November, 1833, from which the following is an extract:

“SIR—On my visit to the agency, I regret to state, that I discovered evidences of fraud and improper conduct on the part of

Major Phagan, which I will communicate to the department with my accounts, with which, in fact, they will be necessary as explanations. I discovered that in regard to the employés of the agency, he had sub-contracts with them for much less than the amount they receipted for to the government, and that even for the amount of these sub-contracts he was in default to them. I found also that he was in debt to several Indians, and to Abraham, one of the Seminole interpreters; to the contractor, for beef at the agency, for provisions at the payment of the annuity in 1832; and Col. Blunt, an Indian chief, has a claim of fifty dollars for arrears of his annuity receipted for to him. I have promised Abraham and the Indians to report this to the department."

Such conduct exasperated the Indians. They were surrounded by crafty and designing men, and subjected to the advice and control of an agent, who, not content with wronging them and the government, was carrying on ingenious schemes to defraud the humble mechanic dependent upon the public expenditures for support. Difficulties of a similar character, trifling in themselves, accumulated at every step as the better portion of the community labored to avert them, and thereby pacify the Indians. Occurrences which could not be foreseen awakened the worst passions among a people who looked with prejudice and suspicion upon every transaction. No act, however well intended, was considered indicative of friendship. Results, too often unfortunate, from various influences and prejudices at work, was the standard by which the agent, the executive of the state, and the general government were judged. With such a race, however zealous and devoted may have been the exertions of those to whom this responsibility was confided, little could be done. All confidence was lost, and they looked anxiously for the time when they could indulge the waywardness and cruelty of their natures. Restraint had caused them to be restless, and wrongs had made them revengeful. It was clearly manifest that the Florida Indians, in justice to all parties, should be removed from the territory. They must be made to surrender the land, and thus avoid the inevitable effusion of blood. Such a state of affairs could not exist. The white man or the savage must succumb. Col. James Gadsden, of Florida, was directed by the secretary of war, Gen. Lewis Cass, early in 1832, to enter into a negotiation with the Indians for a relinquishment of their lands in Florida, and receive in exchange others, better suited to their habits and wants, in the Creek Nation, west of the Mississippi River. The authority vested in him was discretionary, so that nothing could be interposed to defeat a successful result. Col. Gadsden found great opposition to his proposals to treat. The scattered condi-

tion of the Indians, and their natural aversion to formal councils with the whites, made them indifferent and dilatory in their movements. He however succeeded in assembling the nation at Payne's Landing, seventeen miles from Fort King by land, twenty-five miles down the Ocklawaha River. The mischievous influences of the whites, through the black interpreters, operating upon the malignity and suspicions of the younger class of Indians, nearly defeated the object. These, after much vexatious delay, were overcome, and on the 9th of May, 1832, the chiefs and head men signed the following treaty :

TREATY OF PAYNE'S LANDING, MAY 9, 1832.

WHEREAS, a treaty between the United States and the Seminole nation of Indians, was made and concluded at Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha river, on the 9th day of May, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, by James Gadsden, commissioner on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and head-men of said Seminole nation of Indians, on the part of said nation; which treaty is in the words following, to wit :

The Seminole Indians, regarding with just respect the solicitude manifested by the president of the United States for the improvement of their condition, by recommending a removal to the country more suitable to their habits and wants than the one they at present occupy in the territory of Florida, are willing that their confidential chiefs, Jumper, Fuch-a-lus-to-had-jo, Charley Emathla, Coi-had-jo, Holati-Emathla, Ya-ha-had-jo, Sam Jones, accompanied by their agent, Major John Phagan, and their faithful interpreter, Abraham, should be sent, at the expense of the United States, as early as convenient, to examine the country assigned to the Creeks, west of the Mississippi river, and should they be satisfied with the character of that country, and of the favorable disposition of the Creeks to re-unite with the Seminoles as one people; the articles of the compact and agreement herein stipulated, at Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha river, this ninth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, between James Gadsden, for and in behalf of the government of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men, for and in behalf of the Seminole Indians, shall be binding on the respective parties.

ARTICLE I. The Seminole Indians relinquish to the United States all claim to the land they at present occupy in the territory of Florida, and agree to emigrate to the country assigned to the Creeks, west of the Mississippi river, it being understood that an additional extent of country, proportioned to their numbers, will be added to the Creek territory, and that the Seminoles will be received as a constituent part of the Creek nation, and be re-admitted to all the privileges as a member of the same.

ARTICLE II. For and in consideration of the relinquishment of claim in the first article of this agreement, and in full compensation for all the improvements which may have been made on the lands thereby ceded, the United States stipulate to pay to the Seminole Indians fifteen thousand four hundred (\$5,400) dollars, to be divided among the chiefs and warriors of the several towns, in a ratio proportioned to their population, the respective proportions of each to be paid on their arrival in the country they consent to remove to; it being understood that their faithful interpreters, Abraham and Cudjo, shall receive two hundred dollars each, of the above sum, in full remuneration for the improvements to be abandoned on the lands now cultivated by them.

ARTICLE III. The United States agree to distribute, as they arrive at their new homes in the Creek territory, west of the Mississippi river, a blanket and a

homespun frock to each of the warriors, women, and children, of the Seminole tribe of Indians.

ARTICLE IV. The United States agree to extend the annuity for the support of a blacksmith, provided for in the sixth article of the treaty at Camp Moultrie, for ten (10) years beyond the period therein stipulated, and in addition to the other annuities secured under that treaty, the United States agree to pay the sum of three thousand (3000) dollars a year, for fifteen (15) years, commencing after the removal of the whole tribe; these sums to be added to the Creek annuities, and the whole amount to be so divided, that the chiefs and warriors of the Seminole Indians may receive their equitable proportion of the same, as members of the Creek confederation.

ARTICLE V. The United States will take the cattle belonging to the Seminoles, at the valuation of some discreet person, to be appointed by the president, and the same shall be paid for in money to the respective owners, after their arrival at their new homes; or other cattle, such as may be desired, will be furnished them; notice being given through their agent, of their wishes upon this subject, before their removal, that time may be afforded to supply the demand.

ARTICLE VI. The Seminoles being anxious to be relieved from the repeated vexatious demands for slaves, and other property, alleged to have been stolen and destroyed by them, so that they may remove unembarrassed to their new homes, the United States stipulate to have the same property [properly] investigated, and to liquidate such as may be satisfactorily established, provided the amount does not exceed seven thousand (7000) dollars.

ARTICLE VII. The Seminole Indians will remove within three (3) years after the ratification of this agreement, and the expenses of their removal shall be defrayed by the United States, and such subsistence shall also be furnished them, for a term not exceeding twelve (12) months after their arrival at their new residence, as in the opinion of the president their numbers and circumstances may require; the emigration to commence as early as practicable in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-three, (1833,) and with those Indians at present occupying the Big Swamp, and other parts of the country beyond the limits, as defined in the second article of the treaty concluded at Camp Moultrie Creek, so that the whole of that proportion of the Seminoles may be removed within the year aforesaid, and the remainder of the tribe, in about equal proportions, during the subsequent years of eighteen hundred and thirty-four and five, (1834 and 1835.)

In testimony whereof, the commissioner, James Gadsden, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Seminole Indians, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals.

Done at camp, at Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha river, in the territory of Florida, on this ninth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and of the independence of the United States of America, the fifty-sixth.

(Signed,)	JAMES GADSDEN.	L. S.
	HOLATI EMATHLAR,	his X mark.
	JUMPER,	his X mark.
	FUCH-TA-LUS-TA-HADJO,	his X mark.
	CHARLEY EMATHLA,	his X mark.
	COI HADJO,	his X mark.
	AR-PI-UCK-I, or SAM JONES,	his X mark.
	YA-HA-HADJO,	his X mark.
	MICO-NOHA,	his X mark.
	TOKOSE EMATHLA, or JOHN HICKS,	his X mark.
	CAT-SHA-TUSTENUGGEE,	his X mark.
	HOLAT-A-MICCO,	his X mark.
	HITCH-IT-I-MICO,	his X mark.
	E-NE-HAH,	his X mark.
	YA-HA-EMATHLA-CHOPCO,	his X mark.
	MOKI-HIS-SHE-LAR-NI.	his X mark.

Witnesses.

DOUGLAS VASS, *Sec. to Comm.*

JOHN PHAGAN, *Agent.*

STEPHEN RICHARDS, *Interpreter.*

AERAHAM, *Interpreter, his X mark.*

CUDJO, *Interpreter, his X mark.*

ERASTUS RODGERS.

B. JOSCAN.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered said treaty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, as expressed by their resolution of the eighth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, accept, ratify, and confirm the same, and every clause and article thereof.

In witness whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Washington, this twelfth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, and of the independence of the United States of America, the fifty-eighth.

(Signed,) ANDREW JACKSON.

By the President,

LOUIS McLANE, *Secretary of State.*

The fulfillment of the treaty was clearly conditional. If the Indians, that is, the nation, were satisfied with the country, as represented by those sent to explore it, a voluntary emigration would take place. Holate Emathla, Jumper, Black Dirt, Charley Emathlar, Arpeika or Sam Jones, Halpatter-Tustenuggee or Alligator, and Mad Wolf, were appointed a delegation to examine the country, and renew a friendly intercourse with the Creeks. These men, before starting, expressed their aversion to leaving Florida, under any circumstances, and their deep and lasting dislike to the Creeks, with whom, for years past, they had been in open hostility. In September following the party started, under the direction of the agent, Major Phagan. The months of January, February, and March, 1833, were occupied in examining the country, which, at this period of the year, was barren and dreary, from the inclemency of the season. Montfort Stokes, H. L. Ellsworth, and J. F. Schermerhorn, were appointed by the president of the United States, commissioners, to meet this delegation at Fort Gibson, Arkansas, and there obtain their opinions as to the *suitability* of the country for a future home, which was thought, as a matter of course, would be favorable, thereby putting in full force, indirectly, without reserve, the treaty of Payne's Landing. The object was accomplished. The delegation signed the subjoined "*Additional Treaty*," in which they express themselves satisfied with the country, and stipulate, "that the nation shall commence the removal to their new homes, as soon as the government will make arrangements for their emigration satisfactory to them."

ADDITIONAL TREATY,

MADE AT FORT GIBSON, ARKANSAS, WITH THE SEMINOLE DELEGATION OF INDIANS.

To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Greeting :

Whereas, a treaty between the United States and the Seminole nation of Indians, was made and concluded at Fort Gibson, on the twenty-eighth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, by Montfort Stokes, Henry L. Ells-

worth, and John F. Schermerhorn, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the delegates of the Seminole nation of Indians, on the part of said nation ; which treaty is in the words following, to wit :

Whereas, the Seminole Indians of Florida entered into certain articles of agreement with James Gadsden, commissioner, on behalf of the United States, at Payne's Landing, on the ninth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, the first article of which treaty or agreement provides as follows : The Seminole Indians relinquish to the United States all claim to the land they at present occupy in the territory of Florida, and agree to emigrate to the country assigned to the Creeks west of the Mississippi river ; it being understood that an additional extent of territory, proportioned to their number, will be added to the Creek country, and that the Seminoles will be received as a constituent part of the Creek nation, and be re-admitted to all the privileges as members of the same. And whereas, the said agreement also stipulates and provides that a delegation of Seminoles should be sent, at the expense of the United States, to examine the country to be allotted them among the Creeks, and should this delegation be satisfied with the character of the country, and of the favorable disposition of the Creeks to unite with them as one people, then the aforementioned treaty would be considered binding and obligatory upon the parties. And whereas, a treaty was made between the United States and the Creek Indians west of the Mississippi, at Fort Gibson, on the fourteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, by which a country was provided for the Seminoles in pursuance of the existing arrangements between the United States and that tribe. And whereas, the special delegation appointed by the Seminoles on the ninth of May, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, have since examined the land designated for them by the undersigned commissioners, on behalf of the United States, and have expressed themselves satisfied with the same, in and by their letter dated March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, addressed to the undersigned commissioners :

Now, therefore, the commissioners aforesaid, by virtue of the power and authority vested in them by the treaty made with the Creek Indians, on the fourteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, as above stated, hereby designate and assign to the Seminole tribe of Indians, for their separate future residence forever, a tract of country lying between the Canadian river and the north fork thereof, and extending west to where a line running north and south between the main Canadian and north branch will strike the forks of Little river ; provided said west line does not extend more than twenty-five miles west from the mouth of said Little river. And the undersigned Seminole chiefs, delegated as aforesaid, *on behalf of their nation*, hereby declare themselves well satisfied with the location provided for them by the commissioners, *and agree that their nation shall commence the removal to their new home as soon as the government will make arrangements for their emigration, satisfactory to the Seminole nation.*

And whereas, the said Seminoles have expressed high confidence in the friendship and ability of their present agent, Major Phagan, and desire that he may be permitted to remove them to their new homes west of the Mississippi ; the commissioners have considered their request, and cheerfully recommend Major Phagan as a suitable person to be employed to remove the Seminoles as aforesaid, and trust his appointment will be made, not only to gratify the wishes of the Indians, but as conducive to the public welfare.

In testimony whereof, the commissioners, on behalf of the United States, and the delegates of the Seminole nation, have hereunto signed their names, this 28th day of March, A. D. 1833, at Fort Gibson.

(Signed,)

MONTFORT STOKES,
HENRY L. ELLSWORTH,
JOHN F. SCHERMERHORN.

Seminole delegates :

JOHN HICKS, (representing Sam Jones,)	<i>his</i> × <i>mark.</i>
HOLATA EMATHLA,	<i>his</i> × <i>mark.</i>
JUMPER,	<i>his</i> × <i>mark.</i>
COI HADJO,	<i>his</i> × <i>mark.</i>
CHARLY EMATHLAR,	<i>his</i> × <i>mark.</i>
YA-HA-HADJO,	<i>his</i> × <i>mark.</i>
NE-HA-THO-CLO, (representing Fuch-ta-luste-Hadjo,)	<i>his</i> × <i>mark.</i>

Read and signed in our presence :

S. C. STAMBAUGH, *Secretary to Comm.*
 JOHN PHAGAN, *Agent.*
 P. L. CHOUTEAU, *U. S. Agent for Osages.*
 A. P. CHOUTEAU.
 ENOCH STEER.
 ABRAHAM, *Seminole Interpreter.*

Now, therefore, be it known, that I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered said treaty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, as expressed by their resolution of the eighth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, accept, ratify, and confirm the same.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

Done, at the city of Washington, this twelfth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the fifty-eighth.

(Signed,) ANDREW JACKSON.

By the President,
 LOUIS McLANE, *Secretary of State.*

They returned to Florida in the ensuing month of April. A general dissatisfaction was expressed by the nation at the powers assumed by these men, as explained by the agent who accompanied them. What they had done gave a new aspect to the matter, when detailed to the nation in council. They denied their own acts, and asserted, most positively, that they had not signed any paper relinquishing their land, or which required them to remove from the country. They had now returned, as was expected, and were prepared to give their opinion of Arkansas, and desired that the different bands be assembled, that they might make known their opinions. The assurances of the agent that this would be of no avail, superseded all action on the part of those who had confided their interests and welfare to a delegation of their own selection. They were sold, heritage and home, without reserve; and all that now remained was for the government to demand the execution of the stipulations of the treaty of Payne's Landing. The oldest and most influential chiefs, who had governed the nation for years, were unheard in this relinquishment of their possessions, and they resolved to resist by force the first attempt to dispossess them. The *additional treaty*

had gone to Washington, and only awaited the ratification of the senate of the United States, when the work would commence. Micanopy was the principal chief of the nation. To him the aggrieved looked for redress. Though old and indolent, the younger warriors incited him to action. Among these was a young, intelligent, and daring warrior, by the name of Oseola or Powell. The stupidity of the delegation, more than their assumption, was calculated to stir up among them a continual discord. They were ridiculed and upbraided by all classes, male and female, for being circumvented by the whites, and the only way they avoided chastisement, was to deny the assertions of the agent, and express their readiness to co-operate in opposing the fulfillment of the treaty. Had the delegation been permitted to return to Florida unbiassed, without any extraneous influences, and they allowed to submit the question of emigration, accompanied by their opinions of Arkansas, not an Indian would have consented to the relinquishment of their country. Arpeika or Sam Jones, Halpatter-Tustenuggee or Alligator, Jumper, and Black Dirt, openly and unreservedly declared their dissatisfaction with Arkansas—with the land, climate, and means of subsistence. They gave currency to the most absurd reasons why the Seminoles and Creeks should not again be united; and thus, by their declarations, advice, and example, induced those who heretofore had wished to avoid discord and collision, to urge the chieftains to open resistance. After the lapse of two years from the date of its being signed, the treaty of Payne's Landing was ratified, on the 9th of April, 1834, together with the *additional treaty*. Vigorous measures were at once adopted to put in force its demands. General Wiley Thompson, of Georgia, was appointed agent, and superintendent of emigration, in the place of Major Phagan, and received instructions to carry out the terms of the treaty. Gen. Duncan L. Clinch, of the United States army, an officer of experience and merit, was ordered to take command of the regular troops in the territory, preparatory to the exercise of force, which it was apprehended would be inevitable, in bringing the Indians to terms, and to prevent their inroads upon the frontier. Capt. J. B. F. Russell, and Capt. Wm. M. Graham, U. S. A., stationed at Fort King, informed the agent, as early as October, 1834, "of the settled determination of the majority of the influential chiefs, to disregard the obligations imposed by the treaty of Payne's Landing, and that the most malignant feelings were indulged in towards Charley-E-Marthlar, who had expressed himself in favor of emigration. His life," continues this communication, "is in danger, and that of his family. Some step should be taken for his safety."

General Thompson, when communicating to the chiefs in

council the determination of the president to enforce the treaty, was repeatedly interrupted by groans, violent gestures, and language of the most abusive kind, expressed in an under tone. This was responded to by Oseola, who sat beside Micanopy, whispering in his ear what to say in reply to the agent. The old chief, almost overcome by age, was pushed onward far beyond the dictates of his own policy and good judgment. He was in the hands of those who, flushed with the vigor of youth, disregarded the scruples and comforts of their aged chief. Oseola, though the principal actor in these measures, was not permitted to speak in council. He was not a chief, (which confers this privilege,) but, with his characteristic impudence and cunning, he communicated his views through the instrumentality of others. Holatter Emathlar, Jumper, and Alligator, three of the delegation, persisted in their denial of having signed a treaty requiring the nation to remove, and contended that the treaty of Fort Moultrie, in 1821, was, as they supposed, to continue twenty years, which precluded the possibility of another being made until that time had expired. Micanopy said he did not sign the treaty of Payne's Landing. When shown his signature, he declared that he did not touch the pen, though he extended his hand to do it. "The treaty," he said, "was to *examine* the country; and he felt satisfied, that when the delegation returned, they would report unfavorably." Jumper said the treaty was made to keep the white men quiet, and to obtain whisky and provisions. Arguments of this kind were adduced, and concurred in by the assemblage, followed by high words and violent gestures, when the agent, partaking of the general excitement, informed them that hereafter no annuity would be paid to the nation. Oseola, unable to refrain from talking any longer, arose, and with great indignation, tauntingly assured the agent, "that he, nor his warriors, did not care if they never received another dollar from their great father."* The council adjourned in the utmost confusion.

Colonel Gadsden informed the secretary of war on the 1st of November, 1833, "that the Indians had positively refused to remove west under the stipulations of the treaty of Payne's Landing; and had assigned as a reason 'that it was a white man's treaty which they did not understand, as the interpretation of the negotiation was false.'" The Indians, in their intercourse with the officers of the army at Fort King, were impudent and presumptuous; and when spoken to of emigration, avoided answering by laughter and ridicule. At this early period, secret preparations were in progress for the crisis which was fast ap-

* "The only treaty I will execute," said he, drawing his knife in anger, and driving it into the table, "is with this!"

proaching. The chiefs were old and irresolute, timid and politic; but the energy and indignation of Oseola compelled them to speak the voice of the majority of the nation, though it was done with reluctance and hesitation. The strong arm of the white man was upon one side, and the wronged and indignant savage upon the other. Self-preservation inclined them to give way to more prudent counsels, and thus avoid a rupture; yet the importunities and threats of the ambitious warriors, caused them to act contrary to the dictates of their own good judgments. Charley-E-Mathlar was confirmed in his determination to emigrate, and frequently represented to his people the consequences of a warfare, which after years of suffering, would end in defeat. These opinions cost him his life.

The negroes exercised a wonderful control. They openly refused to follow their masters, if they removed to Arkansas. Many of them would have been reclaimed by the Creeks, to whom some belonged. Others would have been taken possession of by the whites, who for years had been urging their claims through the government and its agents. In Arkansas, hard labor was necessary for the means of support, while Florida assured them of every means to indulge in idleness, and enjoy an independence corresponding with their masters. In preparing for hostilities they were active, and in the prosecution blood-thirsty and cruel. It was not until the negroes capitulated, that the Seminoles ever thought of emigrating.

"It has not escaped me," says General Thompson, when addressing the commissioner of Indian affairs on the 28th of October, 1834, "that the Indians, after they had received their annuity, purchased an unusually large quantity of powder and lead. I saw one keg of powder carried off by the chiefs, and I am informed that several whole kegs were purchased. I did not forbid the sale of these articles to the Indians, because such a course would have been a declaration of my apprehensions. It may be proper to add that the chiefs and negroes have a deposite of forty or fifty kegs of powder, which I did not credit at the time." On the 24th of November, evening, the agent again addresses the department. "The Indians," says he, "appear peaceable and friendly. I have drawn the reins of government close about them. They will not, however, remove but as forced to do so. I am more confirmed every day in the opinion, that they have been tampered with by designing, unprincipled white men; and they have come to the conclusion, that by obstinately persisting in their right to remain here until the expiration of twenty years from the date of the treaty at Camp Moultrie, and abstaining from any outrage, their claim will finally be acquiesced in by the government. And I have been informed by confidential persons among them,

that they laugh at the idea of the little handful of men at this post (Fort King) being able to compel them to remove."

It was evident the treaty at Payne's Landing could only be executed by force. Those acquainted with the swamps and hammocks of the country, saw a fearful crisis approaching, and realized the difficulty, the impossibility, of gathering these people and transporting them to Arkansas. The war once opened, it would be continued so long as a hostile Indian remained in the country. As the time approached, the good citizen looked with fear and regret upon the probable destruction of human life, and the utter annihilation of all industry, property, and safety. Desolation and want would be at every threshold, and the object far from being attained. J. H. Eaton, now governor of the territory, saw the conflict approaching. The Indians, from obstinacy, were hastening their destruction, or expulsion. To avoid the reproaches which might be heaped upon the general government for persisting in a course involving such a result, and fraught with so much evil to the settlements, Governor Eaton addressed the secretary of war, on the 8th of March, 1835, from Tallahassee, as follows:

"I have received your letter relative to the removal of the Seminole Indians under the provisions of the treaty of 1832, but which was not ratified until 1834. I pray you, does not this circumstance raise a doubt whether, by strict rule, the treaty can be considered to be valid and binding? Our Indian compacts must be construed and be controlled by the rules which civilized people practice; because in all our actions with them we have put the treaty-making machinery in operation precisely in the same way, and to the same extent, that is employed with the civilized powers of Europe. Were these people willing voluntarily to remove (though such seems not to be the case), the whole difficulty would be removed and no evil could arise. But as military force is about to be resorted to, it is material that the government, before making such appeal, be satisfied that right and justice is on their side; and that they are not engaged in the execution of a treaty which, if void, is no part of the law of the land. The employing a military force is an act of war, and the Indians will embody and fight in their defence. The Indian question of removal, is one that should be managed with great caution and care, that the enemies in congress, ever ready to find fault, may have no just and tenable ground on which to rest their murmurs. Tread then cautiously! The people here want their lands on which they reside, and they will urge a removal *fas aut nefas*; and the Big Swamp, which in the treaty is declared to be the first of their country to be vacated, is of high repute, and is that on which the eyes of speculators are fixed. On the whole, and

to conclude, I offer this advice: avoid the exercise of force as long as possible, and let it be only the last sad alternative; and then let not, by any means, the militia be appealed to—they will breed mischief.”

The secretary of war, upon the receipt of this letter, submitted the question to the attorney general, B. F. Butler, who gave it as his opinion, “that in the present case, as no time was limited for the ratification of the treaty, and as the supplemental articles signed at Fort Gibson by the delegation treated it as yet in existence, although not ratified by the president and senate; and as no material change of circumstances is suggested, I think it must be deemed a valid treaty.” The treaty meditated the removal of the nation in three separate parties, one in the year of 1834, another in 1835, and the last in 1836. But as delays not anticipated had occurred, the removal could with propriety be made in the three years following the ratification. This was designed by the secretary of war. But upon representations made and urged by General Clinch, and the agent, General Thompson, it was determined to move the entire nation at once, and thus avoid the embarrassments incident to the departure of a people, who, under the most favorable circumstances, would leave their country with reluctance. Delays having occurred in settling the validity of the treaty, every thing was now combined to draw closely around the Indians those measures and influences causing them to realize that the government was in earnest, and that emigration to Arkansas was unavoidable. Ten companies of regular troops were placed at the disposal of General Clinch to co-operate with the civil agents of the government.

On the 16th of February, 1835, the secretary of war informs General Clinch, “that it is impossible to yield to any wishes they may express on the subject of emigration. I fully appreciate the consequences which you predict as likely to happen from a forcible attempt on their part to remain, and the safety of that portion of the territory imperatively requires that the treaty stipulations should be carried into effect. It is the ultimate decision therefore of the president, that they shall be removed. But it is very desirable that they should go peaceably and voluntarily. The subject therefore should be fully explained to them, and every proper inducement held out for their compliance with the treaties. Let them be reasoned with, and if possible convinced. Let every measure short of actual force be first used. Let them be made fully aware of the consequences, and then, if necessary, let actual force be employed, and their removal effected.”

Accompanying this was a talk from the president of the United States, General Jackson, to the chiefs and warriors, expostulating

with them upon their conduct, and urging them to acquiesce, and evade certain destruction, which was unavoidable if they obstinately persisted in opposing the execution of the treaty. Detailed instructions were communicated at the same time to make preparations for transportation and subsistence. Lieutenant J. W. Harris, 2d artillery, U. S. A., disbursing agent, arrived with ample funds to command the most convenient and expeditious mode of moving so large a body. General Clinch gave a hearty co-operation, and was in readiness with his force to act when the proper time arrived. Transports were prepared at Tampa Bay, to convey the emigrants to New-Orleans; and Captain Jacob Brown, U. S. A., had made arrangements to receive them at the mouth of the Arkansas river, thence to be transported in wagons to Fort Gibson. As these measures became known to the Seminoles, they saw plainly that the government was in earnest in what had been told them. This created renewed activity in the nation, gradually strengthening their resolution to open resistance.

On the 24th of April, 1835, another council was convened at Fort King. The Indians came with fear and suspicion. The meeting was one of intense interest. Before the departure of the warriors from the village of Micanopy, a consultation was had among themselves, when it was agreed to refrain from any hostile expression, and endeavor to obtain sufficient time to gather their crops and remove their families, when the season would be far enough advanced to enable them to act successfully on the defensive. Jumper, a shrewd and sagacious warrior, was put forward as the speaker of the nation. They were to adhere in council in their opposition to the treaty, and renew their declarations never to execute it. When these were thus solemnly made in the presence of the agents of the government, accompanied by tones and gestures which could not be mistaken, Gen. Thompson upbraided them in a most earnest manner for their infidelity, and total disregard to truth and honor. This caused harsh language in return from the chiefs, reiterated by the agent, until the council was in a perfect uproar. General Clinch interposed his authority and advice, and by arguments and appeals to their good sense, urged a fulfilment of the treaty; at the same time assuring them, that if they persisted in this reckless course, he should put in use the troops at his command. This had the desired effect to calm their passions; when, after a consultation between Jumper, Oseola, and many others, eight chiefs came forward, and consented to abide by the treaty. Five obstinately refused. These were Micanopy, Jumper, Alligator, Arpeika or Sam Jones, and Black Dirt. In consequence of this, General Thompson at once struck their names from the roll of chiefs,

and declared them no longer to be counsellors of the nation. This was a most injudicious step, and calculated to defeat the good effects resulting from the concurrence of the majority. Their chiefs and counsellors derive their authority from inheritance, which is generally attained from valor in the field; and thus to be deprived of it in so summary a manner, setting at nought long-settled habits and customs, was destined, as was subsequently experienced, to arouse the most submissive of their warriors to retaliation. The president of the United States, and the secretary of war, disapproved of this step in the most pointed manner, and apprehended the worst results. Through the earnest solicitation of the eight friendly chiefs, the nation were allowed until the 1st of January ensuing (1836) to prepare for emigration; at which time they promised most faithfully to assemble at Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, where transports were already prepared for their reception. To carry this out, which was demanded by every consideration of humanity, and thus avert the calamity so long impending, a communication explanatory of the measure, and urging it as the alternative to avoid bloodshed, was transmitted to the secretary of war, signed by General Clinch, General Thompson, and Lieutenant Harris. This was approved by General Cass, who on the 14th of April, 1835, thus writes to General Clinch:

“Your views seem to me to be equally judicious and humane. Certainly there is not the slightest wish to oppress the unhappy Seminoles who have stipulated for removal; but their continuance where they now are is absolutely impossible, and the sooner they are satisfied of this fact the better it will be for them. Still, however, I should much prefer a voluntary and peaceful removal to one effected by force. It would be only in the last resort that the government would be willing to compel them to comply with their own engagements; and it would be better to suffer a temporary inconvenience, if thereby their feelings could be quieted, than to require them to remove without their consent. The matter therefore is referred entirely to your discretion, and that of General Thompson.”

This permission to delay the emigration, quieted the nation for a time. The more reflecting among the Indians hoped, indeed believed, that something would occur before the arrival of the period fixed, and thus defer, perhaps defeat, a task so repugnant to their deep-seated habits and feelings. They lived between hope and fear, irresolute and timid. None were so bold as to strike the first and decisive blow. There were, however, a few active spirits in their midst who availed themselves of this postponement, and numbered with accuracy those who would take the field at the proper time, and in conjunction stored away

the requisite quantity of powder and lead. The older ones who were timid, rendered the most perfect obedience to these men and their measures, fearful that if they wavered in their opposition to the treaty, they would be found the first among those who were to be punished and slaughtered in the approaching conflict. The sale of arms, powder, and lead, though forbidden by the agent, still continued; and enough was already in store, for the contemplated object. General Thompson, in the month of April, informs the secretary of war, "that for reducing the refractory Indians to a sense of their dependence, and to withhold from them the means of doing mischief, I have prohibited the sale of arms, powder, and lead to them." This prohibition was at too late a period to gain the desired end. The observation of the agent must have satisfied him months before, that the purchase of ammunition was the main object of the Indians; for, says he as early as October, 1834, "the Indians have purchased an unusually large quantity of powder and lead: I saw one keg carried off by the chiefs." The privation now was only calculated to arouse their indignation, and cause an immediate rupture, as their designs, so covertly matured, were suspected. It was a hostile act towards the nation, virtually declaring war. With an Indian, the best test of a white man's friendship, is the permission to obtain arms, powder, and lead. The passions of the friendly Indians, as well as others, were now aroused; indeed it was difficult to discriminate between friend and foe. "Am I a negro?" said Oseola, when refused the privilege of purchasing powder, "a slave? My skin is dark, but not black. I am an Indian—a Seminole. The white man shall not make me black. I will make the white man red with blood; and then blacken him in the sun and rain, where the wolf shall smell of his bones, and the buzzard live upon his flesh."

During the month of June, Oseola was frequently at Fort King, with a number of Indians. His manner towards those who had been his intimate friends, was cold and reserved. Towards the agent he was particularly so, and upon several occasions indulged in the most abusive language. Gen. Thompson reproved him with mildness, when he most insultingly defied the power of the government and its troops. The agent immediately confined him in irons, under guard, within the fort. In this condition he remained six days, when he became penitent, and through his own voluntary promises to abide by the treaty, and the interposition of chiefs, he was liberated. As an evidence of his sincerity, and to renew his former intercourse with the agent and officers of the army, he brought in seventy warriors, who, with himself, promised to be in readiness for emigration at the appointed time. The deep subtlety of this step will be clearly understood by events.

It had the effect, however, to restore confidence, and the citizens were elated when it was known that Oseola had voluntarily ceased his opposition and consented to emigrate. It was generally believed that his adherence to the treaty would be the means of relieving the country of Indians, without the long apprehended rupture. The first of January, 1836, was looked forward to with intense interest. Crowds of emigrants and explorers stood ready to rush in as soon as the Indians should abandon their grounds. As had heretofore been the case, something occurred to interrupt the harmony and defeat the main object at a critical moment. Six Indians were proceeding to Deadman's Pond, or Hickory Hole, Alachua, near the Suwanna river, and on their way had slaughtered a cow. The ensuing day, when in camp cooking their beef, a party of white men came up and assaulted them in a most brutal manner, took possession of their rifles, examined their packs, and commenced whipping them severely. While thus engaged, four Indians in search of their friends came upon them, when they at once commenced firing upon the whites. They returned it with effect, killing one Indian and wounding another. A mutual withdrawal from the field followed, the white men carrying off the baggage and rifles. To punish this act, which was called an encroachment of the Indians, a company of militia was soon in the field to chastise these marauders, and to protect the citizens. Such acts, it was generally believed, would hasten the Indians in their movements. They did, but not as anticipated. It kept alive the thirst for revenge, which was to be satiated only by shedding the blood of innocent women and children.

Lieutenant Harris, disbursing agent, was actively engaged in making preparations for supplies and transportation. After consulting with General Thompson, upon the necessary means, and both having made diligent inquiry, aided by the intimate knowledge of officers of the army at the post, he reported to the war department, that the entire nation, including negroes, did not exceed three thousand souls. Of this number he estimated that sixteen hundred were females, and that the various bands, comprising the Florida Indians, could bring into the field four hundred and fifty or five hundred efficient warriors. This estimate was doubtless far below the real strength, as has been subsequently ascertained by the number who emigrated, and those still remaining within the limits of the state. Seven hundred regular troops were at the disposal of General Clinch to keep in check this force, punish if necessary, which, from the peculiar character of the country, their intimate knowledge of the swamps and hammocks, and total ignorance on the part of the whites, was rendered a formidable array.

The Indians during the months of July, August, and September, refrained from visiting Fort King, excepting in small parties. Those who came were cautious and reserved in their deportment towards those who heretofore had been familiar friends. In October but little intercourse existed. The first intimation of a movement within the nation, was the reported arrival of a friendly chief at Fort Brooke, who with four hundred followers, mostly women and children, had hastened there for protection, as a war party, determined on putting them to death, was in close pursuit. Charley-E-Mathlar, the most consistent and sensible chief, favorable to emigration, had been murdered by this party, headed by Oseola. They met him on the *trail* to his village, and cruelly put him to death, leaving his body to be devoured by the wolves. His bones were buried in 1837, by a detachment of United States troops.*

On the 7th of December, General Thompson informs the secretary of war, "that the Indians in this section of the nation (Fort King), immediately succeeding the murder of Charley-E-Mathlar, assembled at the towns of Big and Long Swamp. Yesterday morning I received information that they had dispersed; their destination is a subject of various conjectures here. There are only thirteen Indians who have come in to this post. We can obtain no runners, as the Indians here are afraid to venture out of sight of the post. We have therefore not yet ascertained what direction they have taken. I have no doubt that the object of the whole body of the disaffected is to retire to the wild region of the peninsula of Florida, in the neighborhood of what is called the Everglades. Holate-e-Mathler, with his four chiefs and his people, are still at Tampa. These, with other circumstances, induce me to consider the Indians as decidedly in a state of hostility."

The purposes long entertained by Oseola, and which he had perfected by the most active, artful, and insidious means, were now divulged by cowardly, revengeful, and atrocious acts. He had acted as the voluntary agent of the nation, or of the hostile chiefs, in the attack on, and murder of, Charley-E-Mathlar. They had in council decreed that the first Indian who commenced the sale or disposal of his property, preparatory to removal, should fall or be put to death. Oseola carried out this decree in the case of Charley-E-Mathlar, who had commenced driving in and disposing of his cattle. In furtherance of his diabolical schemes, he,

* Upon the first fire of the Indians in ambush, he fell prostrate upon his face, and covering his face with his hands, received the death blows of his enemies without uttering a word. He had in his handkerchief a sum of gold and silver received from the agent for his cattle. This Oseola said was made of the red man's blood, and forbid any one touching it, but with his own hands threw it in every direction.

with sixty warriors, lay concealed in a hammock in sight of Fort King, two days, for the purpose of murdering the agent, General Thompson. Failing in this, it was designed to attack the post, when most of the command were absent on fatigue duty. The 27th of December was quietly passed by the party closely concealed by dense foliage and palmettos. On the afternoon of the 28th, Gen. Thompson, accompanied by Lieut. Constantine Smith, 2d artillery, was taking his accustomed walk, smoking a cigar, and participating in conversation. The afternoon being pleasant, their walk was extended towards the sutler's store, about one mile from the post. Just as they reached the crest of the hill, in full view of the fort, they received the fire of the enemy, secreted within thirty feet of the road. Both expired instantly upon the spot. The Indians rushed out amid fiendish whoops and yells, their knives glistening in the air, when a desperate struggle ensued for the first trophy in the contest so long anticipated, and now so deplorably commenced. The scalps of these victims to their revenge were cut into small pieces, to satisfy the craving appetites of all, and to make known among their comrades their participation in an event which, as they believed, would intimidate the whites, and deter them from further encroachments upon their soil. Gen. Thompson was perforated with twenty-four balls, Lieut. Smith with thirteen, and their bodies left upon the ground horribly mutilated. The Indians proceeded at once to the sutler's store, where they found Mr. Rogers (the sutler), two clerks, a Mr. Hetzler, and a boy at dinner. Surrounding the house, they fired upon the inmates through the open doors and windows, and finished their work by cutting in pieces their bodies, taking their scalps, rifling the store, and setting fire to the building.

The report of the rifles, the long shrill war-whoop, alarmed the fort, where preparations were hastily made for a vigorous defence. The effective strength of the command was forty-six men. The enemy, it was supposed, were in full force. An immediate attack was anticipated, as the yell was thought to be preparatory to an assault. The murder of Gen. Thompson and Lieut. Smith was not known until some hours after, but the fate of Rogers was announced by the smoke and flames of his dwelling, which now arose far above the dense hammock which surrounded it. At the post, though limited in numbers, provisions, and ammunition, there was a spirit pervading the officers and men which defied the efforts of the enemy, and increased from day to day, as their situation became more critical. Relief was soon expected by the arrival of two companies of troops ordered from Fort Brooke.

The first blow was now struck, and the Florida war had fairly commenced. The two companies of United States troops ordered and expected at Fort King from Fort Brooke, were at-

tacked by a body of Indians commanded by Micanopy, Jumper, and Halpatter-Tustenuggee or Alligator, on the 28th of December, on the road leading to Fort King, five miles east of the Wahoo Swamp. Brevet Major F. L. Dade, 4th infantry; Capt. S. W. Gardner; 2d Lieut. W. E. Bassinger; Brevet 2d Lieut. R. Henderson, 2d artillery; Capt. U. S. Frazer; 2d Lieut. R. R. Mudge; Brevet 2d Lieut. J. L. Keais, 3d artillery; and Assistant-Surgeon J. S. Gatlin, U. S. A., together with one hundred men, detachments from the above-named regiments, were massacred on the spot. Two privates escaped, severely wounded, and brought the first intelligence of the event to Fort Brooke.

The narrative, as received from Halpatter-Tustenuggee or Alligator, of this melancholy occurrence, forms an interesting detail of the movements and designs of the Indians:

"We had," says he, "been preparing for this more than a year. Though promises had been made to assemble on the 1st of January, it was not to leave the country, but to fight for it. In council, it was determined to strike a decided blow about this time. Our agent at Fort King had put irons on our men, and said we must go. Oseola said he was *his friend, he would see to him*. It was determined that he should attack Fort King, in order to reach General Thompson, then return to the Wahoo Swamp, and participate in the assault meditated upon the soldiers coming from Fort Brooke, as the negroes there had reported that two companies were preparing to march. He was detained longer than we anticipated. The troops were three days on their march, and approaching the Swamp. Here we thought it best to assail them; and should we be defeated the Swamp would be a safe place of retreat. Our scouts were out from the time the soldiers left the post, and reported each night their place of encampment. It was our intention to attack them on the third night, but the absence of Oseola and Micanopy prevented it. On the arrival of the latter it was agreed not to wait for Oseola, as the favorable moment would pass. Micanopy was timid, and urged delay. Jumper earnestly opposed it, and reproached the old chief for his indecision. He addressed the Indians, and requested those who had faint hearts to remain behind; he was going, when Micanopy said he was ready. Just as day was breaking we moved out of the swamp into the pine-barren. I counted, by direction of Jumper, one hundred and eighty warriors. Upon approaching the road, each man chose his position on the west side; opposite, on the east side, there was a pond. Every warrior was protected by a tree, or secreted in the high palmettoes. About nine o'clock in the morning the command approached. In advance, some distance, was an officer on a horse, who, Micanopy said, was the captain; he knew him per-

sonally ; had been his friend at Tampa. So soon as *all* the soldiers were opposite, between us and the pond, perhaps twenty yards off, Jumper gave the whoop, Micanopy fired the first rifle, the signal agreed upon, when every Indian arose and fired, which laid upon the ground, dead, more than half the white men. The cannon was discharged several times, but the men who loaded it were shot down as soon as the smoke cleared away ; the balls passed far over our heads. The soldiers shouted and whooped, and the officers shook their swords and swore. There was a little man, a great brave, who shook his sword at the soldiers and said, 'God-dam !' no rifle-ball could hit him. As we were returning to the swamp, supposing all were dead, an Indian came up and said the white men were building a fort of logs. Jumper and myself, with ten warriors, returned. As we approached, we saw six men behind two logs placed one above another, with the cannon a short distance off. This they discharged at us several times, but we avoided it by dodging behind the trees just as they applied the fire. We soon came near, as the balls went over us. They had guns, but no powder ; we looked in the boxes afterwards and found they were empty. When I got inside the log-pen, there were three white men alive, whom the negroes put to death, after a conversation in English. There was a brave man in the pen ; he would not give up ; he seized an Indian, Jumper's cousin, took away his rifle, and with one blow with it beat out his brains, then ran some distance up the road ; but two Indians on horseback overtook him, who, afraid to approach, stood at a distance and shot him down. The firing had ceased, and all was quiet when we returned to the swamp about noon. We left many negroes upon the ground looking at the dead men. Three warriors were killed and five wounded."

Oseola returned on the night of the 28th of December to the Wahoo Swamp. His party were loaded with all kinds of goods, and their bodies decorated with some trophy, to make known their atrocious acts. Scalps were suspended from their girdles, the warm blood still dripping ; others hung them on their heads and necks, besmearing their persons with blood, which, aided by their distorted and haggard countenances, gave to the entire group a most hideous aspect. The night was spent in a boisterous and joyful manner. The scalps were given up to the great medicine-chief, Illis-higher-Hadjo, who arranged them upon a pole ten feet in height, around which they exultingly danced till daylight, accompanying their frantic mirth by songs, ridiculing and defying the white men. Liquors of all kinds had been obtained, and many were beastly intoxicated. Speeches were addressed by the most humorous of the company to the scalp of General Thompson, imitating his gestures and manner of talking to them in council.

On the ensuing day, the 29th, information was brought by the scouts, that the troops were approaching the Withlacoochie river in pursuit of the Indians. Two hundred and fifty warriors, thirty of whom were blacks, started, under Oseola and Halpatter Tustenuggee (Alligator), to intercept them when crossing the river. Here they lay in ambush at the ford, two and a half miles above the ferry, as the most practicable, in fact, the only place of crossing without the aid of boats. Much to their surprise, they discovered on the day following the troops had come over, when they moved down to attack them. General Clinch had ferried over his command in a frail canoe, found on the bank, which with difficulty transported from six to eight men. At twelve o'clock, M., on the 31st of December, he encountered the enemy, strongly posted in the scrub and hammock, on the south side of the river.

His force consisted of two hundred regulars, detachments from the 1st, 2d, and 3d regiments of U. S. artillery. A spirited contest commenced. The command steadily advanced upon the Indians, who, headed by Oseola, and urged onward by his frantic gestures and shrill voice, poured in upon the troops a shower of bullets. They were at once vigorously charged, and compelled to relinquish the ground and flee to the hammock, and beyond it, for safety, after an action of one hour and fifteen minutes. Four hundred and sixty volunteers, under Gen. C. K. Call, were spectators of this conflict across the river, excepting twenty-seven, who, under Col. Warren and Lieut. Col. Mills, dashed over in spite of every obstacle, and by their firmness and activity rendered efficient service.

For a time the result was doubtful. But the example of the commander, who, on foot, passed up and down the line, cheering his brave companions, seconded by the unflinching resolution and intrepidity of his officers, satisfied the enemy, that in the contest which they had commenced, they were to encounter men as resolutely determined upon expelling them from the soil, as they were prepared to defend it.

General Clinch had a ball through his cap, and another in the sleeve of his coat; Capt. Wm. M. Graham, 4th infantry, was badly wounded in the leg and shoulder; Lieut. C. Graham, 3d artillery, and Lieut. T. P. Ridgley, 2d artillery, were severely wounded; Major Lytle, paymaster U. S. A., acting as aid-de-camp, had his horse shot under him, as also assistant-surgeon Clark. Col. Warren was hit in the breast, and his horse killed in the first discharge. Of the regular troops, four were killed and twenty-five wounded. The volunteers had fifteen wounded.

The Indians hastily retired, without again showing themselves. General Clinch took up his line of march, and returned to Fort Drane.

Alligator says that Oseola was hit in the arm, which disabled him, and was the cause of the Indians retreating. Three of their number were killed, and five were wounded. Two negroes were killed belonging to Micanopy ; of which he made great complaint, and ever after forbade his negroes participating in any hazardous enterprise. This caused many to disregard his authority as chief, or pond-governor, as he was called, subjecting him to reproach and suspicion. His disposition to procrastinate, and his indirect measures to deter Oseola and others in their proposed war-parties, at an early period satisfied those most eager for the contest, that he could not be relied upon as an adviser or prosecutor of the war. He was the acknowledged chief by hereditary right, and none were bold enough by open rebellion to subvert him, but his opinions and advice were generally unheeded.

No doubt now existed in the mind of any one as to the hostile intentions of the Florida Indians. The passions of a people, which had been smothered for fifteen years, descending from sire to son, were let loose, and the savage massacres which had appalled the stoutest heart, gave undisputed evidence of the character of the contest. Florida, from this time forward, was a scene of devastation, murder, sorrow, and distress. Plantations were abandoned, and the villages were crowded with citizens without occupation, and destitute of the means of obtaining their daily bread. All that had been anticipated and represented by intelligent citizens was fully realized. The postponement of this, through the zealous exertions of the government agents, for sixteen years, had tended to aggravate instead of allaying the feelings of the Indians. The natural propensities of the savage were in full play, and to gratify the strongest and most enduring impulse of their natures, revenge, they had within their reach those who had been instrumental in bringing about this state of things, and upon whom they could indulge, secretly and savagely, the instinct of their natures. It has been thought that a formidable array of troops would have averted this catastrophe. The period was past. It might have procrastinated, but it could not have defeated a design so long in contemplation, and for which, in the way of supplies and ammunition, every thing had been prepared. It was inevitable from the very nature of things. Combinations and influences were at work which could not be checked or defeated, requiring the removal of the Indians from the territory. The Seminoles disregarded the consequences of an overt act on their part, and disdained authority or control. Reckless of the future, and confident of being able to wage a successful warfare, from the character of the country and their intimate knowledge of the strong-holds, they lost sight of the power of the whites, in their long-cherished wish to gratify their vengeance in the de-

struction of those who had scattered discord through the land, and meditated their destruction as a nation, and their expulsion from the country. With these feelings deeply seated and cherished, exasperated by constant and unprovoked aggressions, all that was wanting was a heart bold enough to strike the first blow. In Oseola, or Powell, was combined a nerve, activity, and intelligence, which seemed to diffuse itself among all classes. The women gave a most hearty co-operation, and though obliged to abandon their homes, they cheerfully encountered fatigue, and congregated in places of safety, where they supplied provisions indiscriminately to the warriors, as they went to and from the field of battle. Boys hardly able to shoulder a rifle, were daily practiced in the use of that arm. Had a large body of troops been in the field, the Indians doubtless would have acted more covertly, and in smaller numbers. The exposed settlers upon the frontier would have been the first victims, almost within sight of the camp-fires of the army. Soldiers would have invaded the peninsula in columns, as was subsequently done, and not an Indian have been seen. The Florida war was closed by the movements of fifty and one hundred men, in detachments, acting in concert, giving to the contest a partisan character. This was hazardous, as they might be overcome by numbers, but it was the only means of bringing the enemy from their ambush, and involving them in an engagement. In every instance where a conflict has occurred, the regular troops were successful, if not in killing, wounding, and making prisoners, they remained in quiet possession of the field. The small number of troops in Florida on the 31st of December, induced the Indians to assemble in the belief of being successful, which necessarily caused a postponement of the attacks upon citizens, giving them time, with their families and property, to seek a place of safety. As lamentable as events were, the regular force ordered to the scene of warfare, as reported by the adjutant-general of the army to the secretary of war, was thought adequate to the emergency. From four to five hundred warriors was the computed strength of the nation, an estimate derived from what was deemed unquestioned authority. The army of the United States is too limited in numbers to quell in season such outbreaks, or to put in force, under such circumstances, the demands of the government. Scattered as it is along an extensive seaboard and on an inland frontier, small detachments reach the field just in time to provoke attacks, and to fill the breach by leading the forlorn hope. Blood is spilt, millions are squandered, the country ravaged, when the means upon which the only hope was based, to avert the calamity, are put in requisition, and the army, amid vindictive abuse and unreserved condemnation, accomplishes the desired end.

To control, or to effectually crush, the spirit which nerved the Seminoles in defence of their homes, required a force of which the country could not boast. The display of arms they ridiculed; consequences were disregarded, and life itself was uncared for. Moral force at one time could have been applied with success. But repeated aggressions, false promises, neglect, and abuse, had made them reckless, and the assurances of the whites, however sincere or well intended, were considered as false. The contest was inevitable. A war of seven years ensued, and many of those who instigated and participated in it, have to lament the day of its commencement.

Upon a careful examination, it will be found that the treaty of Fort Moultrie in 1821, was the first act in originating the Florida war. The treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832, was the second, and the "additional treaty," signed by the delegation at Fort Gibson, was the immediate cause of the Florida war.

CHAPTER III.

FROM JANUARY 1, 1836, TO DECEMBER 31, 1840.

The number of Indian warriors in Florida, and tribes to which they belonged.—Number of negro warriors.—Names of the various Indian chiefs, and their importance and characters, viz., Micanopy, Jumper, Little Cloud, Alligator, Holartooche, King Philip, Coacoochee, Sam Jones, Tigertail, Nethlockemathlar, Chekika, Hospetarke, Octiache.—The negro Abraham, his importance.—Oseola or Powell, his birth, rank, character, and age.—Measures taken to subdue the Indians.—Cost of the Florida war.—Relative cost of troops between regulars, volunteers, and militia.—General Towson's letter on the subject.—The regular troops, and militia serving in Florida in 1836, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41.—Generals Clinch, Scott, Call, Jesup, Taylor, Armistead, and Colonel Worth, commanding.—Depredations of the Indians.—General Clinch authorized to call for militia.—General Eustis ordered to Florida.—The movements of General Gaines.—The burial of the dead of Major Dade's command.—Arrival at Fort King of General Gaines.—Returns to Fort Brooke via the Withlacooche river.—His arrival, and encounter with the enemy.—Death of Lieutenant Izard.—The troops in a pen.—General Gaines's designs.—The attack upon the pen.—The arrival of a messenger from the Indians.—Interview of Adjutant Barrow of the Louisiana volunteers, and Captain Hitchcock, U. S. A., with Oseola and others.—The conduct of Cæsar disapproved of by the Indians.—The day when the troops in the pen were to be attacked.—The number of warriors on the ground.—Final result.—General Gaines relinquishes the command to General Clinch.—General Scott ordered to take command in Florida.—His steps taken to prosecute the war.—General Scott takes the field.—Success of his campaign.—Ordered to conduct the war against the Creeks in Georgia.—Complaints of General Scott's conduct in prosecuting the Florida war.—Difficulties in effecting his object.—General Scott's defence before the court of inquiry convened at Frederick, Maryland.—His acquittal.—General C. K. Call takes command of the Florida army.—Attack upon Micanopy by Oseola or Powell.—Major Hielcman's official report.—Colonel Pierce's expedition to Fort Drane.—His official report of the affair.—General Call's campaigns.—The Tennessee brigade and General Armstrong.—The U. S. marine corps under Colonel Henderson.—Officers of the Creek volunteer regiment.—General Call's second campaign.—Tennesseans attack the Indians.—The result.—Colonel Pierce with the regulars joins General Call.—Battle of the Wahoo-Swamp.—Official report of Colonel Pierce of the affair.—The object gained.—General Jesup's operations 12th January, 1837.—Battle of Fort Mellon.—Official report of Colonel Fanning.—Battle of Hatch-Luste creek.—General Jesup's report.—Colonel Henderson's report.—Disposition of the Indians.—They ask for peace.—The capitulation at Fort Dade.—The Indians agree to emigrate.—Large numbers assemble at Tampa Bay.—Vessels in readiness to take them to New-Orleans.—The surrender of Oseola with his family at Fort Mellon.—He desires peace.—The Florida war supposed to be ended.—Volunteers and militia discharged.—The marines under Colonel Henderson sent north.—Letter of Mr. Poinsett on the subject.—Citizens return to their homes.—The Indians break up their camp near Fort Brooke, and take to the woods under the direction of Oseola and Coacoochee.—The country alarmed.—General Jesup desires to be relieved from the command of the army of Florida.—His letter to the adjutant-general on the subject, July 25th, 1837.—Another campaign in preparation.—Creek regiment of Indians discharged.—The feeling of citizens towards the Indians.—Volunteers called for from Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida.—The address of General Jesup to the army, October 24th, 1837, at the commencement of the campaign.—General Jesup's report of his campaign, July 6th, 1838.—General Jesup's proposition to effect an arrangement with the enemy.—Mr. Poinsett's answer.—Report of the fight on Jupiter river.—General Jesup's letters.—General Taylor's report of the battle of Okechobee.—Indians commanding in the battle.—Their arrangements for the battle.—Death of Colonel Thompson, Colonel Gentry, Captain Van Suerengen, Lieutenants Center and Brooke.—Capture and death of Oseola.—The manner of capture, and his conduct, &c.—General Jesup relinquishes the command of the Florida army to General Z. Taylor.—General Taylor's report of operations.—He districts the country.—Not carried out.—General Macomb arrives in the territory.—His arrangement for peace.—His orders to citizens, and report to the secretary of war.—Citizens again return to their plantations.—Confidence partially restored.—The Indians murder express-men, and attack the settlements.—General consternation throughout the interior.—Lieutenant-Colonel Harney's command massacred on the Carlo-shatchee river.—The report of the assistant adjutant-general.—Lieutenant Hanson captures at Fort Mellon a band of Indians.—Preparations for another campaign.—Extract from the report of Mr. Poinsett in regard to the war.—Governor Reid's message to the territorial legislature.—Blood-hounds sent for to pursue the Indians.—Thirty-two obtained.—Their arrival, and cost.—Manner of tracking the Indians.—The result.—Complaints of memorialists to congress.—Correspondence of the Hon. H. A. Wise, secretary of war, and General Taylor upon the subject.—Troops withdrawn from the field.—General Taylor relieved from the command of the Florida army, by his own request.—Brevet Brigadier-General Armistead succeeds him.—The Spanish Indians participate in the war.—Indian Key attacked by a band of Indians under the Spanish Indian chief, Chekika.—The murder of Doctor Perrine, and the particulars of the escape of his family.

THE progress of the Florida war from the 1st of January, 1836, was attended with large expenditures of money, and serious embarrassments. The climate, ignorance of the swamps and hammocks, and the treachery and activity of the enemy, baffled

the skill of the most zealous and intelligent officers. The Indians, far more numerous than had been anticipated, availed themselves of the offers of peace and friendship often tendered, or when inclined to gratify their malignity, assembled in force to strike a fatal blow, and then scattered into small parties to their hiding places, without leaving a track behind. The number of warriors in the field at this time, as has been subsequently ascertained, was sixteen hundred and sixty, to which may be added two hundred and fifty negroes capable of bearing arms.

This force was divided into various bands, comprising Seminoles, Mickasukies, Tallahasseees, and Creeks, and led by youthful and sagacious chieftains. In resisting the encroachment of the whites, and the treaty of Payne's Landing, the most perfect harmony prevailed.

Micanopy, or the Pond Governor, was the legitimate head of the Seminole nation, and the acknowledged chief of the Indians in Florida. He was about fifty years of age, very fat, and excessively lazy, which unfitted him for the active duties that devolved on him in an open warfare. Of this he was fully sensible, which inclined him to advocate peace, as far as policy and his personal safety would permit. This was so manifest, that the young men forced him into hostile acts, and by main strength in two instances, (at Dade's Massacre, and at Camp Izard,) carried him by main force to the scene of action. Otee-Emathlar, or Jumper, was his *lawyer* and *sense-bearer*. He was a cunning, intelligent, and deceitful Indian. Fond of hearing himself talk, and naturally endowed with great fluency of speech, and with a voice peculiarly musical and attractive, he attained an ascendancy over all classes, and became the most important man in councils and consultations. He was about forty years old; active and brave.

Ta-ho-loo-chee, or Little Cloud, was remarkable for his bold achievements as a hunter and warrior, and for his bitter animosity to the whites. He was never known to express the least regard or kindness for them even when receiving clothing and food from their hands, and always looked upon them with contempt and distrust. His cold, dignified deportment was often remarked. His age was thirty-six. In council he was generally silent, but acted with promptness and decision.

Halpatter-Tustenugge, or Alligator, was the most shrewd, crafty, politic, and intelligent chief of the Seminole nation. He was upwards of forty years of age, but an active and successful hunter. With the citizens of the country he was upon intimate terms, and enjoyed their hospitality to a great extent. His manners were bland and attractive, and speaking English, he made himself an agreeable companion. But his artful tricks to

obtain food, clothing, powder, and lead, while expressing friendship and affection, led the citizens to suspect and watch him continually. His knowledge of the country, and tactics in the field of battle, as displayed in advancing and retreating, in diverting the enemy and outflanking their extended lines, gave him an ascendancy, and made him a dangerous foe.

Holartoochee was a remarkable man, and in all respects superior to his associates. He was fifty-five years of age. Good judgment, prudence, and integrity marked all his acts, both among his own people and with the citizens. He was acknowledged a brave warrior and a great hunter. In council, he spoke with energy and boldness; and led his companions at all times with the same spirit. He was banished from his tribe four years for adultery, during which time he lived with the Spanish Indians inhabiting the Everglades, who treated him with great distinction. At the breaking out of hostilities, he rejoined his band, and became an active leader. After resisting three years, he surrendered for emigration, and became useful in inducing others to follow his example.

King Phillip, the father of Coacoochee or Wild Cat, was a good-natured, sensible Indian; his age, which was about sixty, and his royal blood, attached to him some importance. In the peaceful affairs of the nation, his views and advice were often adopted. He was inclined to peace, but opposed to the execution of the treaty, and expressed a determination to die upon the soil. He wished to avoid the whites, rather than to resist them, and thus be subjected to much discomfort and annoyance.

Coacoochee, or Wild Cat, partook of none of his father's infirmities. He was by far the most dangerous chieftain in the field. War to him was a pastime. He became merry by the excitement, and more vindictive and active by its barbarities, and the inefficiency of the enemy. When being pursued through deep swamps, he has stood at a distance, and laughed at and ridiculed the soldiers floundering with their arms and accoutrements in mud and water. With a few followers, who adhered to him for his bold achievements and success in plundering, he ranged throughout the country, going from one part to the other with a fleetness defying pursuit. When hostilities commenced, he assembled his warriors, and in a fearless manner dictated the mode in which the war was to be conducted. He held communication with other chieftains, but the customary councils with the agents of the government, and among themselves, he disregarded, and acted according to the dictates of his own judgment. He was twenty-eight years of age, in person slight, with the activity of a deer, and with a countenance bright, playful, and attractive.



Coacoochee, (Wild Cat.)



Thlocklo Tustenuggee, (Tiger Tail.)

Of the Mickasukie tribe of Indians, Ar-pe-ik, or Sam Jones, was the chief. He was said to be the most aged Indian in Florida, being upwards of seventy. For many years he lived at Silver Spring, near Fort King, and was known as Sam Jones the fisherman. His age gave him an ascendancy far above his merits. He declared himself a prophet and a great medicine-man. He planned war parties for the young warriors, and accompanied them to the scene of action, and from a distance witnessed their conduct; giving encouragement by his incantations with roots, barks, skins of animals and snakes, and midnight orgies and songs. He was always remarkable for his obstinate ill-nature.

With him were many young men of the same tribe, who partook of the infamy belonging to this band, otherwise intelligent and brave; none more so than Halleck-Tustenuggee, now but a boy, but who soon became the master-spirit of the war.

Thlock-lo-Tustenuggee, or Fish King, known as Tigertail, was the chief of the Tallahassee. For many years he was a common lounge about the streets of Tallahassee, begging for whisky and food. Here he learned some English, and obtained an intimate knowledge of the habits of the citizens. Upon re-joining his tribe, when hostilities commenced, this gave him much importance. Plausible and attractive in his manners, and professing great wisdom and sagacity, he deluded those of his own color as well as the whites, and was always ready to accept the proffer of peace. After enjoying for weeks the hospitality of a military camp or post, with the promise of emigrating, he would return to the woods, well supplied with ammunition, provisions, and clothing. He was about forty-four years of age.

His brother, Nethlocke-mathlar, contended with him for the government of the tribe, causing frequent broils and conflicts. By far his brother's superior in age, intelligence, and honesty, he failed in attaching to him the younger warriors, as his integrity and good sense profited them but little. Strongly opposed to emigrating, he advocated friendship and peace, and condemned the hypocrisy of his brother.

South of Pease Creek and Lake Okechobee, near the extreme southern point of the peninsula, was a band of Spanish Indians, under an intelligent chief, called Chekika, speaking a language peculiarly their own, a mixture of Indian and Spanish. They numbered about one hundred warriors. They took no part in the war until 1839 and '40, when, finding themselves attacked and pursued, they took arms and resisted. This band of Indians was entirely unknown. In all the treaties that had been made and councils held by agents of the government, they had had no

participation. Numbers had visited the Island of Cuba, and looked more to the Spaniards as their friends, than they did to the Americans.

Hospetarke, whose wife was a Spanish woman, lived in this quarter. A few men of his tribe here joined him. Large numbers were added of those who were pursued by troops further north.

The Creeks, at the commencement of the war, numbered about seventy warriors, under a young sub-chief by the name of Octiarche, who resolutely, and with skill, contended against the force in the field for six years, and was among the last of the leaders captured, and who finally emigrated.

Large numbers of Creeks from Georgia joined the Seminoles from time to time, in small parties, and became the most active in committing depredations upon the frontier, and ultimately took the direction of the war.

Micanopy owned many negroes, who partook of the feeling exhibited around them. His principal slave, Abraham, was the most noted, and for a time an influential man in the nation. He dictated to those of his own color, who to a great degree controlled their masters. They were a most cruel and malignant enemy. For them to surrender would be servitude to the whites; but to retain an open warfare, secured to them plunder, liberty, and importance.

Though the chiefs and sub-chiefs gave an ardent support to the war after the first blood was shed, yet As-se-se-he-ho-lar, or Black Drink,* known as Oseola or Powell, was the governing spirit. His rank and birth were both humble and obscure; but he dared to resist the demands of the government, and had the temerity to strike the first blow. He belonged to the Red Stick tribe of Indians, a branch of the Creeks, and was born on the Chattahoochee river, Georgia, in the year 1804. His father's name was William Powell, an Englishman, who for forty years had been a trader in the nation, and whose wife was an Indian woman. In the year 1808, when a feud occurred among the Creeks, they separated by mutual consent, she preferring to go to Florida, when a division of the family took place. The father retained two daughters; the mother and the boy, then four years old, settled in the vicinity of the Okefenoke Swamp. Soon after, she was again married, when, with her child and husband, she

* The black drink is used by the head-men of the Seminole nation, preparatory to the assembling of important councils. It is drank three times a day, for seven consecutive days. It is a tea composed of a concoction of star-grass, slippery elm, and palmetto leaves. This process, it is thought, cleanses the system, and gives to the mind wisdom and clearness.



Negro Abraham.



As-se-se-he-ho-lar, (known as Oseola or Powell.)

removed to a hammock near Fort King. William Powell emigrated to Arkansas, from Georgia, in the summer of 1836.

As-se-se-he-ho-lar, or Powell, at the breaking out of hostilities was thirty-two years of age. In stature, he was about five feet eight inches, with a manly, frank, and open countenance. From boyhood he was noted for his independence and self-possession, and always treated the whites with great dignity, almost amounting to insolence. In all dances, ball-plays, and games, he was distinguished. In council, the old chiefs looked with surprise at his bold opposition to the treaty of Payne's Landing. What he said and did was the result of a momentary feeling, without previous consultations or understandings, which caused the experienced counsellors of the nation to treat him with great respect.

He threw aside the ridiculous mummerly of sages and prophets, their forms and superstitions, and openly declared his views and opinions, regardless of consequences, and the diplomacy and cunning of Jumper and the negro Abraham. Feeling conscientiously right himself, he infused the same spirit into others, who with renewed resolution adhered to their opposition to the treaty. From his youth he had lived with the Seminoles, and he felt that their fortunes were his own. His wife, whose name was Che-cho-ter, (the Morning Dew,) was a Creek; by her he had four children. To them he was kind and affectionate. In advising the warriors, when starting upon a war-party, he always enjoined them to spare the women and children. "It is not upon them," said he, "that we make war and draw the scalping-knife, it is upon men; let us act like men."

The government of the United States soon found that a war with the Indians of Florida was inevitable. Peace, security of the lives and property of citizens, and the emigration of the Indians to Arkansas, were the objects sought and demanded. Volunteers and militia were called into the field, detachments of regular troops were ordered to the country, and ample funds placed at the disposal of the proper department, that the conflict should be ended by a prompt and decided blow. Unfortunately, these anticipations were not realized. As unimportant as the conflict was believed to be, it cost the nation nineteen millions four hundred and eighty thousand dollars, exclusive of the expenditures pertaining to the regular army. This amount accrued from the payment of militia and volunteers, and losses sustained by citizens from the ravages of the enemy.

The subjoined table shows the number of volunteers called into the field from the different states, between the 20th of December, 1835, and the 31st of December, 1840.

STATE OR TERRITORY.	Commis. Officers.	Men.	Aggreg'te.	When mustered.
FLORIDA	141	1635	1776	1835 and 6
FLORIDA	190	3376	3566	1836, 7 and 8
SOUTH CAROLINA	141	2124	2265	1836, 7 and 8
LOUISIANA	67	1112	1179	1836, 7 and 8
ALABAMA	113	2244	2357	1836, 7 and 8
GEORGIA	193	2381	2574	1836, 7 and 8
TENNESSEE	110	1541	1651	1836 and 7
MISSOURI	38	436	474	1837 and 8
NEW-YORK	3	87	90	1837 and 8
PENNSYLVANIA	20	490	510	1837 and 8
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	6	133	139	1836 7, and 8
DELAWARE AND SHAWNEE	4	174	178	1837 and 8
CHOCTAW INDIANS	10	475	485	1837
FLORIDA	102	1410	1512	1839
TENNESSEE	28	504	532	1837 and 8
CREEK INDIANS	12	726	748	1836 and 7
TOTAL	1172	19,646	20,026	

The length of service was from 3 to 6 months, and a small portion for 12 months.

The secretary of war, in submitting a report called for by congress, on the 22d of March, 1838, of the comparative expense of volunteers, militia, and regular troops, enclosed the following abstract made by the paymaster-general of the army.

Abstract of Expenses of U. S. Troops, Volunteers, and Militia.

PERIOD.	UNITED STATES TROOPS.		VOLUNTEERS.		MILITIA.	
	Dragoons.	Infantry.	Mounted.	Foot.	Mounted.	Foot.
For 6 Months	\$13,573 34	\$4,662 06	\$22,575 01	\$7,287 69		
For 3 Months	6,786 67	2,331 00	13,553 69	4,973 83	\$12,079 69	\$3,674 53
For 1 Month	2,262 22	777 00	7,583 58	3,888 53	5,800 14	2,102 25
	7,540 74	2,590 00	14,570 76	5,355 00	8,939 41	2,939 34

Note. The above calculations are for a company of fifty privates of each description of troops, fully officered.

Washington, May 8th, 1838.

(Signed,) N. TOWSON,
Paymaster-General U. S. A.

In connection with the subject General Towson remarks: "This enormous disparity in the expenses of the two forces is not owing to the extravagant allowances made to volunteers; for except in the article of clothing, they are not better paid than regular troops, and altogether insufficiently compensated to reimburse them for the pecuniary sacrifices they make, in leaving home and employment, to say nothing of the danger and hardships they encounter. It is caused principally by expenses for

travelling to and from the place where the services of volunteers and militia are required ; to the hire, maintenance, and indemnity for horses ; to purchasing them a full supply of clothing, as a bounty, without regard to length of service. The statements also show the expenses of volunteers serving on post, and of militia. The term of service of the latter never exceeds three months, unless especially provided for. There is one comparison that would place the contrast between the expenses of regular and irregular troops in a much stronger light, if I had the data to enable me to state it in figures, and that is the comparative loss and destruction of military stores and public property, by the two forces. The immense importance attached to this subject by European governments, as a principal means of sustaining war, has led to the most rigid economy, and the strictest accountability in every thing connected with the material of an army. We have profited by their experience, and it is probable a more perfect system of accountability is nowhere to be found than in our little army ; but it requires the study of years to understand, and the exercise of martial law to enforce it. This cannot be expected of irregular troops, that serve at most but a few months. There is another subject which I would respectfully suggest should be considered in connection with the employment of volunteers, and that is, the great inconvenience to which it subjects the useful class of citizens, the heavy tax imposed on their patriotism, and the loss the country sustains by diverting labor from its proper object, and turning producers into consumers."

The above conclusions are the result of long experience and close observation, in and out of the field, and are well worthy of consideration.

The detachments of the regular army ordered to Florida, were necessarily and unavoidably small, which subjected them to every privation, and to the liability of being cut off by the superior force of the enemy.

On the 30th of November, 1836, the regular and irregular troops in Florida, commanded by Major-General Jesup, were reported to consist of,

	Officers.	Men.
2d Dragoons,	1 . . .	19
1st Regiment of Artillery,	11 . . .	253 as Infantry.
2d " "	13 . . .	248 "
3d " "	12 . . .	278 "
4th " "	14 . . .	260 "
U. S. Marines, commanded by Col. Henderson,	18 . . .	303
4th Infantry,	7 . . .	320
	<hr/> 76	<hr/> 1681

Brought forward,	Men.	1681
Tennessee Volunteers,		1200
Alabama "		300
Florida "		250
Washington City "		59
Creek Indians "		730
Total,		4220

November 30th, 1837—General Jesup commanding:

	Officers.	Men.	
General Staff,	28		
2d Regiment of Dragoons,	33	563	
1st " Artillery,	24	363	as Infantry.
2d " "	22	279	"
3d " "	26	253	"
4th " "	31	347	"
1st " Infantry,	19	282	
2d " "	16	332	
4th " "	8	379	
6th " "	9	294	
Detachment of Marines,	4	170	
Recruits not assigned to Companies,		1060	
Regulars, total,	230	4322	
Volunteers—Missouri, mounted,	38	346	
Tennessee, "	28	504	
Alabama, "	44	906	
Washington, D. C., foot,	3	69	
Philadelphia, "	18	458	
New-Orleans, "	15	235	
Florida, "	74	1207	
Seamen,	1	100	
Aggregate of Volunteers,	221	3825	
Indians,	4	174	
Grand Aggregate,	455	8411	

Of this number 8 officers and 450 men were unfit for duty.

Of the officers of the General Staff, 25 were Assistant Surgeons.

November 30th, 1838—Brevet Brigadier-General Z. Taylor commanding—the force in Florida comprised, present for duty:

	Officers.	Men.	
General Staff,	46		
2d Regiment of Dragoons,	28	627	
3d " Artillery,	26	394	as Infantry.
4th " "	29	559	"
1st " Infantry,	23	358	
2d " "	25	544	
6th " "	25	247	
	202	3098	

Of the officers of the General Staff, 30 were Physicians.

	Officers.	Men.
Militia, Georgia,	7	136
Florida,	9	219
	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 355

Of this force, 288 men were reported sick.

November 30th, 1839—General Taylor commanding—present for duty :

	Officers.	Men.
General Staff,	47	
2d Regiment of Dragoons,	29	520
3d " Artillery,	25	311 as Infantry.
1st " Infantry,	23	371
2d " "	24	406
6th " "	20	390
7th " "	18	373
Recruits,		474
	<hr/> 186	<hr/> 2845
Regular troops,		
Florida mounted men,	33	760

Of this force, 300 men were reported sick.

November 30th, 1840—Brevet Brigadier-General W. K. Armistead commanding—present for duty :

	Officers.	Men.
General Staff,	62	
2d Regiment of Dragoons,	24	420
3d " Artillery,	12	276 as Infantry.
1st " Infantry,	22	406
2d " "	19	410
3d " "	23	683
6th " "	19	477
7th " "	19	562
8th " "	27	730
	<hr/> 227	<hr/> 3964
Regular troops,		
Militia, Florida,	47	1500
" Georgia,	12	284
	<hr/> 59	<hr/> 1784

Of this force, 320 men were reported sick.

November 30th, 1841—Col. W. J. Worth, 8th Infantry, commanding—present for duty :

	Officers.	Men.
General Staff,	57	
2d Regiment of Dragoons,	10	237
3d " Artillery,	18	483 as Infantry.
2d " Infantry,	20	351
3d " "	20	234
	<hr/> 125	<hr/> 1305

	Officers.	Men.
Brought forward,	125 . .	1305
4th Regiment of Infantry,	15 . .	449
6th " "	16 . .	640
7th " "	14 . .	588
8th " "	16 . .	633
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Regular troops,	186	3615

Of this force, 7 commissioned officers and 652 men were reported sick.
Of the officers of the General Staff, 38 were Assistant Surgeons.

The activity and cruelty of the enemy following the massacre of the detachment under the command of Major Dade, created a panic throughout the territory. Settlers were compelled to flee, or be slaughtered at noon-day, with their wives and children around them.

Sixteen plantations in East Florida, upon each of which were employed from one to one hundred and fifty negroes, with sugar-mills, cotton-gins, store-houses, and dwellings, were completely destroyed within the month of January, 1836; while the occupants fled for their lives, leaving behind the common necessities of life. Negroes were shot down within sight of their homes; and night after night, families were alarmed by Indian yells, and the discharge of their rifles. None could tell at what moment, or in what manner, they would be assailed, and subjected to the most cruel and brutal death. In some instances, the lives of mothers were spared that they might see their children cut in pieces, and their limbs used as weapons to assail the living. Sorrow and poverty existed where a few months before reigned prosperity and happiness.

The war department, at the head of which was General Lewis Cass, put in force vigorous measures to protect the inhabitants, and to punish the enemy. Brevet Brigadier-General Clinch, commanding the regular troops, then at Fort Drane, was authorized to call for any amount of force he thought necessary from the states of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Brevet Brigadier-General Eustis, U. S. A., commanding at Charleston, S. C., was directed to proceed to Florida, and adopt the necessary steps to open a communication with General Clinch; and to take with him the regular troops at Charleston and Savannah, and such numbers of volunteers and militia from South Carolina as he might deem requisite to meet this embarrassing state of affairs.

The most unlimited confidence was placed in General Clinch, who had, with an inferior force, met the enemy, and defeated them in a most gallant manner; and had maintained his ground in their midst, in a country from which he could not expect succor in the way of men or supplies.

Brevet Major-General Gaines, commanding the western military department, which comprised a part of Florida, being on a tour of inspection at New-Orleans, La., heard of the lamentable disaster that had befallen the command of Major Dade; and that Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, was invested by negroes and Indians, and that the garrison was in imminent danger of being cut off. He at once despatched an express to General Clinch, informing him that he would be at Fort Brooke on the 8th of February, with seven hundred men; and at the same time desired that he would co-operate in such a manner as to bring the Indians to action. General Gaines accordingly embarked at New-Orleans on the 3d of February, with a brigade of eleven hundred men; comprising six companies of the 4th U. S. infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Twiggs, and a regiment of Louisiana volunteers, commanded by General P. F. Smith, adjutant-general of the state. He reached Fort Brooke on the 10th, and on the 13th the brigade took the field. The movement was one of great responsibility. Entirely destitute of the means of transportation, with but ten days' provisions, five of which were on the men's backs, in a country almost unknown, inhabited by an enemy as yet unnumbered, this brave band took up its line of march with cheerfulness and alacrity, undaunted by the numerous difficulties before them. The right consisted of four companies of the 2d artillery, acting as infantry, commanded by Major Belton. The centre comprised seven companies of 4th infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Foster; on the left were the Louisiana volunteers, in command of Colonel or General Smith and Lieutenant-Colonel Lawson (now Surgeon-General Lawson, U. S. A.). Lieutenant-Colonel Twiggs acted as brigadier-general. The order of march was in three columns, with an advance, and a strong rear guard. Each night, the encampment was surrounded by logs three feet high, within which the entire command slept on their arms.

The commissioned officers of the U. S. army, were Major-General Gaines; Lieutenant-Colonel Twiggs; Captain Shannon; Quarter-Master, Captain Hitchcock, 1st infantry, Lieutenant McCall, 4th infantry, and Lieutenant Izard, 1st dragoons, staff; Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, 4th infantry; Major Wilson, Major Lear, Lieutenant T. Page, Lieutenant Screven, Lieutenants Buchanan, Alvord, Scott, Myers, Mitchell, and Reeve; Major Belton, artillery; Captains Mountford, and Zantzing; Lieutenants Grayson, Linnard, Adams, Duncan, Stockton, Henderson, Allen, and Morgan. Medical staff, Surgeons Heiskell, Leavenworth, Cuyler, and Reynolds.

Seventy friendly Indians accompanied the command as guides, but their caution and timidity rendered their knowledge of the country of no avail. On the 8th day of the march, the battle-

ground of Major Dade was reached. Here were strewn around the decayed and mutilated remains of their companions in arms, which had been exposed upwards of fifty days.—As revolting as the task was, they interred them with becoming solemnity, and with the honors of war.

Captain E. A. Hitchcock, acting inspector-general, who was required to make a report upon the subject, gives this detail.

“ Western Department,
Fort King, Florida, Feb. 22d, 1836. }

“ GENERAL—Agreeably to your directions, I observed the battle ground six or seven miles north of the Outhlacoochee river, where Major Dade and his command were destroyed by the Seminole Indians on the 28th of December last, and have the honor to submit the following report :

“ The force under your command which arrived at this post to-day from Tampa Bay, encamped on the 19th inst. on the ground occupied by Major Dade on the night of the 27th of December. He and his party were destroyed on the morning of the 28th of December, about four miles in advance of that position. He was advancing towards this post, and was attacked from the north, so that on the 20th inst. we came upon the rear of his battle ground about 9 o'clock in the morning. Our advanced guard had passed the ground without halting, when the general and his staff came upon one of the most appalling scenes that can be imagined. We first saw some broken and scattered boxes ; then a cart, the two oxen of which were lying dead, as if they had fallen asleep, their yokes still on them ; a little to the right one or two horses were seen. We then came to a small enclosure, made by felling trees in such a manner as to form a triangular breastwork for defence. Within the triangle, along the north and west faces of it, were about thirty bodies, mostly mere skeletons, although much of the clothing was left upon them. These were lying, almost every one of them, in precisely the same position they must have occupied during the fight, their heads next to the logs over which they had delivered their fire, and their bodies stretched with striking regularity parallel to each other. They had evidently been shot dead at their posts, and the Indians had not disturbed them, except by taking the scalps of most of them. Passing this little breastwork, we found other bodies along the road, and by the side of the road, generally behind the trees which had been resorted to for covers from the enemy's fire.

“ Advancing about two hundred yards further, we found a cluster of bodies in the middle of the road. These were evidently the advanced guard, in the rear of which was the body of Major Dade ; and to the right, that of Captain Fraser.

"These were all doubtless shot down by the first fire of the Indians, except, perhaps, Captain Fraser, who must, however, have fallen very early in the fight. Those in the road, and by the trees, fell during the first attack. It was during the cessation of the fire that the little band still remaining, about thirty in number, threw up the triangular breastwork, which, from the haste with which it was constructed, was necessarily defective, and could not protect the men in the second attack.

"We had with us many of the personal friends of the officers of Major Dade's command, and it is gratifying to be able to state that every officer was identified by undoubted evidence. They were buried; and the cannon, a six-pounder, that the Indians had thrown into a swamp, was recovered and placed vertically at the head of the grave, where, it is to be hoped, it will long remain. The bodies of the non-commissioned officers and privates were buried in two graves, and it was found that every man was accounted for.

"The command was composed of eight officers, and one hundred and two non-commissioned officers and privates. The bodies of eight officers, and ninety-eight men were interred, four men having escaped; three of whom reached Tampa Bay, the fourth was killed the day after the battle.

"It may be proper to observe, that the attack was not made from a hammock, but in a thinly-wooded country; the Indians being concealed by palmetto and grass, which has since been burned.

"The two companies were, Captain Fraser's, of the 3d artillery, and Captain Gardiner's, of the 2d artillery. The officers were Major Dade, of the 4th infantry; Captains Fraser and Gardiner, Second-Lieutenant Bassinger, Brevet Second-Lieutenant R. Henderson, Mudge, and Keais, of the artillery, and Dr. J. S. Gatlin.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your obedient servant,

Major-Gen. EDMUND P. GAINES, }	E. A. HITCHCOCK,
Com. West. Depart. Fort King, Fla. }	Captain, 1st Infantry, Act. Insp. Gen."

General Gaines was disappointed in not hearing from General Clinch. He was apprehensive that he had been overpowered by the enemy, or that from the state of the country, his express had not reached him. Fort King was fifty miles distant. At this point, it was believed, that a supply of provisions could be obtained. To have retraced his steps to Fort Brooke, would have been, in the opinion of the Indians, a retreat. To advance at all hazards, was demanded by every consideration. It was known that General Scott had been ordered to Florida, and though too early to expect it, a co-operation might possibly be effected with

the troops under his command, marching from the eastern coast. General Gaines reached Fort King on the 22d of February, without molestation, or seeing the sign of an Indian. He found here one company of artillery. General Clinch, with his force, was at Fort Drane, twenty-two miles distant. At Fort King the anticipated supplies had not arrived, and the garrison was reduced to the rations then issued to the company stationed there.

General Gaines, with great disappointment and chagrin, in which his entire command participated, determined to return to Fort Brooke; and in order that the advance of his troops might not lose its effect upon the enemy, he took a new route, fifty miles west of the old one, under the guidance of the friendly Indians, who stated that at the junction of the trail with the Withlacoochie, the river could be forded. On the 27th, after two days' marching, the point was reached; and while search was being made for the ford, the enemy opened a galling fire from the opposite bank, protected by dense foliage and a natural embankment of sand six feet high, immediately on the bank. The stream was about thirty yards wide, deep and rapid. Several companies were brought up to cover the supposed ford, when the firing became general on both sides. The skirmish lasted an hour. The troops encamped on the ground. The guides became confused, and expressed their belief that the ford was three miles farther down the river.

At sunrise the ensuing morning, the command was marched to the point indicated. Upon reaching it, a spirited fire was again opened from the opposite bank, and obstinately continued so long as a soldier could be seen emerging from the bushes. Lieutenant Izard, 1st U. S. dragoons, a valued and intrepid officer, was shot upon the bank, while rallying his men to ascertain the depth of the water. To ford the stream was found impracticable; the Indian guides were at a loss, and confessed their ignorance of this section of country. The troops set to work to construct rafts and boats. The continued savage yells, and the crack of their rifles, almost drowned the sound of the axe and the taunts and jeers of the soldiers, who, from behind the trees, dared the Indians and negroes to an open fight. The commander believing that now was the time to meet the entire Indian force in the field, and thus strike an effectual blow, encamped about half a mile from the river, on the pine barren, and threw up a breastwork of logs sufficient for protection. An express was despatched to General Clinch at Fort Drane, thirty miles distant, recommending an immediate movement of his force, with provisions and ammunition, which if promptly done, and the river crossed ten miles up, the Indians could be simultaneously attacked in front and rear, and thus severely punished;

in the mean time, General Gaines would divert them by adopting measures to cross. While awaiting an answer, the camp was surrounded daily upon two and three sides. The Indians would advance, and after setting fire to the grass, and from the midst of fire and smoke, with whoops and yells, discharge a volley towards the encampment. The troops, calm and cheerful, returned their yells, and reserved their fire until they came within reach. From fourteen to fifteen hundred warriors, including negroes, was supposed to be their strength. General Gaines finding the Indians to be crossing the river in large bodies, and their numbers and boldness manifestly increasing, sent another communication to General Clinch, in which he said, "I have abstained, and shall abstain, from a sortie till I hear from you, in expectation that this course will tend to keep them together, whilst a sortie might contribute to disperse them. I am now satisfied that a direct movement to this place is more desirable than to cross the river ten miles higher up, as I suggested in my letter of yesterday."

On the first of March a vigorous assault was made upon the camp, which continued more than an hour. The arrival of reinforcements was looked for with anxiety. Hunger began to be felt, though submitted to by officers and men without a murmur. All the corn in the camp was turned in as common stock, and to each a pint was issued. Several horses were killed on the 3d, 4th, and 5th of March, and the meat distributed among the officers and men. The Indians still fired upon the camp daily, generally at guard-mounting, after creeping within rifle range, in the midst of the bushes and grass, shouting and yelling continually in the distance. Four men were killed and thirty-four were wounded within the encampment. About ten o'clock on the night of the 5th of March, a voice was heard hailing the sentinel on post. It was thought to be the express from Fort Drane, now so anxiously looked for. It proved to be an old negro by the name of Cæsar, who at the top of his voice said, "that the Indians were tired of fighting, and wished to come in and shake hands." He was told to come in the morning with a white flag. At noon the next day a large number of warriors were seen drawn up in a line in rear of the camp, some four or five hundred yards distant.

After some delay among them three advanced, gaudily dressed; one more distinguished than the rest bore the white flag. They were met by Adjutant Barrow, of the Louisiana volunteers. To him Oseola, or Powell, who was the speaker, expressed a desire to have a talk. Capt. Hitchcock was sent to hear what he had to say. He returned and reported to the commander that the Indians did not wish to fight any more, but were desirous that the troops should withdraw from the Withlacoochie. They

further expressed a desire to treat, and that they would hold a council on the subject, and return in the afternoon. They came at the time appointed, and stated that no act would be binding, should they make peace, as Micanopy, the head-man, had gone to his town. Capt. Hitchcock then communicated to them what he had been instructed to say: "That General Gaines had no authority to treat with them, but that if they would return to the south side of the Withlacoochie, and remain there without molesting the inhabitants of the country, until the United States commissioners should appoint a time and place to treat with them, they should not for the present be disturbed." These chiefs gave their promise to do so. At this moment, the advance guard of General Clinch, from Fort Drane, came in sight of the body of Indians drawn up in rear of the encampment. General Clinch, not knowing the object of this assemblage, wheeled his troops into line, and commenced a vigorous assault. The Indians fled in confusion. Thus ended the conference. How far it was made in good faith, the acts of the Indians and subsequent events must determine. Intelligent Indians and negroes who were upon the ground at the time, state that the conduct of John Cæsar was without the authority or knowledge of the chiefs.

With the Indians he was a privileged character, and from his age and long residence among them, he felt at liberty to do that which he conceived for the general good. Belonging to Micanopy, he thought himself of as much importance as his master. Unknown to any one, he crossed the Withlacoochie river, hailed the camp, and said the Indians wished to make peace. Upon his return he reported the result of his conference, which exasperated the majority of the warriors, and it required all the popularity and resolution of Oseola, or Powell, to prevent his being put to death. A number of warriors refused farther participation in the conflict, and left the ground, dissatisfied with the conduct of Oseola in listening to the invitation communicated by Cæsar, and refraining from inflicting the punishment they thought he deserved for defeating the plan so long in contemplation, and which had been postponed from day to day for the arrival of reinforcements. The 6th of March was the time it was expected they would arrive, when an assault would be made upon the troops at once. Eight hundred Indians and one hundred and seventy negroes was their estimated strength.

Old Primus, who became a faithful interpreter after capture, assisted Oseola and Jumper in counting the bundles of sticks, as each warrior was required to hand in a stick, which represented himself. Seven hundred were counted, together with another bunch, sent from Ah-ap-op-k, comprising one hundred. These men were to arrive on the morning of the 6th. The conduct

of Cæsar, and the disposition of many to accept terms of peace, defeated the design, and it was determined, that if the troops would quietly retire from their present position, they would not molest them. During the week in which they had been assembling, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Decrepit men and the youngest boys took part in all the preparations. Powder was brought in bags upon the ground, contained in kegs and barrels, to which all had free access. The women were cooking provisions and running bullets in a hammock three miles distant. On the arrival of General Clinch, the bands dispersed to their various towns. They had two Indians killed, one hit on the head with a cannon-ball, one negro, and five wounded.

Gen. Gaines on the 7th of March surrendered the command to Gen. Clinch, and proceeded to the western frontier, in compliance with orders received at Pensacola on his way to Florida. Higher and more important duty, unknown as he thought at Washington, demanded his attention. His exertions to chastise the enemy and to protect the citizens of Florida, the resolution and fortitude of the officers and men comprising his command, deserved a better result. Gen. Clinch with his troops retired to Fort Drane the following day.

Information having reached the war department that the Creeks inhabiting the state of Georgia were commencing hostilities, and about to join the Seminoles, it became apparent that more extensive operations would become necessary than had been contemplated; thus bringing into the field officers of the militia ranking Gen. Clinch. Major-General Scott was accordingly ordered, on the 21st of January, to take command of the Florida army. Ample authority was conferred upon him, and unlimited means placed at his disposal. He proceeded at once to the scene of action, but unavoidably at too late a period to push a successful campaign. On his route he made requisitions on the states of Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama, for troops, which met with a cordial response. Volunteers from Savannah and Augusta, Georgia, and from Charleston, S. C., repaired with alacrity to the scene of action, in the hope of averting the calamities threatening St. Augustine, Jacksonville, and the surrounding country. General Scott, after encountering many embarrassments in assembling his troops, and preparing them for a tour of service in a country totally destitute of supplies and the means of transportation, took the field on the 22d of February, and continued his operations unremittingly until the 30th of May. This being the commencement of the sickly season, and his men much broken by exposure and harassing duties, it was deemed prudent and but an act of justice to give them an opportunity to rest, and thus avoid the diseases incident to the

climate at this season of the year. General Scott was then ordered to Columbus, Georgia, to conduct the operations in that quarter against the Creeks. The campaign was called a *failure*—by none, however, who participated, or were acquainted with the character of the enemy, the country, and the climate. Much was expected from Gen. Scott, from his long, well-trying, and faithful services; and confident in the belief that he could surmount every obstacle, and punish the Seminoles, the public lost sight of the embarrassments incident to operations against a foe occupying forty-seven thousand square miles, as yet unnumbered, in a country unexplored, without roads, bridges, guides, subsistence, or transportation.

The theatre of operations was a wilderness, and every hammock and swamp a citadel for the enemy. At the exposed points which gave them shelter, they harassed the troops night and day, and with the fleetness of the deer retired to a more secluded spot. The men, worn down with constant watchings, disappointments, and tedious marches, still no nearer the enemy, struggled on, in hopes they would hazard a general action. Too wary for this, they knew their strength consisted in moving in parties of ten, fifteen, or twenty men.

Subsequent events, and the experience of intelligent officers as well as citizens, have proved that a Florida campaign, however well timed, skillful, and judicious in its arrangements and progress, was not to result in the capture or subjection of the Seminoles.

Before a court of inquiry, convened at Frederick, Maryland, by order of the president of the United States, General Scott exhibited his plans and designs in the prosecution of the war. His defence is here given; which is interesting from the detail, and from the fact that the result was his triumphant vindication. The general says:

“‘THE FAILURE OF MY FLORIDA CAMPAIGN.’

“Permit me, here, Mr. President, to offer a preliminary remark. If by *failure*, the common idea of *disaster*, *defeat*, or *repulse*, be understood, then that term does great injustice to me, and the brave regulars and volunteers whom I had the honor to command. Sir, we suffered no defeat, check, or repulse. The enemy encountered by the several columns and detachments, were, in every instance, beaten, driven, and scattered beyond the reach of possible pursuit; and if we had chosen to imitate, in our reports, the example of many others engaged in similar operations, we might, no doubt, have figured much more largely in the public journals. But in every instance, as far as I know and be-

lieve, though our affairs were numerous, and not deficient in danger and brilliancy, we always declined substituting imagination and conjecture for ascertained facts. Perhaps, by the discoveries of history, the high reputations gained before and since, by the art alluded to, may, in time, be brought down to the humble level of myself and companions.

"It is true, sir, we did not succeed in sending off the great body of the Seminoles to the west of the Mississippi. In this object, ardently desired by all, there was certainly a failure, and the same thing may be said of the summer and autumn campaign which followed; although the commander, or commanders, (for it seems there were two, Governor Call and General Jesup,) had the benefit of the knowledge of the country and the enemy acquired by previous operations; the benefit of the roads recently opened; the plans which had been essayed and suggested; longer time for preparation and operation; an auxiliary Indian force, which was denied me; and above all, the power of inviting the enemy to surrender, and of holding negotiation. With this great power, Mr. President, I was not armed. My instructions were, *to reduce the enemy to unconditional submission*; to hold no parley, no negotiation; not even to say, as the price of surrender, that kind treatment might be expected; much less that the beneficial stipulations in the last treaty, in favor of those Indians, should be carried into execution by the United States—because, sir, any such assurance on my part, would have been a *condition*. Being in Washington, in January, 1836, on other duties, I was, on the 20th, sent for by the secretary of war. I found him in his office at four o'clock, P. M. I was asked when I could set out for Florida, and answered, that night. I was told that my instructions could not be got ready for me so early. All the letters (four in number) from Gov. Eaton and Gen. Call, dated the 8th and 9th of the same month, and now in evidence, had, I think, been just received. I foresaw, at once, all the difficulties and hazards of the service which was thus assigned to me, and an immense pecuniary loss that I should inevitably sustain if not in New-York in a week from that time. I had, moreover, the highest confidence in the judgment and abilities of Gen. Clinch, independent of his better knowledge of Florida and the enemy to be combated. I mention these circumstances, Mr. President, to show that I did not *solicit* to be sent to supersede that excellent officer. I was not, however, as a soldier, at liberty to decline any appropriate duty that might be required of me, and of course did *not* decline this. Accordingly, I left Washington on the night of the 21st, and notwithstanding an accident on a railroad, by which I lost twenty-four hours, the court will find me ad

dressings a requisition to the governor of South Carolina on the 29th, from Columbia, and at Augusta on the 30th.

"At this place my occupations were numerous and important, as my letter-book, the contents of which are mostly in evidence, will show: requisitions for troops addressed to the governors of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama; letters to the governor of Florida, to Generals Eustis and Bull, Col. Lindsay, &c.; besides horses and wagons purchased for the United States cavalry, and the general baggage train.

"On the 2d of February, it has been seen that I set out for Milledgeville, in order to confer with the governor of Georgia, according to my instructions, on the subject of the Creek Indians. Having adopted precautionary measures in relation to the latter, I returned to Augusta, and reached Savannah on the 9th.

"Here, again, I was incessantly occupied in regulating, by correspondence, the movement of the troops, and making other arrangements for the campaign, till the 20th, and might have been usefully so engaged for a week longer; but wishing to be nearer to Generals Clinch and Eustis, with a view to more rapid communications, I reached Picolata on the 22d of February.

"At this time General Clinch was at Fort Drane, with about five hundred regulars and volunteers, unmolested by the enemy, but not in strength to take the field with any prospect of advantage. I had written to him from Savannah, and he knew of the heavy reinforcements which were approaching. Two companies of Augusta volunteers, under Captains Robinson and Bones, had already reached Fort Drane, and are included in the above estimate. These two companies did not, strictly, make part of the Georgia quota.

"General Eustis, Col. Brisbane's regiment of South Carolina foot, and a company of Columbia volunteers under Capt. Elmore, all arrived, by water, at St. Augustine, about the 15th. This independent company (Elmore's) was over and above the quota called for from South Carolina, but, like Robinson's and Bones's, it went through the campaign with zeal and distinction.

"With the volunteers under his command, and a few companies of regulars, General Eustis soon gave tranquillity and confidence to all the inhabitants between the Atlantic and the St. John's, whose dwellings and other fixtures had not been previously destroyed. No devastations were committed after his arrival.

"The first battalion of Georgia foot, under Major Cooper, had also preceded me a few days. I found it at Picolata, with a company of regulars, and Col. Bankhead in the command of both.

"It was my intention, Mr. President, to have remained but a few days at Picolata, merely long enough to organize the service,

to give a fixed plan of campaign ; and, on the arrival of some additional troops, wagons, horses, and arms, to have commenced operations. The court has seen, in part, what embarrassments kept me there no less than fifteen days.

“The 22d of February, I received through General Clinch, the letter to him from Gen. Gaines, dated at New Orleans, the 2d of the same month, proposing a plan of co-operation between the two generals, which letter confirmed the previous rumor, that a large force was to be expected at Tampa Bay from New Orleans ; and to this letter there is a postscript, by Governor Eaton, saying that a battalion of two hundred and fifty Floridians would sail, in two days, from St. Marks, for the same destination. To prevent too great a concentration of troops at Tampa, I instantly, by express, desired Governor Schley to keep at home the second battalion of Georgia foot, that was about to proceed by the Chattahoochie, Apalachicola, and the gulf, to that point. Fortunately, my letter reached his excellency just in time to prevent the movement. That battalion was discharged ; and, but that it was too late, I should have taken a similar step in respect to the Alabama regiment, which Col. Lindsay had received my instructions to raise and to conduct to Tampa.

“To show the apprehensions which General Gaines’s letter excited in me at the time, and the temper in which I spoke of his movement, I beg leave, Mr. President, to embody an extract of my letter to General Clinch, dated the 25th of February :

“‘The movement from New Orleans, although highly worthy of praise, under the circumstances, (the massacre of Dade’s detachment, and Gen. Gaines’s necessary ignorance of the measures of the government,) may, if it should lead to a premature advance from Tampa, be productive of a result the most unfavorable. If the advance, for example, should fail to crush the enemy, and terminate the war, (and without mounted men I suppose such a result can scarcely be hoped for,) the enemy may be scattered, and put on his retreat to the south-east. To follow him in such retreat would be almost impracticable, and to prevent the escape in that direction, Col. Lindsay has my instructions in detail.’

“The court has seen, Mr. President, how soon those prophetic apprehensions were accomplished. Of course, I had not the time to communicate with General Gaines ; and Col. Lindsay, to whom my instructions had been addressed, arrived at Tampa after the advance of that general.

“The very next day after the above was written, and whilst I was in the act of reporting to the adjutant-general, for the information of government, among other difficulties, the means I was devising for sending further supplies to Fort Drane, I received from Gen. Clinch a letter, inclosing one from Gen. Gaines,

showing that the latter was actually at Fort King on the 22d, where he arrived without subsistence, and instantly, as General Clinch reported in his letter, called for 'nearly all' the provisions at Fort Drane, intending with that supply to return to Tampa across the Withlacoochie, near the battle-ground of the 31st of December! I shall, in the sequel, notice the evidence which shows that General Gaines knew, at Pensacola, that I had been ordered to Florida, and that he learned of General Clinch, before leaving Fort King, that I was soon expected, and with large reinforcements.

"Before the receipt of those dispatches, I knew that there were at Fort Drane about twenty thousand rations for men; and expecting to send thither, and to Fort King, in a few days, by wagons and boats, (through the Ochlawaha,) two or three times as many rations, I had, on the 24th, put Major Cooper's battalion of Georgia foot in march to join General Clinch, intending to follow with the first company of mounted men that might arrive, and one was then daily expected. Those means of land and water transportation not being as yet at hand, all hope of early operations was now frustrated, and I was obliged to recall Major Cooper's battalion, then distant two days' march over a wretched road, as it was easy to subsist the battalion on the St. John's, and infinitely difficult to do so at Fort Drane.

"The same embarrassment (the arrival of the troops at Fort King from Tampa) caused me to issue the order No. 4, and to write the letters of February 26th and of March 1st to General Clinch. He, however, had no means of sending either of those papers to Gen. Gaines, who, I think, had marched from Fort King (twenty miles from Fort Drane) on the 25th of February.

"March the 2d, I learned, with great distress, that the Ocklawaha could not be used for transporting supplies. From a few months' disuse, this narrow, crooked, and shoaly river, had become obstructed by fallen timber, and the Indians had, at Payne's Landing, near Fort King, destroyed the peculiar boats expressly constructed for that navigation. We were now reduced to the necessity of using land transportation for about seventy tons of supplies, and over bad roads; and I had not ordered all the wagons and horses which I should have required, but for a reliance, to some extent, on that river.

"A summary of my embarrassments, in respect to the means of transportation, the court will find in the fifth paragraph of my letter to the adjutant-general, dated March 9th. Of the ten of fifteen wagons therein mentioned, and which I learned, officially, at Savannah, were ordered to be shipped from Baltimore by the quartermaster-general, in January, it seems, by the deposition of Captain Dimmock, that two of them reached Florida in February

six about the 11th of March, and two reached Savannah about the 4th of May.

"As early as the 26th of February, I had, however, requested General Clinch to send down all the means of land transportation he could command. The train sent arrived at the point opposite to Picolata on the 2d of March; was loaded with about sixteen thousand rations, and other essential supplies, and dispatched for Fort Drane on the 6th. The delay in this operation was caused by the width of the river and the violence of a long storm, which rendered it hazardous, and a part of the time impracticable, to pass over the supplies to the wagons. The train was slightly augmented by wagons and horses, which had arrived, principally from Charleston, *via* St. Augustine.

"As a proof of the extreme tempestuousness of the weather, Major Gates, with a battalion of three companies of regulars, was at this time more than eight days in coming from Savannah to Picolata, in a good steamer, which ordinarily made the trip in less than three days.

"A company (Kenan's) of Georgia mounted men arrived opposite to Picolata on the 26th of February. With this company I had intended to march immediately to Fort Drane; but with the exception of its gallant captain, Second-Lieut. Huson, and, I think, nineteen men, it refused to be mustered into the service of the United States, and returned home.

"Four other companies of this first battalion of Georgia horse arrived about a week later. One of them (Allen's), with the exception of two or three privates, followed the example of Kenan's company. Douglass's, Malone's, and Sweeney's, from the first, showed better dispositions. These only I was enabled to see, having, at the hazard of life, crossed the river in the storm for the purpose; when, after a short harangue, every man came under the rules and articles of war, with loud cheers. The well-disposed men, both of Allen's and Kenan's, generally joined those companies which entered the service; and it is due to the disaffected of Kenan's to say, that, having seen their error, every man, I believe, nobly served in the subsequent campaign (against the Creeks), under Capt. Gaither. It is probable that many of Allen's men did the same.

"The 2d of March I received, through General Clinch, Gen. Gaines's letter to him, dated the 29th of February; and not another word did I hear of the troops with the latter general till the 9th of March. During this interval, nay, from his arrival at Fort King, the state of my mind, or, generally, my embarrassments, may be inferred from the efforts to hasten the train loaded with subsistence, and from my orders and correspondence, which are in evidence, on the subject of Gen. Gaines's movement.

"The 26th of February I wrote to General Clinch: 'I have heard, with equal astonishment and regret, that Major-General Gaines, without reference to my movements—perhaps in ignorance, possibly in defiance of them—should have made a premature movement from Tampa Bay; and, having arrived within twenty miles of Fort Drane, should have called for nearly three-fourths of the subsistence in deposit at that place, and on which I relied for the movement of the right wing, in concert with the other parts of the army. To remedy this unexpected embarrassment, I send you two copies of order No. 4, one of which you will dispatch to the commander of the detachment from Fort Brooke, (Tampa Bay,) whoever he may be, with all speed, and limit the subsistence called for from Fort Drane, according to the intentions of those orders. Major-General Gaines, I presume, will have heard of the order which ought to take him to the Mexican frontier. If he should prefer to remain, he must obey my orders.'

"Order No. 4, of the same date, directs that General Gaines's detachment should remain at Fort King until further orders; that current subsistence only should be issued to the detachment; directs that the peculiar boats believed to be at Payne's Landing should be sent to Picolata, (or to meet a steamer at the mouth of the Ochlawaha,) to receive subsistence; if the boats could not be sent, the troops were to march, without delay, to Volusia, on the St. John's, whither twenty thousand rations were about to go up in a steamer, and the detachment was enjoined not to attempt any *offensive* movement, except so far as might be necessary to carry into execution those my orders.

"March 1st, I again wrote to General Clinch: 'I regret, in every point of view, the premature and unauthorized movement from Tampa Bay, by that general, (Gaines,) and the very awkward and responsible position he has placed himself in, by his subsequent march from Fort King. In any event, the responsibility of his movement and actual position is his own; for he must have known as early as the 10th ultimo, if not before, that I had been charged with the general direction of the war in Florida; and that by interfering, he constituted himself an interloper. Even if you had sufficient stores and means of transportation, I should command you to send no subsistence to him, unless to prevent starvation; but you have neither. Let him, therefore, in time, extricate himself from the embarrassment he has placed himself in, by marching on Volusia, where, I have no reason to doubt that twenty thousand rations, sent hence on the 27th ultimo, have safely arrived. As he appears to have his retreat open to him, or is in no peril to prevent his taking that step, you, of course, will make no detachment to join him.'

"This letter is an answer to one received by express, and which enclosed Gen. Gaines's communication to Gen. Clinch, dated the 28th of February.

"In a third letter that I caused to be addressed to General Clinch, March 2d, he was told: 'If Major-General Gaines should fall back upon Fort King or Drane, it is presumed that he will proceed to execute the orders of the government, which will carry him to another quarter. In that event you will be the senior officer, and I am instructed by Major-General Scott to say, that you are liberty to detain the troops from Fort Brooke (Tampa) at either of the forts mentioned, Drane and King. Subsistence will reach you in five or six days.'

"A fourth letter on this subject (in part) was addressed by me to Gen. Clinch, dated March 4th, in which it is said: 'I still presume that Major-General Gaines will be obliged to fall back upon Fort Drane, which increases my anxiety to send the wagons with some additions, loaded. I would prefer much, that the force brought with him were back at Tampa Bay, or rather, that it had not marched from that place, provided that the movement fails to crush the enemy or to terminate the war. The worst result, next to the loss of that fine body of men, or a third of it, would be the mere success of driving the enemy into the lower country, where, I suppose, it would be almost impossible for us to follow; I mean *below* the waters of Charlotte Harbor. Hence my indignation, that an isolated attack should have been made from your vicinity, well calculated to produce that result, and at a time when you knew, and Major-General Gaines must have known, through you, (and before,) that my plan, with ample means, was to move simultaneously upon the Withlacoochie, in three columns—from Tampa Bay, the upper crossing on the Oclawaha, and Fort Drane—so as to make it impossible for the enemy to escape to the lower country.'

"I have not *yet* supposed that Major-General Gaines has not his retreat upon Fort Drane or King perfectly in his power. On account of subsistence, if he can cut his way through the enemy to Tampa Bay, I much prefer that his force were there; and when I wished him to march or send that force to Volusia, it was because it could be infinitely more easily subsisted there than at Fort Drane. Should he, however, be in any difficulty in operating a retreat from the Withlacoochie, I certainly wish you to afford him any *succor* that the slender means within your reach may allow; and this, doubtless, you would render without any special permission to that effect. If the force return to Fort Drane or King, it must be subsisted, for at least five or six days, upon means derived from this place, (Picolata,) and hence I now prefer that it should become a part of the right wing, (General

Clinch's command,) rather than take that quantity of subsistence (from you), and march back to Tampa Bay.'

"And, finally, I caused a fifth letter to be written to General Clinch, March 6th, in which will be found this paragraph:

"Major-General Scott is exceedingly anxious to hear the result of the operations on the Withlacoochee. The last intelligence from that quarter (through you) was only to the 29th ultimo.'

"My reports on the same subject, addressed to the adjutant-general, for the information of government, dated at Picolata, the 26th of February, the 28th, (notes on my order No. 4,) March 2d and 6th, are to the same effect; all showing the embarrassments and delay which the isolated movement from Tampa upon Fort King and the Withlacoochee caused in my plan of combined operations.

"In the notes of the 28th of February, after recapitulating many of the facts already brought into review, among them the arrival of General Gaines at Fort King with 1140 men, without bringing more rations than sufficient for his march, although he came from Tampa, where the amount of subsistence was great; after noticing his having drawn from Fort Drane nearly all the food for men collected there, together with the baggage-train necessary to transport that subsistence to him at Fort King, and which train in the whole had been required at Picolata to take further supplies to Fort Drane, the point most difficult to supply in or about the whole theatre of operations, I add:

"It will be seen from the foregoing, that to re-establish my plan of campaign, viz., to move simultaneously from Fort Drane (or Fort King) from Volusia and Tampa, say about the 8th of March—the great difficulty will be to send supplies for the right wing (Clinch's command); and the bad road from Picolata to Fort Drane, 65 miles, has by heavy rain which has now been falling for 46 hours, been rendered infinitely worse.'

"In the report of the 2d of March, to the adjutant-general, I said:

"By reference to the map, it will be seen that, even if Major-General Gaines could succeed in driving the enemy from the Withlacoochee, there is no force to prevent the retreat below Charlotte Harbor, or to any point in the lower (part of the) Peninsula. A small guard only was left (by him) at Tampa; Colonel Lindsay will not be in position in time; and Brigadier-General Eustis cannot cross the Ochlawaha earlier than the 13th or 15th inst. The retreat, it will be seen, is therefore open to the Indians. In this point of view, then, it would be better for the public interests that the Indians should drive Major-General Gaines, than that he should drive them. The war, in fact,

would be forwarded by his being forced back upon Forts Drane and King. In truth, according to his own showing, he ought to have fallen back on the evening of the 28th, or the morning of the 29th (of February). The lives which he has lost have promoted no end. He must, I think, still fall back, and I wish to heaven that it may be without further loss. Brigadier-General Clinch, from his present want of wagons, can send him no efficient aid, and wagons cannot be back (from Picolata) in four or five days. If the force with Major-General Gaines were now back at Tampa Bay, it would be in its true position; but he cannot retreat thither; for it will be seen by his letters (and enclosed) that he has not the means of passing the river (Withlacoochee). He found the enemy where all my arrangements presumed the enemy would be found, and in the position the most favorable to us.

"And, on the 6th of March, I again write to the adjutant general on the same subject, thus:

"No intelligence has been received of the movements of Major-General Gaines of a later date than his letter of the 29th ultimo, a copy of which has been forwarded. He cannot, therefore, have fallen back upon either Fort Drane or King, or have marched upon Volusia. In either case I should, doubtless, have received a further report of him from Brigadier-General Clinch. It may then be hoped that he has beaten the enemy, or at least has succeeded in effecting his return to Tampa Bay. In this state of doubt and anxiety, I know not how long I may have to remain; yet it is important that I should speedily learn what has become of his column, and particularly whether the position and numbers of the enemy have been materially changed by its operations:

"I send no more troops, for the present, to Fort Drane, on account of the difficulty of subsisting them there. If Major-General Gaines shall not fall back on that point it will be indispensable to wait for Captain Wharton (with his company of United States dragoons). In the mean time, it is easy to sub-sist the forces here and at Garey's Ferry.'

"On the 9th of March I reported to Washington as follows:

"I have just set out for Fort Drane, via Garey's Ferry, on Black Creek, (just established as an army depot,) with two companies of regulars (foot), and intending to take with me, from the latter place, the small battalion of mounted Georgians (heretofore mentioned) under the command of Major Douglass. Lieutenant-Colonel Bankhead is at the head of the first detachment, and the two together may make a total of about 240; but even this small force may be important to rescue Major-General Gaines.'

“‘I had not received the slightest information of the operations on the Withlacoochee (official or otherwise), of a later date than the 29th ult., up to this morning, and had concluded that he had effected his march, with more or less success against the enemy, upon Tampa Bay, when, at daylight, the steamer that I am now in arrived, and brought the rumor, which is confirmed by the two accompanying notes from Paymaster Lytle, received about six hours afterwards. On the reception of the rumor, I immediately commenced preparations for this movement, but being delayed by the necessity of unlading and relading the boat, am now at anchor at the mouth of Black Creek. I hope to put the troops in march, from Garey’s Ferry, early in the day of tomorrow, and to reach Fort Drane with a small escort the day following. It is possible that even these little detachments of horse and foot may reach the Withlacoochee in time to render a valuable service.’

“The parts of Major Lytle’s notes relative to this subject are: On the 5th of March he writes to me, ‘I have been directed by General Clinch to inform you that your communications of yesterday’s date reached him at this place (Fort Drane), after he had mounted his horse and was on the move, with the forces under his command, to escort supplies to General Gaines.’ ‘Colonel Gadsden arrived here from Tallahassee on the 4th, yesterday, and accompanied General Clinch this morning to the Withlacoochee.’ And Major Lytle says, on the 8th, ‘By direction of General Clinch, I opened your communications of the 6th inst., which arrived late last night in advance of the wagons (from Picolata, loaded with subsistence, etc.). You will perceive, by my letter of the 5th, that General Clinch, with all the forces at this post, and 100 mounted men from the vicinity, had left for the Withlacoochee to escort a small supply of cattle, ammunition, etc., to General Gaines, having received, the night before, a third express from that officer. No word has been received from either of those generals since the 5th.’ ‘N. B. The amount of General Gaines’s last express to General Clinch, dated the 3d inst., was merely copies of his previous letters, with a note, stating that the Indians were still around him; but little or no fighting had taken place since his last communication,’—that, it is presumed, of the 29th of February.

“I beg the court to observe, that those two notes of Major Lytle, as has been shown in evidence, reached me at the same moment, at Picolata, about meridian, on the 9th of March. I shall proceed to give further extracts from my report to the adjutant-general, of the same date, March the 9th.

“‘I am aware that the movement I am making may be condemned, if regarded in any other light than a rescue, as prema-

ture. Colonel Goodwin's mounted regiment (of South Carolinians) only arrived at St. Augustine last night or this morning, and consequently the left wing (General Eustis's command) cannot be in force on the Ochlawaha, in the direction of Plaklikaha, earlier than the 17th, or up with the enemy before the 20th inst. Colonel Lindsay, who may have already arrived at Tampa Bay, cannot operate more than two days' march from that place, from the want of means of transportation, Major-General Gaines having taken away the horses which were there; and the basis of the right wing (Clinch's command) is merged in the force brought by that general (Gaines) into the field, and must participate in his success or failure. If it falls back with him on Fort Drane, it must suffer great loss, and if it follow him to Tampa Bay (the basis of the right wing), will be wholly out of position.

"'In this, and even a greater state of uncertainty I have been held since the 26th ult. The day after, I ordered back Major Cooper's battalion of Georgia foot, to prevent starvation at Fort Drane; and though daily, from that time, in the expectation of receiving from Savannah horses and serviceable wagons, not one has arrived. The quantity of subsistence that will be at Fort Drane, say to-morrow, will only be that sent from Picolata on the 6th inst., viz., 17,497 rations of bread and flour; 11,000 rations of pork (with beef cattle in the neighborhood); 8,000 rations of beans; some coffee, vinegar, etc. And the troops now about to proceed, extra (with me) perhaps as far as the Withlacoochee, will not have the means of taking with them rations for more than six days (extra).'

"'I beg leave to recapitulate the causes of my great deficiency in means of transportation: first, the wagons and horses, which I knew Brigadier-General Clinch to possess early in February, have been more broken down by hard service and bad roads than I had expected to find them: second, I had, upon what was considered in Georgia, and even at Picolata, the best information, confidently relied upon the use of the Ochlawaha, as late as the 2d inst.: third, no bacon has arrived, and the difference between it and pork, including wood and brine, is fifty per centum against the latter: fourth, the two horse wagons purchased at Charleston and Augusta by Assistant-Quartermasters L'Engle and Peyton are generally poor, and many of them unserviceable: fifth, the ten wagons actually reported to have been shipped at Baltimore, in, I think the Arctic, with Major Gates, were all left behind: sixth, of the 19,000 rations known to be at Fort Drane about the 25th ult., nearly the whole have been drawn by a force not expected by the government or himself to appear in that quarter; and seventh, not a horse for the baggage train, left by me at Savannah, or which I have since or-

dered to be purchased by Assistant-Quartermaster Dimmock, has arrived in Florida.'

" 'Instructions have been left behind me to send on rations, should the means of transportation arrive in time, and the troops already in the neighborhood of Picolata—Major Cooper's and the remaining company Major Gates' battalions. I have also desired Brigadier-General Eustis to order to Fort Drane two companies of Colonel Goodwyn's regiment, and a further order will go back, in this boat, to Lieutenant Dimmock, on the subject of horses and wagons.

" 'Some rifles and tents arrived this morning at Picolata ; but Colonel Goodwyn's regiment had marched through six or eight storms without cover, and now, all companies in march are to be reduced to three tents each.'

" The following is the *postscript* to the foregoing report :

" 'Please remark that, in his letter to Brigadier-General Clinch, dated at New Orleans, the 2d ultimo, Major-General Gaines speaks of 'an efficient *co-operation*,' promises to be 'in readiness' at Tampa Bay 'by the 8th of the present month (February), to form a *junction at or near* that place with your command, whenever, as soon as *in your* judgment, your force shall be sufficient to justify the movement,' and concluded by saying, 'A sufficient quantity of ammunition and *provisions* have been transported to Fort Brooke (Tampa) to *divide* with you, until further supplies are received.' Yet he did *not* wait till the brigadier gave notice that he was 'in force'—came to Fort King, and swept nearly the whole of the subsistence collected at Fort Drane. A copy of that letter is in your office, and I now inclose one from Gov. Eaton, from which it will appear that Major-General Gaines knew, at Tampa Bay, about the 14th ultimo, that I had been charged with the direction of this war. He first heard this at Pensacola, and received Gov. Eaton's dispatch at Tampa, as I can establish. Hence his haste, and neglect of the *assurance* given to Brigadier-General Clinch, his isolated attack, &c.'

" Mr. President, I am not, nor desire to be, the prosecutor or accuser of Major-General Gaines, either before this or any other court, nor before the public. In respect to the latter tribunal, I have not published, nor caused to be published, a word against any human being whatever, or even a word in self-defence, since, at the latest, I was ordered to Florida—unless, indeed, two simple notes of explanation may be regarded as exceptions ; the first in May last, on the subject of a term hastily, and I may say accidentally, applied by me, in an official report, to the volunteers I then had the honor to command ; and the second written for publication within a few days past, repudiating certain language which I saw myself reported as having applied, before this court,

to a high political functionary. If many of my official reports written in the field, and transmitted for the information of government, have, at Washington, been printed in whole or in part, the act was done, in every instance, without my knowledge, or the expression of the slightest wish to that effect on my part. The officers of my staff, sir, so far as I know or have seen, have been equally silent.

"And what outrages have I not suffered from the publications of others during this period of silence! I shall speak, in this place, only of Major-General Gaines. I complain not that he and his staff should occasionally fill up a column or two of the newspapers in praise of the hero of Camp Izard; but what right or justice was there in the outbreaks against me on the part of that chief, on the Withlacoochee, at Tallahassee, Mobile, and I know not how many other places? All these effusions of spleen, whether in the form of orders, speeches, or letters, have been carefully obtruded upon the public. I have heard of many of those melancholy exhibitions, but have only read one, the order of the 9th of March, turning over the command of the troops on the Withlacoochee to Brigadier-General Clinch. It is, without any immediate agency of mine, in evidence before this court. In that paper, I am very facetiously denominated 'the officer charged with diplomatic arrangements of the war department,' approaching, as it is obliquely intimated, only to receive the formal surrender of that enemy whom he had, without a sortie, most strangely, but happily, conquered or subdued!

"It has been seen, Mr. President, in every form, that it was a slight misapprehension, to which the enemy was by no means a party; and that no military or *diplomatic* blunder of mine was necessary to resuscitate a war that had not then, nor has yet been terminated. It would be superfluous to quote the evidence; it abounds on the records of this court, and what is worse, it yet abounds in unhappy Florida.

"The judge-advocate has read in evidence, furnished for the purpose by the war department, the official reports written by me at the time, for the information of the government; in several of which Major-General Gaines's movements are mentioned. Those particular reports, in common with the others, it was my right and duty to make, being charged at the time, by seniority in commission and special assignment, with the chief direction of the war against the Seminole Indians. Several passages of that part of the testimony have already been embodied in this *summary*, to show how far I was, in my plans and operations, hindered, crippled, or defeated, by the movements of that general.

"Without departing from the strict line of defence that I have prescribed for myself, and which, no doubt, this court

would otherwise have imposed, it remains for me to show that Major-General Gaines, in his operations in Florida, so far as they embarrassed mine, constituted himself an intruder; that is, that he came into the field *in his own wrong*.

"It has been seen, Mr. President, in what terms of praise (in my letter to General Clinch of the 25th of February) I bore my humble testimony to General Gaines's movement from New-Orleans, provided that, in violation of his express assurance, previously given to Clinch, that he would wait for a junction with him at or near Tampa, it did not lead to a premature advance into the interior. But I then did not know the fact, so clearly disclosed in Captain McCall's letter, republished in *The Army and Navy Chronicle*, (whole No. 48,) which has been verified, and is now in evidence.

"Captain McCall was at the time with General Gaines, and his acting assistant-adjutant-general. He says in his letter that, 'on the route, and within two days' march (by steam) of the Indian borders, he (General Gaines) received a notification that General Scott has been ordered to repair from the city of Washington to Florida,' and 'to take command of the troops operating against the Indians in that quarter,' and at the same time he (General Gaines) was informed, that the state of affairs west of the Mississippi might soon require his attention, if not his presence, in that quarter, 'and he was directed to await further *orders* in the city of New-Orleans.'

"The point at 'two days' march by steam' from Tampa Bay, was evidently Pensacola, where we knew by Governor Eaton's letter above noticed (incidentally), that General Gaines touched, on his way from New-Orleans to Tampa Bay. But the captain argues, in the same letter, and no doubt after General Gaines, that, had the latter 'obeyed the order (received at Pensacola), and by so doing left General Clinch, in expectation of a promised co-operation, to extricate himself as he could from any difficulty into which the failure, on the part of General Gaines, in preconcerted movements, might peradventure have thrown him' (Clinch), 'it is difficult to say whether the historian would have approved or condemned' General Gaines. But we have seen (and I have probably already assigned the true motive) that the 'promised co-operation,' and 'preconcerted movements,' commencing with '*a junction at or near*' Tampa, was not observed by General Gaines.

"The captain's letter continues: 'And without General Gaines, the volunteers (the Louisiana regiment), his principal force, were unwilling to proceed; for, before he left New-Orleans, he had pledged himself to accompany them whithersoever they went, and to stand by them,' &c. These, again, were evidently General Gaines's own pretexts for his intrusion. First, *the un-*

willingness of the Louisiana regiment to proceed, without General Gaines to command it.

"Finding at this place Captain Thistle, who commanded a company in that corps in Florida, from some day in February to the end of its term of service, I caused him to be summoned as a witness, and to be interrogated on this point. To my (third) question he answered, 'For my part, when I was raising the men for my company, I did not know there was such a man as General Gaines in the country. Colonel Smith and (Lieutenant) Colonel Lawson, I understood were to command. I speak only in reference to my own company, my own officers and men. When at Pensacola, I never heard any thing of the kind mentioned, nor did I ever hear there that General Gaines was about to leave us. When we got acquainted with General Gaines, the officers and men were well pleased with him.'

"*Question 4.* 'Did your regiment, as far as you know, obey, with equal cheerfulness, every officer of superior rank, whether of the regulars or volunteers?' *Answer.* 'They did so; I never heard the least murmur, either among the officers or men; nor the first word of dispute. They were always ready to obey orders, both with the regulars and volunteers, from all officers placed over them.' The same disposition on the part of the regiment, may be inferred from the letter of its commander, Colonel Smith, to Captain Shannon, dated at Fort King, February 25th. In this the writer says:

"'I find it is General Gaines's intention to go down to Tampa Bay, by the scene of General Clinch's fight, and then to quit Florida. I would wish you to say to General Scott, that if he thinks my regiment can be of use to his operations, I would rather remain with it in Florida than go back without having seen a fight; though, to tell the truth, I would rather have the fight before the grand army comes up. I would like, therefore, before we can be shipped back from Tampa Bay, to be ordered on some active duty by General Scott.' (Colonel Smith has been summoned as a witness, at my instance, but has not arrived.)

"Who, Mr. President, would infer from the spirit of this excellent letter, that the patriotic regiment (Louisiana) was a body of vassals, who only owed allegiance, or service, to a particular chief? or rather, who would not affirm that it continued in the field to the last moment, and, in the language of Captain Thistle, 'always ready to obey orders, with regulars and volunteers, from *all* officers placed over them?' (The deposition of Mr. Dyer, then quartermaster and commissary of the Louisiana regiment, strongly supports what is said under this and the next head.)

"The other pretext, as we learn from Captain McCall's

letter, is: *General Gaines had pledged himself to accompany the Louisiana regiment, &c.*

"It seems, from Captain Thistle's testimony, that this corps was raised in part, and that arrangements were in progress to complete it, (no doubt by his excellency Governor White,) as soon as the news of the massacre of Major Dade had reached New-Orleans, and before it was known that General Gaines was in that part of the country. Colonel Smith's letter equally excludes the idea of a pledge. He speaks of General Gaines's intention of returning to Tampa, and thence embarking for New-Orleans, and the wish of himself and regiment to remain. The pledge, therefore, seems to have been a mere gratuitous flourish, made without any moving consideration, without acceptance, and without being known, or remembered in the regiment. The troops, both regulars and volunteers, might well have proceeded from Pensacola to Tampa Bay, under Colonel Smith, who was fully qualified to direct and command them. In this way, sir, I show that General Gaines came upon the theatre of operations as an intruder, and in his own wrong.

"In my report of March 14th, I said, for the information of the government, that 'I have every reason to hope that the enemy remains nearly in the same position as before the isolated, and, therefore, false movement of Major-General Gaines.' An adroit and faithful negro spy, the same who had been sent over the river by General Gaines for a like purpose, was again despatched to ascertain the correctness of the impression so reported, but this spy never returned. We afterwards learned, that he fell under suspicion, and was confined. The impression, however, was universal in the right wing (with which I marched) up to its passage of the Withlacoochee, as it is stated by Captain Thruston, the very intelligent chief of General Clinch's staff. This witness says: 'I did not entertain a doubt myself that the enemy was still concentrated about the Withlacoochee, where I believed, and think it was the impression of others who had the best opportunities of information, that the women and children were then placed by the enemy for security, that they would defend the passage of the river with all their force as they had done when threatened by General Gaines,' (and it might have been added, when previously approached by General Clinch, December the 31st.) 'I heard no other supposition than that *there* we should be resisted, and that *there* the principal battle would be fought. That impression continued with me and others, and, I believe, generally throughout the wing, until our advance had landed on the opposite bank. I will mention, in support of this opinion, the fact, that one of our men (a black wagoner) was cut

off by a small party of Indians, said to be five, within eight miles of Fort Drane, on our first day's march.'

"According to my report, dated the 12th of April, and the testimony of Captain Thruston, General Clinch's column, with which I marched to Tampa, passed the Withlacoochee (that stopped General Gaines) with but little molestation; that we entered and scoured *The Cove*, the enemy's strongest hold, to its head, as believed at the moment, and without encountering a force of more than 130. Indeed in the whole period of my operations, as may be seen by the written reports made to me by Clinch, Eustis, and Lindsay, and of mine to Washington, neither of those *principal commanders*, under me, at any time met with a larger body of the enemy at any one place—that which attacked Colonel Lindsay's column on its last return to Tampa Bay excepted—and which was estimated at about 300. By the term *principal commanders*, just used, I of course do not mean to include the officers who respectively commanded the two small posts established in the interior, denominated Forts Alabama and Cooper. These, from the enemy's most perfect knowledge of his own most difficult country, and his consequent facilities of concentration, were reported to have been repeatedly attacked, and by several hundred each time.

"It has been further shown in evidence, that the many columns and detachments, under my orders, traversed an immense space in a short period, and visited many of the enemy's favorite haunts and strongest holds. And I now read this passage from my report to Washington of the 30th of April:

"'I am more than ever persuaded that the whole force of the enemy, including the negroes, does not exceed 1200 fighting men. It is probably something less. Of that force I am equally confident that not 500 have, at any time since the commencement of hostilities, been brought within the same ten miles square. In all our operations within the last thirty days (known to me), we have not found a party of probably more than 130; but parties of from ten to thirty have been encountered almost every where. No Indian woman, child, or negro, nor the trace of one, has been seen in that time. Those, non-combatants, it has been evident to us all, have been removed beyond the theatre of our operations. They were, no doubt, even while the parley was going on with General Gaines on the 7th of March, moving off to the southeast, beyond Pease Creek and Lake Tohopekelika, and in that almost inaccessible region they are now concealed. That officer, it is said, caused Powell and his chiefs to be informed, by way of inducing them to accept the Withlacoochee as a temporary boundary, that large armies were approaching, which would fill up the Indian country, and crush every thing in the way.

The wily chiefs profited by the information, sent off their families, and dispersed their warriors into small parties.—In this way, Powell expects to make good his threat, viz., that *he would protract the war to three years.*

“Except on the suppositions of this extract, how was I, Mr. President, to account for our not finding, three weeks after General Gaines, any considerable body of the enemy? He supposed himself to have been surrounded in his breastwork, with his 1000 or 1100 men, by 1200 or 1500 warriors. What had become of them? He certainly killed but few, and captured not one. Whence then the subsequent dispersion? My supposition is rendered more than probable by Captain Hitchcock’s letter to the Hon. Mr. Lyon, M. C., dated Fort Drane, March 11th, 1836, since published, and now in evidence. In this letter the captain says: ‘A staff officer’ (himself) ‘was, at Fort Izard, sent out by General Gaines to hold a parley or negotiation with the hostile chiefs, and in the plainest language to tell them the exact truth as to the force ordered into the country to subdue them; that additional force was expected every day; that the time was near when every Indian, found with a rifle in his hand, would be shot down. This was communicated with such explanations as was deemed necessary to give it force,’ &c.

“And what, sir, were the objects of that parley, or ‘diplomatic’ transaction? It seems, according to the published letters of Captains Hitchcock and McCall, ‘that the Indians did not wish to fight any more, but they wanted him (General Gaines) to retire from the Withlacoochee:’ and in the general narrative of Captain Thistle, commenced under a question put by the court, this witness said, ‘Captain Hitchcock, and other officers (Adjutant Barrow) went out, and held a conversation with them (the Indians). They inquired particularly as to our situation; whether we had provisions, and whether we had brandy and tobacco. They said they could supply us with provisions in abundance; that we could fish on the river bank, if we chose; and that they would fight no more if they were permitted to keep the opposite side of the Withlacoochee, making that river the boundary.’

“Was this the language of a *subdued* people, *humbly suing for peace*? They had commenced the war without owning an acre of ground in Florida. They had ceded every foot. The time had arrived for their emigration to the West. Sooner than quit their natal soil, they had appealed to arms; they had massacred a detachment of one hundred men; they had held their country notwithstanding the gallantry of Clinch and his handful of troops on the 31st of December; they had even held General Gaines himself, with his strong and excellent column, penned up under their fire from the 27th of February; they had, in short, glutted

their revenge, conquered the country up to the left bank of the Withlacoochee, gained all they wanted, and felt themselves in strength to dictate the terms of peace. Hence the overture to make the Withlacoochee the future boundary—to treat on the basis of the *uti possidetis*—each party to hold what it possessed; and accordingly we find Captain Hitchcock instructed to reply, on the part of General Gaines, ‘that if they would engage to cease from all acts of hostility, retire south of the Withlacoochee, and promise to attend a council when called upon by the United States commissioners, they should not, for the present, be molested.’ Just at this critical moment General Clinch arrived with the needed succor, and we hear of no further negotiation!

“Well, sir, General Gaines now left the theatre of operations. Near Micanopy, he met Colonel Bankhead’s column coming up, and, as the latter has testified: ‘You may go on, colonel; there is nothing to be done now, it is all finished.’

“His order of the 9th of March, boasting, among ‘the important objects’ he had ‘accomplished,’ that ‘the principal force of the enemy had been beaten, and forced to sue for peace,’ preceded or accompanied him. His progress towards Tallahassee and Mobile was one continued triumph.

“But it may be asked, what had all his self-felicitations, and those public gratulations, to do with my operations? This, Mr. President, is precisely what I am about to show.

“It will be remembered that two of the columns, those of Generals Clinch and Eustis, of the army under my command, respectively, from Forts Drane and Volusia, arrived at or near Tampa Bay on the 5th and 6th of April; and the third or Colonel Lindsay’s column, returned from the interior about the same time. All, much harassed and worn by long and fatiguing operations, looked to this great southern depot for the supplies and refreshments so greatly needed to enable man and horse to return to the field. To give some idea of what we were here doomed to experience, I will recall parts of my official report, written at Tampa the 12th of April, for the information of government, and which letter has been given in evidence by the judge advocate:

“‘My disappointments on the Gulf have been as great as those experienced on the St. John’s. The latter were pretty fully reported at the time,’ &c.

“‘Please now to refer to my joint letter to the quartermaster and the commissary at New-Orleans, dated at Savannah, February 14th, and acknowledged on the 26th of the same month. A copy was transmitted to you, for the information of the proper departments at Washington. The letter, it will be seen, is both

specific and urgent. Yet, instead of my finding here about 50,000 rations of hard bread, and about 90,000 rations of bacon, I found but 12,740 pounds of the former, and 21,600 pounds of the latter! Not an additional ration of either has arrived since I came.' Both the quartermaster and commissary, here alluded to, I have caused to be summoned as witnesses, and neither has appeared.

“Colonel Lindsay (the report continues) had required; for the use of his column, of the quartermaster at New-Orleans, a number of wagons and horses, and not one has been sent. Again, the sutler (the person next in importance to the quartermaster and the commissary with every army) left this place, more than a month ago, for New-Orleans, to bring back with him a large supply of goods for the troops which were expected (here). Those supplies are exceedingly wanted by every officer and man. But the quartermaster writes, that he hesitates about sending the wagons and horses; and the sutler, that he declines sending his stores—because each has heard of Major-General Gaines's triumphal entry into Tallahassee, in consequence of his having finished the war. It is *presumed* that the commissary at New-Orleans stopped the shipment of hard bread and bacon for the same reason. This *presumption* is now *fact*, as shown by the testimony of Captain Thistle. Lieutenant Morris, who, at Tampa, had the letter from his brother, the sutler, testified, before this court, to all that I had alleged in respect to the non-arrival of sutler's stores. See, on this point, the testimony of Colonels Lindsay and Bankhead; and for the sufferings of both officers and men, from the want of shoes, shirts, light garments, and groceries, see the testimony of Colonel Lindsay, Mr. Depyster, and Captain Thistle. In respect to the want and non-arrival of wagons and horses at Tampa, see the testimony of Colonel Lindsay; the letter of Captain Shannon (chief quartermaster), the deposition of Mr. Newcomb, late of the army, and quartermaster at Tampa, with the letter of the quartermaster at New-Orleans, to him, annexed.' My report of the 12th of April continues:

“Captain Green, of the cutter Dallas, was at Tallahassee when Major-General Gaines arrived at that place. He had been ten days soliciting permission to go and make a survey of the mouth of the Withlacoochee; on renewing his application to some one of the territorial government, he was told the war was over. We have *now* to make the survey for the expedition that has been mentioned (which sailed under Major Reid, the 17th or 18th of April). These are the new disappointments and vexations I have been doomed to experience.'

“This statement, given in the report from memory, has been

fully sustained by the testimony of Captain Green, before this court, with this important addition: the captain would have *ascended* the river, having provided the necessary means.

"But, Mr. President, to a question put by the court, General Clinch replied: 'I am of the opinion that the movement of General Gaines's command, through Florida, did not materially affect the operations of Major-General Scott.'

"Sir, no one entertains a more sincere respect and regard for this most excellent commander and citizen than I do; and I am sure that the whole army regrets his retirement to civil life. His opinion is always entitled to great weight, and hence, mainly, the overwhelming facts which I have just embodied, and which, otherwise, I might have left scattered over your voluminous documents and minutes, to be remembered or hunted up by the court.

"It is, moreover, evident to me, Mr. President, from the reply to another question, also propounded by the court, that, on the point of interference with my operations, the sound mind of General Clinch was too much influenced, at the moment, by the narrative he had so recently given of the neglects shown him by the war department, prior to the time when I had the misfortune to be ordered to Florida. If his repeated calls for troops and supplies, and his wise admonitions on the *temper* early manifested by the Seminoles, had received but half the attention due to his position, this still raging war might never have burst upon the country. Under this ruling idea, the witness could see nothing but the imputed errors of the war department. Whilst that was on the throne of his mind, all the subsequent causes of failure in sending the Indians out of Florida, sunk into comparative insignificance. Be this as it may, I put, in concurrence with the isolated opinion of General Clinch, on the subject of General Gaines's interference with my operations, the great body of facts already detailed, and the *opinions* of witnesses of no less intelligence and respectability. See the deposition of Colonel Gadsden, the chief of my staff, who marched with General Clinch to the succor of General Gaines, and who knew more of Florida and the Seminoles than perhaps any three individuals with the army; and see the testimony of Colonel Bankhead, who marched with me from Picolata to Fort Drane, where he came under the command of, and continued with, General Clinch. The strong opinions expressed on this point by the two colonels, like the opposing one given by General Clinch, were all elicited without a question put by me. The point which has thus been rather more fully discussed than I had until lately intended, was, however, but the *second* cause of the failure to send out of Florida the great body of the Seminole Indians, and there were many other causes, besides the *first* in importance, some of which have already been partially, though but incident-

ally, developed. It is now my purpose to bring rapidly the whole, in the same connection, under the review of the court.

"Of these causes, many, as will be seen, are closely united, and, in the descending scale, consequent upon each other. For these reasons the analysis, and the enumeration, will, in some instances, be rather difficult.

"First, the lateness of my order—twelve o'clock in the night of January 21st, with notice, the day before, to hold myself in readiness; and the short term of service of the great body of troops.

"I do not mean to say, Mr. President, that any time was lost by the war department in putting me in motion *after* the news of Clinch's affair of December 31st, which preceded at Washington the account of Dade's melancholy fate on the 28th. Nor shall I stop to discuss the question, why had not *stronger* measures been taken on the receipt of Clinch's warnings and calls for reinforcements—beginning in January, 1835, and reiterated October 8th, October 17th, December 9th, and December 16th, of the same year.

"Well, sir, the court has seen that I was promptly at Augusta, where I completed my calls for volunteers or draughted men; two regiments from South Carolina, one of horse and one of foot; the same from Georgia; and one of foot from Alabama, at 740 men per regiment, making a total of 3700. A fine spirit was abroad in those states, and great exertions made in each to supply its quota. Yet, from many unavoidable causes—the immense space to be traversed, and others which I will not stop to enumerate, but not one of which can be charged to me—instead of finding myself in force at Picolata and at Tampa Bay as early as the 20th of February, as I had originally flattered myself that I might, I arrived in Florida on the 22d, much in advance of three-fifths of those troops. Only the foot of South Carolina and seven companies of Georgia had preceded me. The Georgia horse began to arrive about the end of the month; the three companies before mentioned, and another, on the 10th of March, under Captain Nelson, who had made an unparalleled march from the northwest corner of Georgia. I ought, in my previous narrative, to have stated that this fine company joined at Garey's Ferry, and added about seventy men to Colonel Bankhead's little column which set out with me for Fort Drane. The same day Colonel Goodwyn's fine regiment of South Carolina mounted men reached St. Augustine, over a long road, through rain and mud, and, like Nelson's company, without tents, and without a murmur. The Alabama regiment, under Colonel Chisholm, and Major Reid's battalion of Floridians, arrived at Tampa Bay with Colonel Lindsay, between the 1st and 10th of March. (It has been seen

that this battalion was not called for by me, and that it went to Tampa Bay without my knowledge at the time, and against my wishes; and that the second battalion of Georgia foot was, in accordance with my request, never furnished.) Finally, six companies instead of four, to make up for the defection of the first two of Georgia horse, arrived at Garey's Ferry, *via* Middle Florida and Fort Drane, about the 10th of April, whilst I was at Tampa. These six companies were nevertheless mustered into service, in accordance with instructions I had left behind, and immediately afterwards discharged, by the advice of Major-General Macomb, who then happened to be at Picolata. All the volunteers called for by me were mustered into service for only three months, according to the instructions I had received from the war department; and I suppose that the president of the United States has no authority to require the services of militia, by *draughting*, for a longer period.

"It has thus been seen that I was not in force to commence combined and efficient operations earlier than the 10th of March; and by this date, the mass of the volunteers, owing to the different periods of arrival at the several places of rendezvous, and consequent acceptance, by muster, had only about sixty days to serve. This was the same thing, nearly, in a system of combined operations, requiring the service of the whole, as if none had a longer time to serve; and all had been from home, with slight differences, equally long.

"But let not these movements of the volunteers excite a smile to their prejudice. The delay in their arrival on the St. John's, as I have said, was unavoidable, and there was even a greater delay in the approach of three companies of regulars, which were ordered to embark at Baltimore, in the dead of winter, and with the mercury in the thermometer several degrees below zero. This battalion was delayed by ice in the Chesapeake, I know not how many weeks, and finally reached Picolata on the 6th of March.

"With all the lights of the quartermaster-general, ten wagons were ordered to be purchased, and shipped from Baltimore, about the same time—six came to Florida as late as the 12th of March, two earlier, and two in May. Now if I were expected to make long marches through a savage country without roads or bridges, why could not those three companies have been marched to Norfolk, or even to Wilmington, and thence embarked? Time would have been saved in either case. And why were not the wagons shipped from some port not obstructed by ice? Again; a detachment of United States dragoons, under Captain Wharton, that received orders for Florida, at New-York, about the 24th of January, was delayed several weeks in that

harbor, waiting for its arms and horse furniture, and joined me at Fort Drane (after a short passage to Savannah), sixty days from the reception of those orders. There was no delay from the want of horses ; they had been purchased, by my orders, and placed at Savannah as early as the 12th of February.

"Let it be remembered, Mr. President, that those movements and shipments were not made under *my* directions ; yet I was advised of them, and suffered much embarrassment from not earlier receiving the troops and wagons.

"I have said that I was, by the 10th of March, in sufficient force to *commence* operations, and that the mass of the volunteers had then about sixty days to serve, a part more and a part less. This period was rather more than was necessary for the marches and operations actually made under my orders, but wholly insufficient to enable us to scour the country south and east of Pease Creek, which is commonly termed the Everglades, even if the lateness of the season, the sickliness of the climate in those regions, as early as the end of April, and other causes which will be noticed, had not interposed insurmountable obstacles. I ought, therefore, to have given *me* any prospect of success, to have been ordered to Florida several months earlier, and with a force of a much longer term of service. He who now directs the war in that quarter, besides other advantages, has had more time for preparation, has had a better season for operations ; more regular troops, and volunteers of a longer period of service. In respect to volunteers for ninety days, the testimony of General Eustis and Colonel Lindsay is strongly in support of what I urge on this point.

"Second, the unexpected intrusion of General Gaines.

"This was the second cause of my failure, both in point of time and importance.

"Now, although I considered myself in strength, on the St. John's and St. Augustine, to commence forward movements as early as the 10th of March, the court will please remember that my general plan of operations was to move at the same time, as nearly as practicable, from Fort Drane, Volusia, and Tampa, upon the great body of the enemy supposed to be about *the cove* of the Withlacoochee ; to march in person with Clinch, and to give instructions to Eustis and Lindsay so far to deviate from that approximation of three columns, as to pursue any considerable body of the enemy, or any considerable fresh trail that might be discovered. Hearing of General Gaines's intrusion, and seeing that a consequent delay was inevitable, I called back a detachment already in march to join Clinch, and, through the latter, caused Lindsay to be advised of that delay, lest he should make an isolated movement. And General Clinch has testified, that a

forward movement could not have been made from Fort Drane earlier than the 26th of March (the day on which he actually moved), for two reasons: 1st, to give time for the troops which had been shut up in Camp Izard with General Gaines to recruit themselves; 2d, to enable the last train of wagons sent, to return from Garey's Ferry with subsistence. The answer to the second question put to Captain Thruston shows more in detail the reduced condition of those troops. Hence then was the cause of a considerable delay, from the 10th to the 26th of March, less the time necessary to march from the St. John's to Fort Drane; and Eustis in the mean time, instead of being forced to Volusia, which was to become the base of his operations, was employed in scouring the country between the St. John's and the Atlantic, as far as Tomoca and Volusia. Lindsay was advised of this further delay. The court too has seen that it was my intention, on the 9th of March, to strengthen the right wing by troops drawn from the left, if General Gaines's detachment had not fallen back upon Fort Drane.

"Third, insufficient means of transportation.

"This cause of failure in my operations has, like the one just noticed, been pretty fully developed in the former part of this summary. I shall, therefore, only remark, in this place, that the means of land transportation would have been nearly sufficient, notwithstanding the intrusion of General Gaines, if we could have used the Ochlawaha for about seventy tons of supplies (as I had expected to do) up to the 2d of March; and those means, even without the use of the Ochlawaha, would have been sufficient by the 12th, but for that intrusion. The necessity of replacing the subsistence drawn from Fort Drane by General Gaines; of providing for a larger force than was expected there; of transporting articles of subsistence fifty *per centum* heavier than those I had early and specifically called for, both from the St. John's and Tampa, caused our wagons to be overloaded, the horses to be overworked, and many of both to be broken down. The court will further remember *who* took from Tampa the means of transportation which were there early in February, and *what* prevented the arrival of new means from New Orleans.

"Fourth, insufficient supply of hard bread and bacon for marches.

"On the 21st of January, in his office, the commissary-general of subsistence and myself fully concurred as to the advantages of hard bread and bacon, over flour and pork, *on marches*. Ten days after, in a letter to the adjutant-general, I recurred to this subject, and required on the St. John's (Picolata) large quantities of both hard bread and bacon; which passage of my letter, according to request, the adjutant-general duly communicated to

the commissary-general before the 10th of February, as the former reported to me on that day.

"Now, it is shown by the testimony of Mr. Locke, who was the assistant-commissary at Picolata, that the quantity of hard bread which had arrived prior to the march of Clinch's column from Fort Drane, and of Eustis's from Volusia, was much less than was wanted for those columns, although I had prohibited the issue of hard bread to the troops when at rest on the St. John's. The deficiency was made up, of course, in flour, of which, and of pork, our supply was abundant; and the same testimony is express, that not a pound of bacon reached the St. John's, from the commissariat, earlier than the 15th of April, when all the columns were near the Gulf of Mexico.

Though much embarrassed on the St. John's, and the march to the south, by the want of those particular items of food, as the court has seen, I have always been unwilling to suppose that the chief of the commissariat was in fault; and am now, since having read before this court his instructions to the agents of his department on the subject, yet more unwilling to impute blame to him. His merits are acknowledged by the whole army, and I am free to declare that I have never known a better man, or a more faithful public servant. The failure in the particulars stated, was, however, not the less embarrassing.

"Well, sir, the army, early, in April, was compelled to give up, for the moment, the search for the enemy, and to march upon Tampa Bay and seek for supplies.

"The court has seen what orders I had given to the assistant-commissary at New-Orleans, in respect to this depot, the large quantity of hard bread expected, and the small quantity of hard bread and bacon found there, and that little would not have been equal to three or four marches of the army, if Colonel Lindsay had not brought with him a small quantity from Mobile. On this point the testimony of Lieutenant Morris, the then commissary at Tampa, is more explicit than even that of General Eustis or Colonel Lindsay. And the reason why *more* of those items of subsistence had not been sent from New-Orleans, is also pretty fully in evidence. (The then commissary of the latter place was duly summoned to appear here, and has not arrived.)

"Mr. Locke stated, in his testimony, that the difference in weight, owing to the brine and wood necessary to the preservation in warm weather of pork, is fifty-one *per centum* against the latter in favor of bacon. This difference is known to most marching officers; and that between the rations of eighteen ounces of flour and twelve of hard bread, is evident to all the world. To have been obliged, then, as we were, to take with all the columns in their several marches nearly two thirds of our

whole subsistence in the heavier articles, was the same thing as if a larger portion of our otherwise deficient means of transportation had been captured or destroyed; and even *this* was not the only evil consequent upon that necessity, as will be presently seen.

Fifth, heat of the climate—badness of water—sickness.

“From the lateness of the season into which we were thrown, from the causes already stated, we found the heat, even before the 20th of April, so oppressive, that the troops could not execute even ordinary marches from this cause alone. (Testimony of Clinch, Eustis, Lindsay, Thruston; also Colonel Smith’s report of his expedition up Pease Creek.) The troops had still to wear their winter clothing, from the non-arrival of sutler’s goods at Tampa from New-Orleans; the sink-holes, or ponds, on which both men and horses had generally to rely for water, were now, many of them, dried up; and in the others the water was tepid, besides being filled with vegetable matter and animalculæ. (Testimony of Clinch, Eustis, Thruston, &c.) Add to these causes of distress and disease the swamps and hammocks which were traversed, the deficiency in bacon, to which the volunteers had been very generally accustomed at home, and the necessity *all* were under, the greater part of the time, when in march, to eat unleavened dough partially fried with pork, or half baked before camp fires, and it will astonish no one to learn from the testimony that we had very many individuals, officers and men, that could neither ride nor march. The only resource was to crowd them into wagons, for in a savage country we could leave no one behind.”

Sixth, forage and grazing.

“At St. Augustine, and on the St. John’s, as high up as the depot of Volusia, there was, on the requisition of General Eustis and my own, upon Lieutenant L’Engle, of Charleston, and Lieutenant Dimmock, of Savannah, an abundant supply of corn and hay, and there was no possible or positive deficiency in forage around Fort Drane. At Tampa we again found an abundance of corn and hay, with a small quantity of oats, all supplied, in compliance with my requisition, as I suppose, upon the quartermaster at New-Orleans. This corn, however, was generally bad, having probably been sweated on board of vessels. The good was mostly consumed at Tampa, during a rest, to recruit the horses, of eight or ten days at that place. The portion issued for renewed operations was generally the refuse, which killed some horses, and injured more. (Deposition of Mr. Newcomb, and testimony of Captain Thruston.)

“The grazing in the interior, as all the witnesses questioned on the subject have testified, furnished but an occasional and a slight resource. Hence the court will not be surprised that Gen-

eral Eustis caused every cavalry horse with him to be led by his owner on foot, the last sixteen miles of the march from Volusia upon Tampa. The grazing was but little less bad on the return marches.

"But it may be asked, why not have taken more corn with the columns from the depots which furnished that which was good? If our trains had been doubled, a sufficient supply could not have been transported, even if there had been good roads. Let any gentleman make the calculation for himself, to see how many wagons would be required, for example, to take corn enough for a thousand horses for twenty days, including the consumption of the draught horses so employed, and he will be astonished at the result. Again; why not make every rider put three bushels of corn in his saddle-bags, and lead his horse for seven or eight days? Regular cavalry may be *compelled* to do this; but I know of no power of persuasion that can induce any body of volunteers whatever, unless it be under the highest calls of patriotic interest, thus, in their own estimation, to degrade themselves. I made the proposal; and, although I commanded at the time a corps of horse composed mostly of gentlemen of the highest spirit and devotion to country, I was advised not to issue an order to that effect, as it could not be enforced, although I pledged myself that I would do what I wished to require of others. I then reduced the quantity of corn to be so taken, in my order No. 28, and it is in evidence that considerably less—about an average of three pecks only—was actually put on each horse. And the court will readily conceive that the transportation of hay into the interior, for the consumption of even two days, was wholly out of the question with marching troops, as well on account of its bulk as its weight.

"From the foregoing circumstances, it resulted that all surviving horses arrived at Tampa in a bad condition, and returned to the north of Florida in a worse, as is shown by the evidence.

"Seventh, roads—bridges.

"The only road within the theatre of our operations was that made by government, connecting Fort King with Tampa Bay. This road was very partially followed by all the columns under my command. Its three bridges were destroyed by the enemy at the commencement of hostilities. All the other routes were opened by the columns as they marched, and the streams roughly bridged at the same time. These labors were difficult and incessant, as might be supposed, as has been shown in the testimony of Eustis, Lindsay and Thruston."

"Eighth, want of an auxiliary Indian force.

"The court has seen by my order No. 13, (March 14th,) that I called for 500 friendly Creek Indians, to be commanded by

General Woodward, Major Watson, and Major Flourney. The first two have been summoned here on this and another important point, but have not arrived. The third early fell in the Creek war. Colonel Gadsden's deposition shows the importance of such force, and my successors in Florida have had the benefit of the suggestion. It was denied me by the agent of government, and that denial not even rebuked by the secretary of war. See Major Hogan's letter to that functionary, and his reply, dated respectively, March 28th and April 12th. For the standing and qualifications of the two majors named by me to bring on the Indians, see Governor Eaton's letter to me, dated March 7th, and General Clinch's notes of introduction. General Woodward is too highly distinguished, both as a commander of and against Indians, to require a word of support in this place; and it will be seen in the agent's (Major Hogan's) letter to me, dated the 1st of February, that he thought he could 'in ten days raise (me) 1000 warriors, and be on the march to join' me.

"Ninth, want of guides.

"Eustis and Lindsay, as shown by their testimony, had no competent guides, and could obtain none. Clinch's column was rather less badly provided in this respect, yet he had not a guide that knew any of the intricacies of *The Cove*, a Cretan labyrinth, held from the knowledge of the white man, as the sacred groves of the Druids were never entered except by the initiated. In short, all the difficult parts of Florida were, to the whole army, one *terra incognita*. Government gave me no topographical information, nor had any to give; and the booksellers' maps only afforded outlines filled up with unlucky guesses.

"Tenth, the limited time for active operations.

"From preceding causes, and deducting the time unavoidably lost at Tampa, the columns of Clinch and Eustis were actually in the field, beyond Fort Drane and Volusia, only about twenty-two days. The testimony of both Clinch and Thruston shows that I could not have put the right wing in operation from Fort Drane earlier than I did, the 26th of March; and Eustis, with the left wing, crossed the St. John's at Volusia, about the same time, to approach *The Cove* by the Palaklikaha. Clinch, with his wing, was compelled to return to Fort Drane on the 25th of April, the term of service of part of his volunteers having already expired; and, as he reported to me the 27th, 'men and horses much exhausted by sickness and the heat of the weather. Another day's march would have occasioned the abandoning part of the train. Fifteen horses and mules died on the road, and eight more turned out that could not be got along by leading.'

"Eustis, with the left wing, (which I accompanied from

Tampa,) was in like manner, and very much in the same condition, compelled to return to Volusia on the same day, April 25th.

“Colonel Smith, who had with his regiment, the Louisiana volunteers, been detached by the way of Charlotte Harbor, up Pease Creek, about the 12th of April, returned to Tampa the 26th, and embarked for New-Orleans, according to orders, where the regiment arrived, I think, a little after its term of service had expired.

“The battalion of Floridians sailed from Tampa about the 17th of April, for the Withlacoochee, on its way to St. Marks, where it was discharged. I do not know when the battalion was mustered into service.

“The centre column, under Colonel Lindsay, which at first included Major Reid’s battalion, having arrived by steam from Mobile, at Tampa, was the first of the three columns, under my orders, in the field. On the 15th of March, he put himself in movement, established a post on the Hillsborough, twenty-three miles from Tampa, called Fort Alabama, as a place of deposit, and advanced towards *The Cove*, Chickuchatty, which he reached about the 24th, the letter advising him of the delay in the movements of the two other columns, having reached him subsequently.

“This column, consisting principally of the Alabama regiment of volunteers, under Colonel Chisholm, and several times changed in its other parts, was also the latest in the field by a few days. By my order No. 38 of the 16th of April, Colonel Lindsay was instructed, on his return to Tampa after my departure, to make any further movement within the compass of his forces, in the prosecution of the campaign, that might be deemed useful, and then to cause the volunteers with him (the Alabama regiment and an independent company of Louisianians, under Captain Marks) to be embarked for their respective homes. That embarkation was commenced by him, according to his report, May 7th, ‘the rainy season having set in,’ and it being deemed ‘impossible to keep the field with bodies of troops without great, and for any objects that could be accomplished, a wanton waste of life.’

“Thus terminated, Mr. President, active operations under my command: and if, from causes assigned, without decisive results, at least without defeat or check, and without dishonor.

“In my report of the 12th of April, from Tampa, I spoke in terms of high commendation of the three principal commanders under me,—Clinch, Eustis, and Lindsay. Each continued to the last to deserve greater praise than it is in the power of one under my present circumstances to bestow. I also had the benefit of Col. Gadsden’s assistance, the chief of my staff, a volunteer

in the war, a soldier and a patriot, who, independent of his particular knowledge of the enemy and the peninsula, of his services with me, and on prior occasions, is endowed with talents and virtues which give him high claims upon the government and country.

"The handful of regulars who were with me in the field, never faltered in difficulty or danger; and if now and then they yielded the post of honor, it was purely in compliment to their countrymen, fresh from civil life, who were cherished and assisted on every occasion. Those patriotic volunteers of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida, were, no doubt, many of them, sometimes inefficient, from the mere awkwardness of the inexperienced; but they very generally brought with them to the war high chivalry, which always inspires the wish of personal distinction, and this was frequently and nobly attained by individuals and detachments.

"On the principal commanders and the troops which were under me, I have then only to invoke the approbation of their country. Let its censure, through this court, fall on me, and on me alone, of that army, if all was not done which it was possible to accomplish under the circumstances.

"Some questions, Mr. President, were put to as many witnesses of the higher ranks, who have appeared before this court to ascertain whether I had failed in any particular, as a commander in Florida, in point of zeal, judgment, or personal conduct. The answers were direct in every instance, and too complimentary to be here produced. Let them sleep for the present on your records. They may hereafter be read by those who will not be made to blush for their parent.

"A word, sir, as to my *plan of campaign*. I believe that this has been sufficiently developed in the evidence, and embodied in this summary. It has been censured by a writer, himself an old officer, and who delights to see himself in print, as being somewhat European, as if it were criminal to import professional knowledge, and who seemed to think, that generals ought to make war without plans of any sort. This *vulgar error* has been incidentally, but too signally, rebuked by an eminent military critic and political functionary, to be farther noticed in this place. I shall, therefore, here simply quote the opinions of two younger, but better soldiers, on the particular plan of operations by me laid down and pursued.

"After exploring the country to a great extent, and learning much that was new of it and the enemy, General Clinch says to me, in his report (April 27th) of his operations returning from Tampa Bay, 'that *the true plan of operations* against them (the Indians) will be that first designed by you; that is, by a force

from Palaklikaha, a force ascending by my (late) route, and a corresponding one on the north side'—his first route. This, the court will perceive, was the precise plan laid down by me for our *first* operations.

"Captain Thruston, who, I knew, in March, at Fort Drane, did not altogether approve of the plan of campaign I was about to follow, and with whom I never conversed again on the subject, was, when before this court, at a venture, asked by me this question :

"*Seventeenth.* The witness became acquainted with the general plan of operations projected by General Scott. With the benefit of the witness's subsequent knowledge of the enemy, and the country occupied by him, what is the witness's opinion of the general's plan of operations?

"*Answer.* 'When I first heard General Scott detail his plan of operations, I thought he had taken more than necessary precautions, by advancing into the country with three columns, from different points of the peninsula; not doubting that our wing (Clinch's) of the army would be met by the enemy in force on the Withlacoochee. Nor did I believe that a nation of 5000 people could conceal itself so effectually in the peninsula, south and east of the Withlacoochee, that they could not be traced and found by one army (column, or wing). My subsequent experience taught me my error, and to consider General Scott's plan of operations the true one.'

"But, Mr. President, it has been objected to me that, in my first operations (towards Tampa) I held the troops in masses unnecessarily large—of 1900, 1700, and 1200 men, respectively. Of this, I became myself early persuaded. But, in connection with this point, the court will please look at that part of Colonel Lindsay's testimony, detailing his remarks, and the advice he gave me at Augusta, at the end of January, 1836. I regret that I am obliged here to abridge his evidence. Colonel Lindsay had served with Major-General Jackson against a part of the same Indians in the campaign of 1818; 'the principal object of which was,' according to the witness, 'to drive the Seminoles from the Georgia frontier, across the Suwannee; that General Jackson carried into the field a force amounting to, perhaps 6000 men.' This was in reply to my 8th question. To the 6th, the colonel had previously said, 'the country east of the Suwannee is infinitely more impracticable than the country west.' He adds many striking differences, all against our troops; and it is known that General Jackson's operations terminated on the west bank of that river. In respect to the advice given on the subject of *detaching*, the witness said: 'I believe I mentioned to General Scott, that I derived that advice from General Jackson, who, on

some occasion, when I wanted to go on detached service, made use of this emphatic expression, 'Sir, I never detach against Indians.' And again in the same campaign, General Jackson observed to the witness, 'that he never detached, nor suffered small parties to march through the Indian country.' The court will please bear in mind the official relation that subsisted in January, 1836, between General Jackson, Colonel Lindsay, and myself; that I had never been in the interior of Florida; that Governor Eaton in his letter to me of February 3d, 1836, speaking of the hostile Seminoles, said 'their numerical force cannot be less than 3000, probably more;' that Colonel Lindsay has testified, in answer to my 27th question, what must be evident from the surface of the country, that, from dispersion, the enemy had great facilities of concentration; that I had seen, before the columns advanced from Fort Drane and Volusia, by General Gaines's letter to General Clinch, dated the 29th of February, that the writer supposed himself to have been surrounded in Camp Izard, by 'not less than 1500' warriors; and that, although he had from 1000 to 1100 good troops with him, I saw that he could neither pass the Withlacoochee, nor had ventured to make a sortie. All these considerations induced me, Mr. President, to hold the troops under my command in three columns until I could feel my way a little, and judge for myself. When I had satisfied my mind that there were not, in Florida, more than 1200 Indian warriors, probably less; and that, of that force, perhaps not 500 had been concentrated at any time in the war, the court will find that I then became a little bolder, and detached freely and far, in all directions; and it is gratifying to recall, that notwithstanding all the bugbears by which I had been, for a moment, frightened from my bent, not a disaster—not one defeat ensued. I speak, sir, of detachments *beyond supporting distance*; for all the columns were habitually subdivided, within that limit, in searching for, and in attacking the enemy.

"The first of those distant detachments was that of 340 men left under Major Cooper, only twelve miles south of the Withlacoochee, and which gallantly maintained itself from the 2d of April till the 18th, when it was absorbed on the return of Clinch's column. Major Cooper commenced a work for defence, but the enemy gave him no leisure to complete it. General Eustis, approaching Tampa, brought his mounted men to that depot; but left his foot, from the 5th of April till the 18th, at *Camp Shelton*, under Brigadier-General Bull, sixteen miles in the rear, without even a breastwork for its defence. With the same body of foot I myself marched to Fort Alabama, whilst the South Carolina horse, under Colonel Goodwyn, was on the distant service of searching for the enemy about the head of Pease Creek. At the

same time Colonel Smith and his Louisiana volunteers fit for duty (about four hundred), with small parties from the United States ship *Vandalia*, under Lieutenant Powell, and from the revenue cutter *Dallas*, under Captain Green, scoured the lower part of that creek, to the extent of about sixty miles from Charlotte Harbor. Colonels Smith and Goodwyn thus visited what we had supposed to be among the favorite haunts and strongholds of the enemy. I myself, on the 20th of April, with a single company of South Carolina horse, marched from the Big across the Little Withlacoochee. Again, on the 24th, with but two companies, I went to Volusia, a day ahead of Eustis's column; sent a small detachment, on the 25th, to scour the country east of Spring Garden Lake; and personally proceeded, with Colonel Gadsden, Captain Canfield, Lieutenant J. E. Johnston, and seventeen men, in a miserable little steamer, to explore the St. John's river to the head of Lake Munroe. General Clinch and Colonel Lindsay also made detachments about the same period; and I had detached Major Read, with the battalion of Floridians, by water, to search the lower Withlacoochee, as early as the 17th.

"As this last expedition was the only one made under my command that failed to reach the destination given, and to accomplish its objects, and for that reason alone has brought upon me infinite obloquy, I beg the court will pardon me for dwelling upon it a moment.

"It has been seen by the deposition of Mr. Newcomb, the quartermaster at Tampa in April last, that, by extraordinary exertions on his part, and not a little energy on mine, ample and even extra means were provided for Major Read's small battalion of, perhaps, about two thousand men. First, there were two large and one smaller schooner; *two* (instead of *one*) cutters, under Midshipmen Reid and Drake, manned and furnished, at my request, from the United States ship the *Vandalia*, Captain Webb; a large scow, in pieces, but with mechanics, nails, oakum, and pitch, so that it might be put together and launched in two hours; many ship-boats or yawls, and pilots. The deponent, an experienced and excellent officer, declares, in respect to the sufficiency of those means, both for transporting the troops to the mouth of the river, and for ascending it, 'I did not doubt, nor do I know that any body else did; I do not think Major Read himself doubted, although he attempted to find fault with the means.'

"But let us see what use was made by the major of the outfit thus furnished. I shall quote his report to me, which is dated April 27th, being, himself, near the mouth of the Withlacoochee. He says:

"I dispatched all the small craft to the transports, with orders to the officers in command aboard of them to commence debark-

ing the men as fast as possible. On the return of the boats transporting, as I had ordered as many men as they could receive, the morning reports of the officers in command were handed me, by which the frightful picture of an increase of forty (40) to the sick list, in less than two days, was presented. Special communications from the surgeons were also handed me, in which the most horrible consequences were predicted, unless the men could be taken *forthwith* to some place where medicines and good water could be procured. The water on board the schooner *Caroline*, it was said, had already become putrid. Without going aboard, I dispatched an order for (the transports to) hoist all sail, and to proceed with the utmost possible dispatch to St. Mark's, the nearest port. I remanded on board the transports the detachment first ordered to debark, and directed a select number of *ten* (?) to join me on board the small craft, for the purpose of making the *reconnaissance* and surveys, which, I find, upon perusing my order more carefully than at first I did, were the principal objects of the expedition. When informed by the pilot that we were almost at the mouth, I went myself into the second cutter of the *Vandalia*—it draws less water than the other—taking with me only two of my detachment. When I had gotten over the bar, I proceeded some two miles and upwards, to within a short distance of a large smoke, the fire that afforded which was, perhaps, three miles distant. I deemed (it) not prudent to go further, and caused the boat to return—when the major proceeded to St. Mark's after his battalion.

“Here I will not say, Mr. President, Why all this fire and haste? but I may ask, sir, Whence all this smoke and precipitation? Some parts of the report are, doubtless, as obscure as others are strange. For example, when the major heard of the new cases of sickness, how many *well* men were left he does not tell us. The water, too, on board of the *Caroline*, had suddenly become putrid, and the medicines deficient. How so? Why not have gone to the transports in order to inquire into those extraordinary matters in person? And was there no good water on board of the other vessels, or in the *Withlacoochee*—at the farthest, within nine or twelve miles at the falls? We have seen that there were many well men remaining, ten of whom he retained with him, and sent back others in the boats which had brought them from the transports. Why not have retained all these, and have sent for more, to enable him to ascend the river in his smaller vessels, scows, &c.? In that case he might have passed through the ‘large smoke,’ and have reached the falls. But the major appeals to his ‘order,’ and I shall exhibit both his *instructions and orders*. By my directions, Colonel Gadsden, on the 14th of April, gives Major Read, in a letter of instructions,

among other matters to be attended to, these: 'You will embark with your whole battalion, including invalids and sick, for the mouth of the Withlacoochee, and that you come to anchor in the nearest and safest accessible harbor to the mouth of the stream, and that you proceed with your effective force (leaving your sick and invalids on board) with the boats at command, to examine its entrance, and *to penetrate as far as practicable*, and consistent with the security of your command,' &c. 'You will preserve notes of your observations, and report,' &c., 'detailing minutely the character of the anchorage at the mouth of the Withlacoochee; the navigability of that river for boats; the probable distance to which it may be penetrated; the character of its banks, and the facilities generally afforded for the forming depots, with a view to supplying an army operating hereafter on or near its waters. This duty performed, you will proceed to St. Mark's, Florida, in the transports, where your command will be honorably discharged,' &c.

"Mr. De Peyster, a gentleman of Florida, and then a volunteer in General Eustis's staff, has said, before this court, that he was at my quarters the day before (the 16th of April) Major Read embarked, when that officer called, on the subject of his expedition. The purport of this witness's answers, as the court will perceive, is, that two days after the written instructions to Major Read, I endeavored in the most impressive terms and manner, to point out to him the importance of the expedition to ulterior operations, called his attention specifically to the necessity of examining the river, and making a sketch or draught of its soundings and course, *up to the foot of the obstruction or falls*, believed to be twelve miles; and that I desired Major Read to select a point, for a future post, with reference to wood, as near those falls as practicable.

"In respect to every object, except the mere entrance into the Withlacoochee, we have seen that the expedition was a signal failure.

"The first knowledge that I had of this most unexpected result, was received May 1st, at St. Augustine, through a letter from Governor Call, dated April 26th, which gave me the more astounding intelligence, viz.: 'A few days since I received a communication from Major McLemore, stationed on the Suwannee frontier, informing me that, under orders from General Scott he had ascended the Withlacoochee river, and erected a block-house on the south bank, some ten or twelve miles above its mouth, and that he had left a garrison of forty men in the block-house, and a large quantity of corn and pickled beef. This morning, at daylight, Major Read of the Florida battalion, arrived at (Tallahassee) bringing the intelligence that he discov-

ered at the mouth of the river, one half of a large flat-boat, which had been cut in two, apparently with a dull axe, and by an inexperienced hand. His description corresponds with that given of the boat left at the block-house,' &c.

"As this letter was addressed to me, *or the commanding officer at Fort Drane*, like the report dated April 11th, of the establishment of the block-house, and signed by Major McLemore's adjutant (McCants) both papers were read by General Clinch, and together transmitted to me. I have said that I received them on the 1st of May.

"The court has seen, Mr. President, the correspondence between General Clinch, then at Fort Drane, and myself, on this most painful subject. The time of his volunteers having expired, or being about to expire, he had already sent most of them home, and in his attempt to raise a party of mounted men in the Alachua settlements, to go to the relief of the block-house, he utterly failed. I early became satisfied that General Clinch, under the circumstances, did all in his power in adopting the second suggestion of Governor Call, viz.: 'But should it be impracticable for you to send a sufficient force, by land, to ascertain (the fate of the party in the block-house), I have ordered a fortified boat to be in readiness at Suwannee Old Town, to proceed with a part of the men at that place to the relief of the garrison, and transport it back to Old Town, unless the commanding general should otherwise direct.

"You will, therefore, be pleased to send an express to Major McCants, commanding at Old Town, and inform him whether troops have been sent by land to the relief of the block-house, or whether the boat, which will be in readiness, shall be sent on that service.' General Clinch sent the order for the boat to proceed, and the detachment in the block-house was ultimately taken off by Major Read, and without firing a gun.

"It is in evidence that Major Read's report to me (of his first expedition), though dated the 27th of April, came to hand at Columbus as late as the 8th of June, when I had not the leisure to give attention to it, even if it had been legible; and thus it happened that I never knew its contents, until, with some accidental assistance, the judge-advocate made out to decipher it before this court. The last paragraph of this report appears to be as follows:

"I discovered at the mouth of the (Withlacoochee) one-half of a flat-bottomed boat—a common ferry flat-boat, it appeared to have been. It had been cut asunder,' &c. 'When I arrived at St. Mark's, I learned, to my astonishment, mortification, and regret, that your excellency (General Scott) had ordered Major McLemore to establish a depot at that place,' &c.

“All which was studiously concealed from me. I did not learn, either from your order, or from the numerous interviews I had the honor to hold with your excellency, that Major McLemore was even in the field; much less that I was going to relieve a detachment of his command, ordered out by your excellency.’

“The court has seen my report upon this subject to the adjutant-general, dated at St. Augustine, May 11th, which was founded on Governor Call’s letter noticed above, and an article in a newspaper, handed to me as the production of Major Read. I said that he, Major R., ‘has, at Tallahassee, caused a statement to be made, declaring that I had refused him permission to ascend the Withlacoochee!’ And again, presuming the statement to have been furnished by him, he denies having ever heard that *possibly* he might find a block-house and garrison established near the falls of the river. Now, I affirm that it was generally known, throughout the right wing of the army, that it was just possible that Major McLemore, a highly meritorious Floridian, had made such establishment. The possibility was mentioned to Major Read, and although Colonel Gadsden, by accident, omitted the subject in the letter of instruction, yet, when the major saw half of a flat rudely cut in two (so Governor Call had written), that which was extremely doubtful before, became a matter of the most perfect certainty; and, if the major had been bound home, without other orders, it immediately became his imperious duty to go instantly to the relief of his countrymen. The flat could never have belonged to Indians, and it would not have been destroyed if the garrison had returned by water to the Suwannee, and Major Read knew it could only have returned by water.

“Now, sir, I did not say in this, or any other letter, that I had told Major Read any thing of a detachment being permitted to visit the Withlacoochee about the end of March. The court will presently learn how it happened to be omitted in Colonel Gadsden’s letter to Major Read, and by me, in conversation with the latter. Nevertheless, the subject was not forgotten at headquarters, nor had ceased to be occasionally mentioned among the officers who had come down to Tampa from Fort Drane. One of these, Captain Drane, has testified before this court, that he, at Tampa, stated it as his impression to Major Read, ‘that there was a detachment of Floridians with provisions,’—the witness having heard, ‘at Fort Drane, (and thinks) General Clinch had stated it to (him), that Major McLemore had volunteered his services to go to the mouth of the Withlacoochee.’

“I do not here, Mr. President, embody the testimony to contradict Major Read, but simply to account for the strong language applied to him in the letter last quoted. Two of the harsher expressions therein contained are here intentionally suppressed. I

had not in May, as has been seen, received his report. I, at that time, verily believed, on the opinion of others, as well as from internal evidence, that the false assertions of the article in the Tallahassee paper was from his pen or his lips; Governor Call's letter had not said one word as to the causes which led to the failure of the expedition—the spread of sickness among the men, the want of medicines, and the want of good water. Now, sir, although I think at least two of those causes might have been guarded against by due foresight and activity on the part of the commander, and when reported to him ought to have been closely scrutinized, in person, before abandoning the general objects confided to his intelligence and conduct, I am not only unwilling to reproduce those harsher imputations, but regret that they were ever made. Sir, up to this day, I have received no note or message of any kind from Major Read. My recantation is founded on the recent assurance of a friend (General Clinch), that Major Read had no agency in the published article alluded to, and his previous and subsequent gallantry and good conduct in the same war against the Seminole Indians.

“In the deposition of Colonel Gadsden (which is in evidence), he gives the history of the block-house on the Withlacoochee thus:

“‘Major McLemore *sought* the service by a private letter to the undersigned, stating that he had on the Suwannee a boat suitable for the expedition, and supplies which he could bring with him to that point—with the consent and approbation of General Scott. The following is the reply penned by me, and by the direction of the general, to whom it was read before transmitted.’

“I beg, Mr. President, that the Court will again read over every word of this letter. I regret that I am too much fatigued to embody it entire in this summary. The perusal of it will show how unnecessary it was deemed at Tampa to call the attention of Major Read specifically to the very remote chance of his finding any detachment on the Withlacoochee. Nevertheless, though it was more than a hundred to one that the detachment was not there, as late as the 14th of April, or even the 4th, if the major could have ascended only seven miles higher up that stream—and nobody doubted that he *could* and *would*—he would have found the gallant band still firm in its position. The letter to Major McLemore is dated at Fort Drane, March 25th. Colonel Gadsden begins by giving to the major the outline of my plan of operations; says ‘the whole army will probably form a junction at or near the (Cove) by the 29th or 30th instant. It is impossible to anticipate, at this time, the ulterior operations of the army after it has encountered and defeated the enemy in their probable stronghold, *in the Cove*,’ &c. ‘It is more than probable, however,

that we may be detained in that vicinity many days reconnoitering the hammocks, and searching for Indians in the jungles and thickets of that section of country. If so, your co-operation, and the supplies which you report you can bring, may prove of essential service. I am directed, therefore, by the general commanding, to say that, after securing the post on the Suwannee with an adequate garrison, you may proceed with the remainder of your command, in the boat you have prepared for the service, provided in addition to your own supplies you can transport 750 to 1000 bushels of corn at least for the use of the army. Should your boat be properly *secured* as you report with *bulwarks*, you may enter the river and ascend to the rapids,' &c.

“‘You must be at that point by the 30th *instant*, or you will, possibly, be *too late* to afford any aid to this wing of the army—the sole motive which sanctions the service to which you have been called.’ ‘As your movement is intended to assist and not embarrass this wing of the army, you must not move without an adequate supply of ammunition, and from thirty to forty days’ rations for your whole command, at least, in addition to the corn you may transport for our relief.’ (He is then requested, if possible, to bring extra ‘pork or bacon.’) ‘On reaching the point on the Withlacoochee designated, you will use all due precautions to secure your boat and command, by building a block-house, or by the construction of some other defence, until you hear from or of the army. If after, however, the 2d or 3d of April you receive no tidings of or from this wing, under the command of General Clinch, you may be sure that it has proceeded *south*, to unite with Eustis and Lindsay; and having left the Withlacoochee, your detention on its waters will be no longer necessary. You will, therefore, return without delay to your post on the Suwannee, and there wait the further orders of the commanding-general, or those which may be transmitted to you from the executive of Florida.’

“Colonel Gadsden’s deposition adds, in continuation of this history: ‘It appears, however, from information received from one of the men who was in the block-house, that the detachment did not reach the mouth of the Withlacoochee until the 4th or 5th of April, *two days after he had been ordered to quit it*; and when General Scott had reached the vicinity of Tampa Bay.’

“Notwithstanding, however, its fearless commander on his own responsibility penetrated the river, established a block-house, and left it garrisoned—with a promise to return and relieve it in eight or ten days. Unfortunately, however, as he entered the Suwannee he was assailed with a fever, and fell a victim to its effects.

“Thus perished, Mr. President, a valuable citizen, whose patriotic zeal, pushed a little too far, has brought upon me, uninten-

tionally, I know not what amount of general odium. This I have long borne in silence ; but, sir, the star of truth approaches the zenith, and as it sheds its light over this court and the public, the deep shades of calumny are made to disappear.

“ In relation to the Florida campaign, Mr. President, I have one point more to notice, and I shall have done.

“ Among the prodigious mass of documents turned over by the different officers of the war department, to be read by the judge-advocate in evidence against me, as if to crush, by their physical weight, if they could not otherwise effect their purpose, there is from the Hon. J. M. White, the Florida delegate in congress, a letter dated at Washington, May 28th, to the president of the United States, with an endorsement in the hand of the latter, which directs—*‘ A copy of this letter to be sent to General Scott, with an order to withdraw from the command in Florida. A. J.’*

“ Of this endorsement I had no knowledge, until the original was read in this court. What were the feelings which it excited I will not say ; but the association of circumstances recalled to my mind, may be inferred from the following :

“ To my elaborate report of what I have done, and of the operations projected, the adjutant-general, May the 5th, replied :

“ ‘ Your communication of the 12th of April, reporting the operations of the army in Florida, under your command, since your departure from Fort Drane, and your arrival at Tampa Bay has been submitted to the president, and this day to the secretary of war. I am happy to inform you that the president approves of your intended plan of operations,’ etc. ‘ I am desired by the secretary of war to say that, from the tenor of your report, as well as by the communication he has just received from the governor of Florida, it is probable that owing to the approaching season of the year, the campaign in the field cannot be much longer vigorously pushed. In this event, you will make a judicious selection of the posts necessary to be occupied by the troops during the interval of active operations, which may be best calculated protect the frontier inhabitants, and prevent Indian depredations of any kind. For this purpose, all the regular troops, including the 4th infantry, must be kept on duty in Florida.’ As I had intimated in my letter, April 12th, would be done, all had been attended to before the receipt of the adjutant-general’s communication, and which is here cited principally to show that, certainly as late as the 5th of May, no *displeasure* had been officially expressed against me at Washington.

“ But, in my report of the 11th of May, animadverting upon Major Read, and which, according to a note on the original (now in evidence), was received at Washington on the 21st, seven days

before the date of Mr. White's letter to the president of the United States, there is this paragraph :

"I feel and know the risk I incur by the use of this language. Major Read is the favorite of Governor Call, and his excellency's support may well turn the tables against me at Washington."

"Sir, I had seen among the papers which accompanied my instructions, given me for the Seminole war, a letter (in evidence with that document) from General Call to the president of the United States, dated January 9th, 1836, in which the writer says :

"I should be highly gratified to command the army, and believe that I could soon bring the war to a close. I fear, however, that this I cannot do without injustice to General Clinch. He is a brave and good man, but I fear he is too slow in his movements to conduct a war against the Indians."

"With an official copy of this letter in my possession, it may be supposed that I knew my danger. But, sir, I do not complain that, soon after my animadversion on Major Read, he was appointed by the president a brigadier-general in the militia of Florida; that a lieutenant-colonel of the army, whom I reported in my letter of March 20th as having left Fort Drane for duty elsewhere, but went off to Washington, was in a little time rewarded with a colonelcy, not by seniority; nor that the president's endorsement on Mr. White's letter was soon followed by Governor Call's being 'gratified' with the direction of the war in Florida. But, sir, I have, in defence, a right to advert to those extraordinary facts, to show that if, in my operations to the south, I had the enemy to conquer in my front, I was, at the same time, not a little insecure in my rear. The effect of such position every soldier will readily comprehend; and I respectfully submit the point to the consideration of the court. A yet more extraordinary fact, of the same general character, will be developed in the sequel. But, at present, I will return to Mr. White's letter to the president of the United States.

"I think, sir, that I have shown that this letter did not do me all the injury that it was intended at the time. But why, sir, is it brought here, with its endorsement, in accusation against me? Mr. White, in a letter to the president of this court, dated December 13th, 1836, says:

"This places me in an attitude I do not choose to occupy."
 'Since the publication of that letter (to the president of the United States) I have, in the National Intelligencer, over my own name, as an act of justice to General Scott, corrected, upon better information, the complaints which I deemed it my duty, as the representative of the people of Florida, to make against

him. I am unwilling that the first letter shall be laid before the court without the second ; and, as I have no copy of it with me at present, I take this occasion to say that I am satisfied, upon a full and impartial view of the facts and circumstances connected with the Florida campaign, and upon evidence not then before me, that the failure is not to be attributed to Major-General Scott, nor to causes which it was in his power to control or remove.'

"This voluntary and unsolicited retraction is manly and noble. In my judgment and feelings it shows the correspondent of the court to be worthy of being called *the Honorable* Mr. White, by a higher claim than that of mere courtesy. It is true, sir, in his recantation, he excepts what he had originally said of my order No. 48, on the subject of panics. I know not that this reservation ought to break squares between that gentleman and myself. The order, although there were many apologies for the inhabitants, was founded on information at once full and precise ; and, as I said of it in my letter to the secretary of war, dated June 21st, 'Besides, I was advised by respectable citizens of Florida, to come out with an order in that spirit, as likely to rally the inhabitants, and I have reason to know the order did good.' If good resulted I am content with the enmities I brought upon myself by the act : for, sir, since the war began to rage in that quarter, there has not been a moment, up to this time, when I would not have made any sacrifice of person, to have stopped its ravages. I deeply mourn over the many afflictions the good people of that desolated territory have experienced, and I freely forgive, as I pray God may forgive, the injustice of laying those evils, in part, to my account."

The Court of Inquiry, after a long and tedious examination of witnesses, expressed the following opinion, which was approved by the president of the United States, and promulgated in general orders on the 21st of March, 1837 :

"The court, after a full consideration of the foregoing facts, and the testimony from which they are drawn, comes to the following opinion :

"The court, after a careful review of the great mass of testimony taken in the foregoing investigation, finds that Major-General Scott was amply clothed with authority to create the means of prosecuting the Seminole war to a successful issue ; but is of opinion that, at the time he was invested with the command, the season was too far advanced for him to collect, appoint, and put in motion his forces, until a day too late to compass the object. It appears that, after using great diligence and energy, he was not in a condition to take the field, and enter the enemy's

strong holds, before the 28th of March, and then without sufficient means of transporting the necessary supplies to enable him to remain there long enough to seek out the scattered forces of the enemy.

“The court, therefore, ascribe the failure of the campaign to the want of time to operate; the insalubrity of the climate after the middle of April; the impervious swamps and hammocks that abound in the country occupied by the enemy, affording him cover and retreat at every step; an absence of all knowledge by the general, or any part of his forces, of the topography of the country; together with the difficulty of obtaining, in time, the means of transporting supplies for the army.

“The court is further of opinion, from the testimony of many officers of rank and intelligence, who served in the campaign, that Major-General Scott was zealous and indefatigable in the discharge of his duties; and that his plan of campaign was well devised, and prosecuted with energy, steadiness, and ability.”

His excellency C. K. Call assumed command of the Florida army, upon the retirement of General Scott, under instructions from the war department. Active operations had ceased, the regular troops, as well as the militia and volunteers, were posted in such a manner as to protect the settlements, at the same time securing health. The season was unusually sickly. The Indians were dispersed, and most of the time remained quiet, cultivating their crops of corn and peas for the ensuing season. Occasionally they sallied out, when inducements offered, cutting off express riders and trains, and butchering defenceless women and children.

A vigorous attack was made upon the stockade of Micanopy, garrisoned by a detachment of regulars, in command of Major Heileman, 2d artillery. The work was surrounded by a small town, offering inducements to plunder. The Indians numbered 250 warriors, and led by Oseola or Powell. Major Heileman's official report details the affair.

“*Micanopy*, June 10th, 1836.

“GENERAL—I have the honor to report, that yesterday morning a party of Indians, estimated at one hundred and fifty or two hundred, made their appearance in front of this place, at the distance of about three-quarters of a mile. Their object was evidently to draw us out; and not having any disposition to balk their views, I directed Captain Lee to take his company and skirt a hammock on the right of this post, and gain the left of the enemy. At the same time I directed Lieutenant Wheelock to mount with his dragoons, and make a corresponding movement on the left; and Lieutenant Humphreys, with a detachment of

D and E companies of 2d U. S. artillery, to move across a field in front, holding a six-pounder, with a few men, in reserve.

"The promptitude with which my orders were complied with, brought the three detachments immediately in contact with the enemy. Seeing the heavy fire of the enemy, I became at once satisfied they were treble our numbers, and immediately moved forward with the six-pounder. The horses not being well broke, I was obliged to cast loose the prolonge. I had hardly done this, and while waiting a flank movement of Lieutenant Wheelock to unmask the six-pounder, when I received a message that the Indians were coming on the rear of this place. Having left a few teamsters and citizens in charge of the work, I deemed it proper to move back with the gun, and gave the directions accordingly. Taking myself a shorter route across the field, I arrived a few moments before the gun; and finding the report to be untrue, I directed Lieutenant Talcott, 3d artillery, to return to the field at full speed, while, with a few men, I reconnoitred the rear of our position.

"After an hour and twenty minutes' hard fighting under a broiling sun, our troops returned, having driven the Indians two miles into their strong holds. The gallantry and good conduct of both officers and men, is beyond all commendation I am able to bestow; and it is with deep regret I report Captain Lee, 3d artillery, severely, but not dangerously wounded.* He was shot early in the action, but directed his men to push forward, which they did manfully.

"I enclose Dr. Maffit's report: and let me express my acknowledgments to Mr. Center, a resident of this place, for his unremitting kindness and attention to our wounded men, and ourselves generally.

"Some individual acts of gallantry will form a special report, from the officers immediately in command of the troops.

"I received 800 rounds of cartridges last night from Fort Drane, and shall move to-morrow morning. Lieutenant Burke, 3d artillery, with his company, reached that place at 11 o'clock last night. I shall write to you on my arrival there.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

General EUSTIS, }
Commanding forces in Florida. }

J. F. HEILEMAN,
Major, 2d artillery, U. S. A."

Major Heileman died on the 27th of June, from the effects of over-exertion in the battle. For his conduct on the occasion, the brevet of lieutenant-colonel was conferred upon him by the

* He received two wounds; one from a rifle ball, and the other from a musket.

senate of the United States, on the 26th of June—the day previous to his death.

Major B. K. Pierce, 1st artillery, assumed command of Micanopy, soon after his arrival. He carried out the contemplated expedition of Captain Childs upon Fort Drane, ten miles distant. This was a favorite resort for the enemy, who congregated there to gather the sugar-cane and corn, in the extensive fields planted by General Clinch the season previous. Major Pierce took them by surprise and had a spirited affair, driving them into the adjoining hammock. Ar-pe-i-ka or Sam Jones commanded the Indians; the first, and only action he was ever in. The official report of Major Pierce of August 12th, 1836, gives a minute account of the attack.

"Micanopy, August 12th, 1836.

"SIR—I have the honor to report to you, that I arrived here yesterday; and learning that there were Indians lurking about Fort Drane, ten miles from this post, I determined to make an expedition against them. For this purpose, I marched at two o'clock this morning, with 110 men and a piece of ordnance; fifty men commanded by Captain Childs of the 3d artillery, and Lieutenant Spaulding, of the 2d dragoons; fifty men by Lieutenant J. R. Irwin and Lieutenant Herbert, of the 1st artillery. I arrived at Fort Drane about sunrise, attacked the Indians, who proved to be numerous, say 300 Micasucky Indians, commanded by Powell. Lieutenants Irwin and Herbert on the right; Captain Childs and Lieutenant Spaulding on the left; the artillery in the centre, commanded by Lieutenant Pickell, all attacked them with great vigor and spirit, drove them three-fourths of a mile into an extensive hammock—and in a hurried passage over the field counted ten dead.

"This engagement was well contested by the Indians, who fought with determined bravery for more than an hour. The recesses to which they retired could not be penetrated by our exhausted and inferior force. I therefore marched the detachment back to Micanopy, leaving no killed or wounded on the field. Our loss was one killed and sixteen wounded, viz., Lieutenant Betts (my adjutant), slightly wounded in the thigh; Sergeants, Dustin (C), 4th artillery; Ayres (A), 3d artillery, wounded. Corporals, McKnight (C), 4th artillery; North (I), 3d artillery; Dennis (A), 3d artillery, wounded. Artificers, Skiffington (C), 4th artillery; Sinclair (E), 1st artillery, wounded. Musician, Alexander Heer (G), 1st artillery, wounded. Privates, Shisler (E), 1st artillery; Treat (A), 3d artillery; Coppinger (C), 4th artillery; Story (A), 3d artillery; Ribbold (A), 3d artillery; Bennett (D), 1st artillery, wounded—none thought dangerous. Wa-

gon-master, Jackson, severely. Private Sykes (G), 1st artillery, killed.

"The officers of my command were Captain Childs, 3d artillery; Lieutenant Pickell, 4th artillery; Lieutenant J. R. Irwin, 1st artillery; Lieutenant Spaulding, 2d dragoons; Lieutenant Herbert, 1st artillery; Lieutenant W. H. Betts (adjutant), 1st artillery; Surgeons Tripler and Berry.

"The officers and men all justified my most sanguine expectations.

"I deem it due to Captain Childs to state, that he contemplated the same movement previous to my arrival, and was awaiting the return of the train to accomplish his purpose.

"Jackson, a wagon-master, well acquainted with the localities of Fort Drane, volunteered his services; and as a guide on the march, or a soldier in the engagement, was brave and useful. He received two severe wounds, lost a valuable horse, and deserves a liberal reward.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

B. K. PIERCE, *Major Commanding.*"

Major-General Jesup, now operating against the Creek Indians in Georgia, was ordered to take command in Florida, so soon as the emigration and subjection of this tribe would permit. His instructions did not reach him. He, however, met Governor Call at Tallahassee, when coming from the Creek country in September; and finding that he had made arrangements for a campaign, declined taking the command tendered by the governor, in the absence of positive written instructions; but consented to act with a body of troops in co-operation. The Tennessee mounted force of about 1200 men, under General Armstrong, who had gone through the Creek campaign with honor and distinction, joined General Call in his movement; who with 140 Florida militia in addition, marched for Suwannee Old Town on the 19th of September, with ten days' rations. Here he met with Major Pierce with 160 regulars, and seven days' rations. A general movement was made to the Withlacoochee river. On reaching the stream he encountered small parties of Indians, who fired upon his camp at night. The sudden rise of water in the river prevented his crossing, obliging him to fall back upon Fort Drane for supplies. General Jesup was using his exertions to bring into Florida at an early period the detachment of marines, commanded by Colonel Henderson, as also the regiment of Creek volunteers, under Colonel Lane; but the fall of water in the Apalachicola river, defeated his designs. That portion of the marine corps had gone through the Creek campaign, and was now in high order and perfect discipline. Their various duties had been performed

with alacrity and zeal, and only required another field to fulfill their own anticipations. This detachment numbered 380 men, and 24 officers. Upon the breaking out of hostilities in Georgia, at a moment when the enemy were ravaging the country, and the disposable force of the regular army was inadequate to the emergency, Colonel Henderson volunteered his services, together with that portion of the corps stationed at the different navy yards. In this he was seconded most cheerfully by the officers under his command. In June, 1836, they reached Columbus, Ga., and immediately took the field; from thence to Florida, where they participated in the arduous campaigns under General Jesup, and received from him the highest commendations. The Creek regiment of volunteers consisted of 750 friendly Creek Indians; among whom, as the most important men, were two chiefs by the name of Jim Boy, and Paddy Carr. They were mustered and paid as militia in the service of the United States. Captain John Lane, of the 2d regiment of U. S. dragoons, was mustered as colonel commanding; Captain Harvey Brown, 4th U. S. artillery, lieutenant-colonel; First-Lieutenant W. W. Morris, 4th U. S. artillery, major; Second-Lieutenant Wm. G. Freeman, 4th artillery, was adjutant; George Boyd, lieutenant A. C. S. and acting assistant-quartermaster; G. W. Hulse, assistant-surgeon; J. H. Watson, lieutenant; Lieutenant Wm. P. Piercy (U. S. navy), David Moniac, W. P. Rawles, S. Casey, Joseph Roberts, F. Searle (first-lieutenant 4th artillery), captains. This corps reached Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, on the 5th of October, and proceeded immediately into the interior. They examined the country in all directions, and had several spirited affairs with the enemy. Soon after joining Governor Call, at Fort Drane, Colonel Lane met with a melancholy death, when the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Brown. These Indians wore white turbans, to distinguish them in battle from the enemy. The Seminoles looked upon them with renewed hatred, and lost no opportunity to give vent to their malignity.

On the 10th of November Governor Call, with some regulars, the regiment of Creek volunteers, and the mounted Tennesseans, again marched from Fort Drane, and crossed the Withlacoochee river, thirty miles distant, on the 13th, without opposition. General Armstrong, the ensuing morning, attacked an Indian encampment with a part of his command, and met with serious resistance, but drove them, after a conflict of forty minutes; eleven of his men were killed and wounded. On the 18th another assault was made by a party of five hundred Tennesseans, upon a body of the enemy strongly posted in a hammock. After a conflict of two hours they fled, leaving twenty-five of their number on the field. Lieutenant-Colonel Pierce, with a detachment of regulars,

on the 20th formed a junction with Governor Call. The next morning the entire force moved for the Wahoo Swamp, where it was believed the enemy were in large numbers, prepared for a fight. A rapid charge was made, the instant upon reaching the hammock; when a general whooping, yelling, and discharge of rifles, commenced; the Indians firing as they retreated from tree to tree. Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, with his command, dashed in upon them, amid the yells of his own troops, and delivered an effective fire. Lieutenant-Colonel Pierce, with a detachment of regulars, together with a number of the Tennesseans and the Florida militia, joined in the contest, forcing their way through a dense scrub, and wading in mud and water from three to four feet deep. In passing onward, the main stream of the Withlacoochee was reached, which was thought to be impassable. Upon the opposite bank the Indians were in force, not more than ten yards distant. Covered as they were by logs and stumps, the repeated volleys had no effect on them. As the soldiers and friendly Indians approached, they opened a galling fire. Captain Moniac was killed while attempting to ascertain the depth of the water. The position gained, though dearly bought, was an advantageous one. Could it have been maintained, it would have defeated the favorite plans of the enemy, and driven them from a resort affording subsistence and protection for their women and children. The want of supplies, particularly for the large number of horses, induced Governor Call to abandon it, and fall back upon Volusia.

The report of Colonel Pierce of this affair awards to all merited praise.

“*Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,* }
“*Camp near Volusia,* Nov. 26th, 1836. }

“SIR—Agreeably to your orders of the night of the 20th instant, the troops under my command moved at early dawn on the 21st, in search of the enemy, (represented to be in large force on the Wahoo Swamp,) in four separate columns, and in the following order: Colonel Warren’s command of mounted Floridians on the right; the battalion of artillery and a detachment of Middle Florida volunteers, under Major Gardner, forming the second column; the third and fourth columns, composed of Creek volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Brown and Major Morris. After marching about five miles, and within four hundred yards of the Wahoo Swamp, the enemy appeared in force at the edge of the hammock which skirts the swamp, and by their war-whoops and other indications showed themselves in readiness to give battle.

“By your orders, I then immediately marched the battalion

of artillery and the detachment of Floridians, in two lines, in displayed order, with an interval of about twenty paces between them, together with a reserve of two companies under Captain Van Ness, fifty paces in rear of the second line. In this order the command moved rapidly towards the enemy until (within) a hundred and thirty yards of him, when, by your direction, I halted the line, to allow the Tennesseans time to come up. Our line, headed by Major Gardner, then moved coolly and steadily to the charge, entering the hammock without firing a gun until they came in sight of the enemy, when a heavy fire was opened, and two or three Indians were killed, our loss being two wounded. The Creek volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, penetrated the extreme left, and they killed one or two Indians.

"After a cessation of the fire, I moved forward my whole division (by your orders) in pursuit of the enemy. Having pushed through an extensive swamp and hammock, driving the enemy before us for the distance of one and a half miles; a portion of our friendly Indians at length reached a deep and difficult morass, on the opposite side of which the enemy were posted. In attempting the passage of this, Major Moniac was killed, and sunk in the stream. A sharp engagement then commenced on the part of our friendly Indians, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown and Major Morris. The regular troops and Floridians were pushed forward as rapidly as possible to the scene of the action, but meeting with an almost insurmountable obstacle in a difficult miry swamp, half a mile in extent, and from two to three feet deep in mud and water, were prevented from reaching it, until from one half to three-quarters of an hour after the commencement of the engagement. As soon as they arrived, they were formed on the bank of the stream, and opened a deadly fire on the enemy; Colonel Warren, following close on the rear of the artillery and emerging from the marsh, had previously arranged himself on our right, and had commenced a spirited and vigorous fire upon the enemy. At about half-past three o'clock, P. M., the enemy's fire had nearly ceased. There were then but two alternatives, the one to attempt a passage of the creek, the other to return with our killed and wounded to camp. Anxious to make the victory, so brilliant in its commencement, complete in its termination and result, I ordered Major Gardner to form the battalion of artillery, to force the passage of the creek, and charge the enemy at the point of the bayonet. After consultation, however, with the colonel of the 2d regiment of Tennessee volunteers, it was concluded most advisable to abandon the attempt, because of the exhausted state of the ammunition, and the supposed impracticability of the passage, which had been previously attempted without success; moreover, the lateness of the hour

(it being near night) rendered it impossible to pursue the enemy, even if the passage should be forced. I then directed the killed and wounded to be brought to the front, formed a strong rear-guard, and returned to the position occupied by your excellency.

“Colonel Warren, Lieutenant-Colonel Mills, Major Fleming, Captain Walker, Adjutant Beckham, Lieutenants Beaton, Hooker, and Ross, as also Captain Fremouth, with his company of St. Augustine volunteers, behaved throughout the day with great energy and bravery. Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, with the Creek volunteers, aided by the gallant Major Morris and lamented Major Moniac, together with the equally brave Captains Ross, Watson, and Boyd, moved nobly into the action, and for a considerable time sustained an unequal combat with the enemy, holding him in check until the arrival of the artillery and volunteers. The other officers of the regiment, Captains Piercy, Searle, and Johnston, displayed great activity and gallantry in his support. . . . Paddy Carr and John O’Poney, Indian chiefs, distinguished themselves by their zeal and bravery. Jim Boy, the head-chief of the Creeks, being involved in the same difficulty with a portion of the regulars, was prevented from taking the same active and efficient share in the early part of the action with the battalion, which would have been expected from their known activity. Major Gardner, in command of the battalion of artillery, was aided in an able and spirited manner by Captain Galt, Captain Porter, Captains Van Ness, Tompkins, and Maitland, Lieutenants Burke, Nauman, R. H. Lee, and Hale, commanding companies, formed the line on the bank of the creek within thirty paces of the enemy, and displayed throughout the whole affair the utmost activity, skill, and intrepidity. Lieutenant Taylor acted as quartermaster and commissary of my division; Lieutenant Spaulding, of the U. S. dragoons, and captain, by your appointment, of the Creek volunteers, as acting inspector-general; and Lieutenant Freeman, as acting adjutant-general. They are officers of great merit, rendered great service during the march, and in the battle distinguished themselves by their ability, coolness, and courage. The perseverance in the difficulties of pursuit, and the steadiness and courage in the battle, of the whole command, both of officers and soldiers, throughout the day, cannot be too highly commended. As the whole operations were under your own direction and observation, I do not deem it necessary to enter into further detail. The loss in my division consists of Major Moniac, an Indian chief, and two Indians killed; Captain Ross, U. S. M. corps, and three Indians wounded, of the Creek volunteers. Of the artillery five were killed; wounded, Captain Maitland, two sergeants, two corporals, and two privates. Colonel Warren’s command and the Florida

volunteers, though exposed to the same galling fire with the regulars, fortunately escaped without loss. From the commencement of the action in the first hammock, to its close in the second, was nearly four hours. I think it a brilliant day, redounding to the honor of our arms, and calculated to bring the war to a speedy termination.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

His Excellency Governor CALL.

B. K. PIERCE,
Colonel commanding Right Division."

* * * * *

General Jesup reached Tampa Bay on the 20th of October, but the want of transportation and supplies detained him until the 27th of November, when, with four hundred men, he proceeded to join Governor Call at Volusia, and, agreeably to his instructions from Washington, relieved Governor Call, on the 8th of December, of the command of the Florida army.

The result of the expedition to the Wahoo Swamp was a lesson to other commanders. To force so large a body of troops, horse and foot, into the enemy's country, without a base of operations, is a sacrifice of human life, without attaining the end, besides encouraging the enemy. The horses of the Tennessee brigade died for the want of food. The men, dispirited by exertion and fatigue for which they were unprepared, with scanty food, lost that fortitude and resolution so indispensably necessary in this peculiar warfare. The enemy was vigilant and independent; he lived upon the wild productions, and knew the swamps and hammocks, while the soldier, as he waded them without food or rest, looked upon these fastnesses as his sepulchre, more than as a field of battle.

The ford reached on the Withlacoochee by the troops, and which was so resolutely defended, was about three feet deep. The water was black and sluggish, deceiving those who ventured to approach. Had the contemplated charge been made, the river would have been crossed, not without loss, but the sacrifice would have been worthy of the object. There were assembled two hundred negro men, and four hundred and twenty warriors, with their women, children, and all their baggage, together with horses and ponies. They had lived here since the commencement of hostilities, and were determined to make a decided stand. The men might have fled, but the capture of their families would have soon induced them to surrender.

General Jesup, through the months of January, February, March, and April, pushed the campaign with energy and skill. His troops were in fine spirits and order. His force, regular and

irregular, exceeded eight thousand men. He thus writes to the adjutant-general of the army on the 12th of January, 1837 :

“ *Head-Quarters, near the Cove of the* }
Withlacoochee, Jan. 12th, 1837. }

“SIR—In my last I informed you that the mounted men of my command were in pursuit of Powell. Thirty-six negroes, in addition to those already reported (16), have been captured by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford’s battalion and the Indian warriors. From them we learn that the Indians have been entirely dispersed, and that Powell has with him only three warriors and his family. One of the negroes, Primus, who was sent a messenger to the Indians by General Scott or Clinch during the last winter, and remained with them, says that he is on the Withlacoochee, sick, and that he can collect about a hundred warriors. Learning from the prisoners that the Tallahassee chief is on the Withlacoochee with the warriors, I dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Foster down the south side of the river, with a small battalion of infantry, a company of artillery, and Major Nelson’s battalion of mounted Georgians, altogether about three hundred men, and moved down the north side of the river with the marines, a detachment of artillery, a battalion of Alabama volunteers, and a detachment of Indian warriors, in all about seven hundred men, for the purpose of clearing the country on both sides of every hostile band. The Tallahassee Indians are said to be in the neighborhood; Powell also. Two days will be employed in examining the swamps, when, if the enemy should not be found, I shall proceed down the river, unite with Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, and then be governed by circumstances. If I should not hear of the enemy below, I shall return to Fort Armstrong, and immediately proceed against Micanopy and Jumper, who, I have good reason to believe, are on the head-waters of the Ocklawaha. The campaign will be tedious, but I hope successful in the end. I am not, however, very sanguine; the difficulty is not to fight the enemy, but to find him. I am unable to furnish returns at present of the forces under my command. The difficulties in regard to transportation are such that every officer is obliged to carry seven days’ rations in his haversack. I often carry subsistence for six days. The means of making correct returns are not, therefore, within the reach of any officer of this army. The blank returns to which you refer have not been received.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Brigadier-General R. JONES, }
 Adjutant-General, *Washington City.* }

TH. S. JESUP, }
Major-General commanding. }

* * * * *

The enemy, harassed in all quarters, seemed determined to retaliate. On the 8th of February they attacked Fort Mellon, with a force of two hundred men under Coacooche or Wild Cat, in which they were disappointed, supposing the garrison to be weak. But the arrival of troops unknown to their scouts, enabled the garrison to give them a warm reception. Lieutenant-Colonel Fanning's (4th artillery) report pays a just tribute to all:

"Camp Munroe, on Lake Munroe, Florida, February 9th, 1837.

"GENERAL—On yesterday morning, a little before daylight, we were aroused by the warhoop all around us. The enemy's right rested on the lake above us, and his line extended round our front, his left resting on the lake below. Our men sprang to their breastworks. A sharp contest ensued. Second-Lieutenant Thomas was directed to go on board the Santee (steamboat), serve the six-pounder, and direct his fire upon the right of the enemy. Our flank in that direction was soon cleared. The enemy pertinaciously hung upon our front and right flank for nearly three hours, and then retired, wearied of the contest. Our men, being recruits, at first wasted a great deal of ammunition, and it was with much difficulty the officers prevented them from throwing away their shots. They soon, however, became collected, and in the end behaved extremely well. In fact, the enemy was handsomely repulsed. The extensive fire of the enemy, and the traces he has left behind, show him to have been about from three to four hundred in force.

"The brave Captain Mellon, of the 2d regiment of artillery, a few minutes after the combat commenced, received a ball in his breast, and fell dead at his post. We last night gave to his remains all we could give, our tears and a 'soldier's grave.' Captain Mellon entered the service at the commencement of the last war with England, and has ever since remained in it. He has left no property, and I know he has left a widow and four children to deplore his loss.*

"Passed-Midshipman McLaughlin, serving with the army, ready by my side to convey orders, received a ball in his breast. The surgeon cannot yet pronounce his fate, but has strong hopes of his recovery. This gentleman had charge of the supplies for the detachment, as well as of those for the army expected here. He has performed his duties with great zeal and ability. On every occasion of apparent danger, I have found him on the spot, ready to perform any service of hazard. Let us hope he may yet live to grace the profession he has chosen.

* Their pension will be but twenty-five dollars per month for five years. Now I think too well of my countrymen to believe it is their will that this should be the limit of the nation's gratitude.

"On examining the ground, we found no dead enemies, yet we found several trails, apparently made by the dragging off of the dead bodies. We also found several belts and straps covered with blood, a small pouch of bullets, and some scalping-knives. It is most probable the enemy suffered more than ourselves. It is true that we are without the trophies of victory; but this is no reason that the officers whom I have had the honor to command, and whose gallant bearing I have witnessed, should not receive honorable mention. Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, commanding the four companies of dragoons, displayed during the contest the greatest boldness and vigor, and inspired his newly-enlisted men with great confidence. I have at all times received from him the most energetic support. With the officers of his battalion I have every reason to be well satisfied. My eye was upon every one, and I discovered nothing but firmness and confidence in all. In justice to them their names must be mentioned: Captain Gordon, Captain Bean, First-Lieutenant John Graham, First-Lieutenant Howe, First-Lieutenant Hamilton, First-Lieutenant Blake, Second-Lieutenant McNeil, Second-Lieutenant Thornton, Second-Lieutenant Kingsbury, and Second-Lieutenant May.

"On the fall of Captain Mellon, Captain Vinton, of the 3d artillery, assumed the command of the two companies of artillery. I have long known his great military attainments; on this occasion I witnessed his conduct and courage. First-Lieutenant Davidson took the command of Mellon's company during the engagement. It could not have fallen into better hands. I have already spoken of the service rendered by Second-Lieutenant Thomas, of the 4th artillery. He has always volunteered his services on every dangerous scouting-party. Lieutenant Piercy, of the navy, captain of the friendly Indians, with his Indian force, fought among the regular troops; and he is always foremost in danger. He has at all times volunteered his services for any difficult or hazardous enterprise.

"Assistant-Surgeon Laub dressed the wounded under the fire of the enemy. In fact, I have never seen the sick soldier more promptly or faithfully attended to, than since this detachment left Volusia. Lieutenant Dusenberry, quartermaster to the expedition, had been sent previously to the attack to Volusia, and could not be present at the time. His duties have been very arduous, and he has discharged them with vigor, zeal, and ability. Paddy Carr, the Creek chief, fought well. He has generally headed the scouting-parties, and has performed those laborious and dangerous duties with great promptitude and cheerfulness.

"I cannot end this letter without publicly expressing my thanks to Captains Brooks and Peck, of the steamboats Santee and Essayons. They have unhesitatingly pushed their boats

through difficult channels, and unknown waters, into the heart of the enemy's country. I must be pardoned this prolixity. If I have mentioned all, it is because all deserve mention. Never was officer, charged with a delicate and hazardous enterprise, served with more zeal and promptitude.

"You will herewith receive official lists of the killed and wounded. To the wounded, Passed-Midshipman McLaughlin should be added. The 'John Stoney' is just arrived. Lieutenant Dusenberry hands me a letter from Lieutenant Chambers, aid-de-camp. By this I learn that hostilities are to cease for the present, and that this detachment is directed to fall back upon Volusia.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

A. C. W. FANNING,
Brevet Lt. Col. commanding detachment.

"Report of the killed and wounded, in the affair with the Seminole Indians, at Camp Munroe, Florida, on the morning of the 8th of February, 1837: *Killed*—Captain Charles Mellon, of the 2d regiment of artillery. *Wounded*—fifteen. Passed-Midshipman J. T. McLaughlin, of the navy; one corporal and two privates of E, two privates of G, and one of H companies, 2d dragoons—six; one sergeant and three privates of C company, 2d artillery, and four privates of B company, 3d artillery—eight."

* * * * *

It was reported that the Indians were fleeing south, and were assembled in the vicinity of the Kissimmee river. A column, from which detachments were made, was dispatched in that quarter. The enemy was found on the Hatch-e-luskee creek, near Tohopekeliga, attacked and routed by Colonel Henderson on the 26th January, after a resolute resistance. General Jesup's communication to the adjutant-general of the army, together with the report of Colonel Henderson, shows the fortitude and bravery of officers and men, under every privation and discouragement.

"*Head-Quarters, Army of the South, }*
Fort Armstrong, Feb. 7th, 1837. }

"SIR—I have the honor to report for the information of the secretary of war, and the general-in-chief, that the main body of the army under my command was put in motion on the 22d ult., to attack the Indians and negroes, in the strong-holds which they were said to occupy on the head-waters of the Ocklawaha.

"On the 23d, Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield was attached with his battalion of mounted Alabama volunteers, Captain Harris's company of marines, and Major Morris's Indian warriors, accompanied by my aid, Lieutenant Chambers, to attack Osuchee (Cooper), a chief of some note, who was reported to have a large

Indian force under his command in a swamp on the borders of Ahpopka lake. The chief was surprised, himself and three warriors killed, and nine Indians (women and children) and eight negroes captured. One of our Indian warriors was mortally wounded, and died on the 26th.

"It was ascertained from the prisoners, that the principal Indian and negro force had retired from the Ocklawaha, in a southeasterly direction, towards the head of the Coloosahatchee. Pursuit was immediately commenced, with no other guide than the track of their ponies and cattle.

"The Thlau-hatkee (or White Mountain), an elevated range of hills, not mentioned by any geographer, nor described in any account of Florida which I have seen, was passed on the 24th. The ascent, in many places, was so difficult as to render drag-ropes and heavy details of men necessary, to take the baggage-wagons over the heights.

"On approaching the Thla-pac-hatchee on the morning of the 27th, the herds of cattle feeding on the prairies, and the numerous recent trails in various directions, indicated the presence of the enemy. The army was halted, and scouts sent out on different trails to obtain information. Colonel Henderson, with Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield's battalion, Captain Harris's mounted marines, and Major Morris's Indian warriors, accompanied by my aid, Lieutenant Chambers, was detached to make a reconnaissance of the country in advance, with orders to attack the enemy, if he should find them, and deem his command sufficient, and report by express their force and position.

"The enemy was found on the Hatchee-Lustee, in and near the "Great Cypress Swamp," and promptly and gallantly attacked. Lieutenant Chambers, with Price's company of Alabama volunteers, by a rapid charge, succeeded in capturing the horses and baggage of the enemy, with twenty-five Indians and negroes, principally women and children, the men having mostly fled into the swamp.

"Colonel Henderson, leaving one company with the prisoners and horses, entered the swamp with the remainder of his command, drove the enemy across the Hatchee-Lustee, passed that river under their fire, and drove them into a more dense and difficult swamp, where they dispersed.

"The messenger first sent to report to me was killed; a second was more fortunate. The parties detached on other trails were called in, and Lieutenant-Colonel Freeman, with a small force of pioneers and artillery, being charged with the defence of the camp, the disposable force of Brigadier-General Armistead's brigade, with Major Graham's infantry, and Tustenugge Hajo's Indian warriors, was moved forward to support

Colonel Henderson. When the troops reached the point where the colonel had entered the swamp, it was ascertained that he was in rapid pursuit of the enemy, and was believed to be fully able to manage the force opposed to him.

"The Indian scouts, at this moment, reported a large hostile force about two miles to our right. Major Whiting's battalion was left as a reserve, and the 6th infantry, with Major Graham's company of the 4th, and a small party of Indian warriors, was moved to the point indicated. The swamps and hammocks were entered, and passed by the troops in perfect order; and the advance, under Major Graham, found a large Indian encampment, with fires burning and provisions cooking—the enemy having fled to the surrounding swamps.

"As night was approaching, pursuit was impossible; and the troops returned to camp, where they arrived about nine o'clock. Colonel Henderson arrived after ten.

"On the morning of the 28th a prisoner was sent to Jumper and the other hostile chiefs, with an offer of peace, on a strict fulfilment by them of the treaty; and the army moved forward and occupied a strong position on Tohope-ka-liga Lake, within a few miles of the point at which the Cypress Swamp approaches it, where several hundred head of cattle were obtained.

"The prisoner returned on the night of the 29th, with pacific messages from Alligator and Abraham.

"Abraham visited me on the 31st. He returned and brought in Jumper and Alligator, with two sub-chiefs (one a nephew of Micanopy), on the 3d instant.

"This chief entered into an arrangement to meet me at Fort Dade with the other chiefs of the nation, on the 18th instant; and promised to send out runners, and cause hostilities to be suspended until the conference shall have taken place.

"I shall employ the intermediate time in preparations for the most vigorous prosecution of the war; and, from the information I have from prisoners, I shall probably be able to follow the enemy into their most hidden retreats, should they reject the terms offered to them.

"The army commenced its return march on the morning of the 4th. I left it yesterday about thirty miles back, and came in last evening; it arrived to-day in good health and fine spirits. Colonel Henderson's report, a copy of which is enclosed, will give you more detailed information of the battle of the Hatchee-Lustee than I have been able to embody in this report. I write in the request, that the officers he has named may be rewarded by the distinguished approbation of the government; and I ask, as an act of justice, that the same distinguished approbation be extended to the gallant colonel himself.

"Though but a small part of the force had the good fortune to engage the enemy in battle, all, without a single exception, have performed their duties in the most satisfactory manner.

"They have opened a road nearly seventy miles into the interior of the enemy's country, and to the immediate vicinity of his strongest holds, where the white man had, perhaps, never been seen before; and, by their patient, cheerful, and persevering labors, have contributed as much probably to their discomfiture, as would have been effected by a general and decisive battle.

"To Brigadier-General Armistead, Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield, Major Thompson, Major Whiting, and Major Morris; and to Colonel Henderson, Lieutenant-Colonel Freeman, Major Kirby, and Major Graham, as well as to the officers and soldiers of their respective commands, I am under the greatest obligations, for the prompt and efficient support which they have, on all occasions, given to me during the expedition.

"Lieutenant-Colonels Stanton and Brown, of the adjutant-general's department; Captain Crossman, quartermaster; Lieutenant Searle, principal commissary; Dr. Kearney, medical director; Captain Tompkins, ordnance officer; and my aids, Lieutenants Chambers and Linnard, merit my warmest commendation for the efficiency, ability, and zeal with which they have performed their duties. Every department and every individual has fulfilled my utmost expectations, and nothing necessary to be done has been left undone.

"As an act of justice to all my predecessors in command, I consider it my duty to say, that the difficulties attending military operations in this country can be properly appreciated only by those acquainted with them. I have had advantages which neither of them possessed, in better preparations, and more abundant supplies; and I found it impossible to operate with any kind of success, until I had established a line of depots across the country.

"This is a service which no man would seek with any other view than the mere performance of his duty: distinction, or increase of reputation, is out of the question; and the difficulties are such, that the best concerted plans may result in absolute failure, and the best established reputation be lost without a fault.

"If I have, at any time, said aught in disparagement of the operations of others in Florida, either verbally or in writing, officially or unofficially, knowing the country as I now know it, I consider myself bound, as a man of honor, solemnly to retract it.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

Brigadier-General R. JONES, }
Adjutant-General, *Washington City.* }

TH. S. JESUP,
Major-General commanding."

COLONEL HENDERSON'S REPORT.

" *Head-Quarters, Army of the South,* }
Hatch-ee-lus-kee, Jan. 28th, 1837. }

"GENERAL—Under your directions, I left the main army on the morning of the 27th, with the mounted Alabama volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield, and the company of mounted marines under Captain Harris, and proceeded, accompanied by your aid, Lieutenant Chambers, on a southerly trail. Orders were left for Major Morris, with his command, to follow as rapidly as possible.

"Soon after we left your position, a large number of cattle were collected, and sent in under charge of portions of two companies of the Alabama volunteers. You were present, however, when this detachment was made.

"The troops under my command then pursued the trail for about a mile, when we came to two diverging trails, one taking a southeasterly course, and the other more to the eastward. On these two trails the signs were the most recent; and Lieutenant Chambers, with a few men, proceeded to trace out one of them, while the rest of the troops, joined here by Major Morris's, pursued the other. We had proceeded but a short distance, when a volunteer, sent by Lieutenant Chambers, brought information that fresh signs of women's and children's tracks were discovered, and requested a company to be sent to him. Captain Price's company of volunteers was ordered accordingly.

"About a mile in advance a negro man was captured at a fire. He informed us that a large number of negroes were in advance, and from forty to fifty Indians, with Abraham, were in our rear. He stated that he had left the latter body since sunrise in the morning.

"The determination was promptly made to retrace our steps, and attack the Indians. Just as we were about to march, one of the volunteers came up and gave information that Lieutenant Chambers had overtaken a considerable force of Indians and negroes. An order was given to proceed to his support, and a rapid movement made for that purpose. When we came up with him he was in possession of two Indian women and three children, besides a body of negroes taken by the volunteers in the adjoining pine woods. He had also in his possession over a hundred ponies, with a large quantity of plunder packed on them as well as several stand of arms.

"The main body of the enemy escaped in the swamp, and Major Morris was ordered, with his command, to pursue and bring them in. He entered the swamp in accordance with the order.

"The remaining troops were then ordered to form, and pursue the Indian force in our rear, and were ready to march, when a firing commenced in the swamp.

"Lieutenant Searle reached us here, under your orders, to obtain information of our position and movements. When the firing commenced, and the order given to move in support of Major Morris, he sent a messenger to you, and bravely joined the troops in entering the swamp.

"About half past eleven, the marines, preceded by the officers entered the swamp, and were immediately followed by the Alabama volunteers. Four or five hundred yards after entering the swamp, we arrived at a deep stream, from twenty to twenty-five yards wide, and found Major Morris's battalion engaged with the enemy across it. A tree had been felled from each side and formed the only way of passing it.

"The troops, as they came up, were ordered to extend to the right and left, and by a cross fire to dislodge the enemy. Their fire soon slackened, and an order was given to cross the stream, when Captain Morris (major of the first Indian battalion) gallantly advanced on the log, followed by Lieutenant Chambers, Lieutenant Searle, Captain Harris, Lieutenant Lee (captain of the Indian battalion) swam the stream at this time, and joined the officers on the other side. I attempted to cross in this way, but had to return to the log, and crossed there. At this stream, private Wright, of the marines, was killed, and Sergeant Cunningham, and privates Sullivan and Foley, wounded, but not dangerously.

"Just as I was crossing, an officer was sent from Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield, on our right, for orders. He was directed to cross as rapidly as he could with his men, after the regulars and Indians had crossed over.

"We were then promptly joined by the marines, Morris's artillery, and some friendly Indians, and pursued the enemy as rapidly as the deep swamp and their mode of warfare admitted.

"Another fire was received from them further in advance, and their trail from the swamp was followed through an open pine woods, and traced till it again entered the swamp, three quarters of a mile from the place it came out. We were joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield and his men, who had been delayed in crossing the stream. The swamp was again entered, deeper, and more difficult to pass, than it had been. The friendly Indians were directed to enter on each flank, while the regulars and volunteers advanced in the centre. The regulars were ordered to lead the march.

"After advancing about half a mile, the enemy again fired on us, but retreated on the advance of the troops. At this place,

private Peterson, of the marines, was killed, and Corporal Stevens severely but not dangerously wounded. On a further advance into the swamp, a few more guns were fired by the enemy, who retreated as the troops followed them. Soon after this last fire, a negro man and woman with a child, were taken, and an order was given for a return of the troops after four o'clock. The wife and child of the negro man were kept, and he was sent to the enemy to induce them to come in, as they had lost all their clothing, blankets, and other property.

"The troops then returned to the position occupied by Major Whiting, and remained there till joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield, who had remained in the open woods for one of his companies, which had not come out of the swamp. He joined some time after dark, with another negro prisoner, taken by his company. The troops then took up the line of march, and reached the camp of the main army at ten o'clock at night.

"Captain Howle, acting assistant adjutant-general, was reported by the surgeon too unwell to accompany the troops on this expedition, and was not informed of my intention to take command. He and Captain Crossman, however, entered the swamp with an expectation of taking part in the operations, but were not fortunate enough to join until the attacks were over. Such an effort is sufficient evidence of what their conduct would have been, had they succeeded in reaching us sooner.

"The loss of the enemy in these several attacks could not be ascertained, as the troops made no halt in the pursuit, and returned after dark. One Indian, however, and two negroes, were seen by the troops, dead.

"The result of this day's operations, was the capture of two Indian women and three children, and twenty-three negroes, young and old—over a hundred ponies, with packs on about fifty of them. All their clothes, blankets, and other baggage, were abandoned by the enemy, and either taken or destroyed by us.

"In concluding this report, it gives me pleasure to state, that Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield's command executed every duty assigned it with great promptitude and firmness.

"A portion of the friendly Indians, that came under my eye, also conducted themselves with great bravery.

"The regular troops, both artillery and marines, displayed great bravery, and the most untiring and determined perseverance. The marines, however, I cannot refrain from mentioning in a particular manner. The killed and wounded show where they were, and render any further comment from me unnecessary.

"Lieutenant Whitney, of Captain Harris's company, and Lieutenant Brent, of Captain Morris's, were with their compa-

nies, and shared in the dangers and fatigue of the day, in such a manner as to reflect credit on them.

"I would recommend to the particular notice of yourself and the government, the five officers who first crossed the stream, and who, in the pursuit, constantly led the van. It would be as gratifying to me, as it would be just to them, that some marks of distinction be bestowed where such gallantry has been displayed.

I remain, general, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

Major-General THOS. S. JESUP,
Com. Army of the South.
Head Quarters, *Hatch-e-las-kee, Fla.* }

ARCH. HENDERSON,
Col. Com. 2d Brigade, *Army of the South."*

The wide-extended, and continued movement of the troops, induced the Indians to concert some scheme to avert the result so manifestly before them. To plant their fields was impossible, and without the usual product of corn and vegetables, much inconvenience would be incurred. The season was approaching when crops should be planted, yet the white man still followed and broke up their encampments. Important chiefs and sub-chiefs had surrendered. They earnestly plead that peace might be granted, and the troops drawn in, to enable the friendly disposed to surrender, as large numbers were desirous of following their example. After much delay and various understandings and stipulations among all parties, the Indians assembled in large numbers, under their respective chiefs, at Fort Dade, on the Withlacoochee river, where the following *capitulation* was entered into, and signed by most of the important men of the nation:

Capitulation of the Seminole nation of Indians and their allies, by Jumper, Hala-toochee or Davy, and Yahooloochee, representing the principal chief, Micano-py, and fully empowered by him, entered into with Major-General Thomas S. Jesup, commanding the United States forces in Florida, this sixth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

ARTICLE I. The chiefs above named, in behalf of themselves and the nation, agree that hostilities shall cease immediately, and shall not be resumed.

ARTICLE II. They agree and bind themselves that the entire nation shall immediately emigrate to the country assigned them by the president of the United States, west of the Mississippi.

ARTICLE III. Until they emigrate, they will place in the possession of the general commanding the troops, hostages for the faithful performance of their engagements.

ARTICLE IV. The Indians shall immediately withdraw south of the Hillsborough. Those found north of that river and a line drawn from Fort Foster due east from it to the ocean, without permission of the general commanding, after the 1st of April, will be considered hostile.

ARTICLE V. Major-General Jesup, in behalf of the United States, agrees that the Seminoles and their allies, who come in and emigrate to the west, shall be secure in their lives and property; that their negroes, their bona fide property, shall accompany them to the west; and that their cattle and ponies shall be paid for by the United States at a fair valuation.

ARTICLE VI. That the expenses of the movement west, shall be paid by the United States.

ARTICLE VII. That the chiefs, warriors, and their families and negroes, shall be subsisted from the time they assemble in camp, near Tampa Bay, until they arrive at their homes west of the Mississippi, and twelve months thereafter, at the expense of the United States.

ARTICLE VIII. The chiefs and warriors, with their families, will assemble in the camp to be designated by the commanding general, as soon as they can, and at all events by the 10th of April. Yaholoochee will come in at once with his people, and the other towns will follow as fast as possible.

ARTICLE IX. Transports will be ready to take the Indians and their negroes off to their western homes.

ARTICLE X. Micanopy will be one of the hostages. He is to visit the commanding general, and will remain near him, until his people are ready to move.

ARTICLE XI. All the advantages secured to the Indians by the treaty of Payne's Landing, and not enumerated in the preceding articles, are hereby recognized, and are secured to them.

Signed at Camp Dade, this sixth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

THOMAS S. JESUP,

Major-General Com. Army of the South.

HOLATOOCHEE X OF DAVY.

HOETH-LEE-MA-TEE, X.

JUMPER, X.

YAHOLOOCHEE X OF CLOUD.

JOHN CA-WY-YA, X representing HAL-PATAH-HAJO.

A spot within ten miles of Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, was agreed upon, at which the nation should assemble, preparatory to emigration. By the middle of May large numbers were in camp, under the direction of Micanopy, who had given his adhesion to the terms of *capitulation*. Alligator, Holatoochee, Jumper, and Cloud, and occasionally Coacoochee, came in to Fort Brooke, manifesting the best feelings, and apparently gratified in witnessing the preparations for their departure. Captain John Page, United States Army, was occupied in enrolling the names as they surrendered, and in issuing provisions and clothing. Twenty-six vessels lay in the harbor to transport them to New-Orleans. From week to week the time of embarkation was postponed, upon the application of the chiefs, who gave as a reason, the expected arrival of friends and relatives, whom they wished to accompany them. An express came from Fort Mellon announcing the arrival there of Oseola or Powell, with his family, who expressed his desire for peace, and his approbation of the terms agreed upon in the *capitulation* at Fort Dade. The commanding general believed the war to be at an end. The volunteers and militia were discharged. Colonel Henderson with his detachment of marines was ordered to the north, and that portion of the regular forces remaining, was posted at eligible points for health and comfort. The letter from Mr. Poinsett, secretary of war, to General Jesup, evinces a proper solicitude for the army.

" War Department, May 17th, 1837.

"SIR—From the severe duty which has been imposed on the troops in Florida, and their suffering, under circumstances of peculiar privation, in a climate little congenial to the health of most of them, I feel much concerned in their behalf, with a disposition to afford them every relief consistent with a just regard to the service, as I feel assured that every portion of the army serving in that quarter has done its duty most faithfully, and is deserving of the kindest treatment.

"Instead, therefore, of ordering the regiments of artillery to the Sabine, as directed, you will, as soon as circumstances will permit, allow the 1st, 2d, and 4th regiments to repair to the posts assigned them by general order No. 58, of last year, where, it is hoped, they will find repose, and be able to recruit their strength. The 3d regiment of artillery, which is destined to garrison the posts from Savannah to the Mississippi, you will order to Fort Mitchell, it being a healthy place; or should the whole of the regiment not be required for duty at that place, during the unhealthy season, it may be distributed among the healthy stations assigned it in general order No. 68, to wit: St. Augustine, and Forts Pickens and Morgan.

"In communicating to you this mode of relief to the troops, it is not intended to interfere with any arrangements you may have made, or may think of making, for the security of the country, or the property belonging to the government; but it is intended to convey to you an expression of my satisfaction with the conduct of the troops, and to evince to them, through you, the disposition which the department feels to relieve them as early as possible from the hardships and sufferings which they have so nobly sustained in the prosecution of the war against the Seminoles.

"In sending the troops to their stations, as here indicated, a due regard should be had to their present positions, in order to relieve them as much as possible from marching through an unhealthy country at this season of the year.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Major-General THOMAS S. JESUP, }
Tampa Bay, Florida.

JOEL R. POINSETT."

Large numbers of the citizens of Florida at this period returned to their homes. The surrender of so many chiefs and sub-chiefs, known to be the war-spirits of the nation, induced the most incredulous to believe that the conflict had ended. For a short time prosperity again smiled upon the land, but only to mislead and jeopardize the lives of the frugal and industrious, who again were compelled to flee and abandon all, or be mur-

dered by the same treacherous foe. The 5th of June, General Jesup informed the adjutant-general of the army at Washington, "that the Indians who had surrendered for emigration at Fort Brooke, and were in readiness to embark, had precipitately fled." Various reasons were assigned for this unexpected movement. The true reason was their indisposition to leave the country, and the determination of the younger chiefs that they never should. Coacoochee and Oseola or Powell, came to the camp at midnight, and required Micanopy to follow them, or they would take his life. The old man, timid and irresolute, and finding the step met the approbation of those around him, acquiesced, and under the guidance of these youthful chieftains, the entire camp, numbering some seven hundred souls, were far and safely on their way to Palaklikhaha before the break of day. Now well clothed for the approaching season, their crops far advanced, and the sickness throughout the country precluding the possibility of military movements, they asked nothing more of the whites, and were determined to enjoy their homes, until another emergency should compel them to capitulate. Some were inclined to emigrate, Micanopy at the head; but the majority never designed to fulfil the capitulation made at Fort Dade. The commander of the army, as well as his officers, were discouraged at so unexpected and so infamous an act of treachery. No vigilance, sagacity, or forecast, could close a contest with an enemy utterly regardless of integrity and honor, nor could human wisdom defeat a scheme so ingeniously and covertly designed, and so promptly executed. The public mind became highly excited. The press condemned General Jesup without inquiry or investigation. In the escape of the Indians and the renewal of hostilities, their infidelity was lost sight of, and the embarrassments by which the commander was surrounded were completely disregarded. Those removed from the scene of action, could not understand and appreciate his position, even if disposed to listen. General Jesup desired to be relieved from the command of the army, deeming that however meritorious his conduct might seem in the eyes of the government, an officer could not be faithful to his country and himself, when embarrassed by the prejudices of the citizens around him. His letter to the adjutant-general of the army, of July 25th, 1837, enters more fully into his motives and reasons:

*"Head-Quarters, Army of the South,
Fort Heileman, Garey's Ferry, July 25th, 1837. }*

"GENERAL—I have received your letter of the 11th instant. On the 5th of June, on closing my official report to you, I asked to be relieved from the command of this army. I made this request to disembarass the government, supposing that public

opinion, where all had not been successfully accomplished that had been expected, might demand my recall; and I was unwilling that any consideration personal to myself, should, for a moment, embarrass the service, or interrupt or influence the plans of the government. On the 8th of this month, I received a letter from the general-in-chief, in which, referring to my request to be relieved, he informs me that the secretary of war had decided that, after posting the troops in such stations as to cover the frontiers from hostile attacks, as far as possible, consistently with a due regard to their health, I should be at liberty to resume my duties as quartermaster-general at the seat of government; provided, on the receipt of that letter, I should still desire to be relieved. In the mean time it appeared to me, from the opinions of both military men and citizens, as far as they were made known to me, that I was expected to remain. The press, either mistaking or misrepresenting my motives, had attacked me for asking to be relieved; and I informed the general, in reply, that I would retain the command of the army, unless the government should otherwise determine. That is my intention now, and I shall continue with this army until regularly relieved, or positively ordered to relinquish the command.

"I desire you to lay this letter before the secretary of war and the general-in-chief; and at the same time assure them that, never having solicited command, and having no other object in view than the best interests of the service, I do not wish to be considered in the way of any plans or arrangements which they may believe will best promote those interests.

I have the honor to be, sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Brigadier-General R. JONES, }
Adjutant-General, Washington. }

TH. S. JESUP,
Major-General Com. Army of the South."

Another campaign was now contemplated, upon the return of the healthy season. The forbearance and consideration for the enemy so long entertained, was turned to bitter hostility, and the officers and men were determined to practice their own game upon them. The citizens, harassed, and plundered, and deceived as they had been, from time to time, by their professions of friendship and capitulations, and seeing no end to the conflict, took the field, resolved to put to death every Indian that fell into their hands. The period of service of the friendly Creek Indians having expired on the 1st of September, they were discharged, and proceeded to New-Orleans, where their families had remained the year past, awaiting their return, when they were to proceed to Arkansas. To be relieved from this disagreeable service was gratifying. In battle they had been conspicuous,

and received at all times the concentrated fire of the enemy. Their lives were eagerly sought, and if taken prisoners, they expected a most cruel death.

To open the campaign with effect, volunteers were called for from the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and required to be in the field by the first day of October.

On the 24th of October General Jesup addressed the subjoined order to the army under his command :

ORDERS, }
No. 203. }

*" Head-Quarters, Army of the South, }
St. Augustine, Oct. 24th, 1837. }*

" The major-general commanding, in reviewing the incidents of the past campaign, has the proud satisfaction to be able to say, that the duties of every department and every corps composing his command, have been performed to his entire satisfaction, and in a manner to reflect the highest honor on all concerned.

" When the army took the field in December, the enemy's strongholds were on Orange Lake, Ocklawaha, Withlacoochee, and in Annutteliga hammocks; they are now south of Lake Munroe and Tampa Bay. The frontier from St. Augustine to Suwannee, and from Suwannee to St. Mark's, was then in a state of excitement and alarm; it is now tranquil, and throughout the sickly season, which has just terminated, has been secure; and the communications between our most distant posts have been uninterrupted.

" The permanent results of the campaign are thirty Indians and negroes killed, and upwards of five hundred prisoners taken; by which more than two hundred rifles have been silenced, and competent guides have been obtained for future operations. To gain these important advantages, the troops have endured every hardship and privation; they have been exposed to the drenching rains, the noxious vapors, and the scorching sun of an almost torrid climate; they have waded rivers, made long marches over burning sands, traversed almost impassable swamps, and sought the enemy in fastnesses such as American soldiers had seldom penetrated before, and with a perseverance, and energy, and a courage, worthy the best era of the republic.

" Had the policy of our country been limited to peace, which in all past history has been the object of every war we had waged, it had been radically attained. The valor and persevering energy of the troops forced the enemy to pause in his career of destruction, and agree upon the terms of a treaty. If that treaty has been violated, and it has been found impracticable to carry out the plans of the government in a single campaign, it should be remembered that more than peace has been sought to be obtained;

that we are attempting, for the first time, the solution of the difficult problem of transferring a savage and a warlike people from one wide-spread wilderness to another. In every preceding instance of the emigration of an Indian nation, our population had been pressing upon them, and crowding them out of their position, before any effort had been made by the government to remove them; and the Indians had themselves become sensible of the necessity for removing, long before they had taken up the line of march.

"Though all expected from us by the public may not have been achieved, enough has been done to prove that there is no deterioration in the character and qualities of the American soldier, whether of the volunteer corps or the regular army; and whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the measures of the commander, the pen of history, guided by the hand of justice, will not fail to assign to the officers and troops of his command a high place among the champions of their country's rights and honor.

"Soldiers! much as you have performed, more remains to be done; the enemy awaits you in fastnesses more difficult than any you have yet penetrated. The government has adopted the only policy which can preserve the Indians as a distinct and independent people. That policy must be accomplished, and the Seminoles removed. The same energy, courage, and patriotism, which distinguished you in the past campaign, are confidently relied on by your country and your commander, to accomplish in the next, the object so desirable to all—the emigration of the Indians and the termination of the war.

By order of Major-General Jesup,

J. A. CHAMBERS,

Aid-de-Camp, and Assistant Adjutant-General."

From this period to the 15th day of May, 1837, General Jesup's report of his operations in Florida, made in compliance with a resolution of the senate of the United States, is minute and interesting. It exonerates his conduct, and gives clearly and understandingly a view of his delicate and responsible duties, as well as showing satisfactorily, that both he and those under his command, labored most zealously to overcome the difficulties surrounding them.

"Washington, July 7th, 1838.

"SIR—In conformity with the resolution of the senate, I transmit, herewith, the report of Major-General Jesup, together with a letter from the secretary of war.

President of the Senate.

M. VAN BUREN."

"War Department, July 7th, 1838.

"SIR—In obedience to your directions, I have the honor to transmit, herewith, the report of Major-General Jesup, of his operations while commanding the army in Florida, together with my reply.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

President of the United States.

J. R. POINSETT."

"Department of War, July 7th, 1838.

"SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th instant, containing a summary account of your operations in Florida. The department is aware of the obstacles to your complete success, presented by the face of the country, the nature of the climate, and the character of the enemy, and fully appreciates your untiring efforts to carry out all its views, and to remove the Seminoles to their new homes in the west. You have accomplished all that could be expected, under the peculiar and difficult circumstances in which you were placed, from a zealous, active, and energetic officer; and in withdrawing you from Florida, the department was actuated by no want of confidence in your zeal or ability to carry on the war to a successful issue, but from a belief that you might now return to the performance of the appropriate duties of your department without injury to the public service.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

Major-General THOMAS S. JESUP, }
Washington City.

J. R. POINSETT."

"Washington City, July 6th, 1838.

"SIR—Having been relieved from duty in Florida by the orders of the government, I deem it proper to present a narrative of the principal operations of the army under my command, as well as an explanation of the measures which I considered it my duty to adopt, during the last campaign in that territory; reserving to myself the right to present a more detailed report, as soon as a release from my other duties will afford me the time to prepare it.

"When I presented a project of a plan of campaign on the 15th of June of last year, I neither expected nor desired to retain command of the army. I believed that I had accomplished all that it was possible for me to accomplish with the means placed at my disposal; yet I was aware the public, and particularly the people of Florida, were not satisfied with what had been done. Florida presented no field for military distinction. I had gone thither by the order of the government, at great personal sacrifice, with no object in view beyond the faithful performance of

my duty. I felt that I had performed that duty to the best of my abilities; but I believed the interests of the country required that the commander of the troops should possess entirely the public confidence; as without that confidence no military man can perform his duties efficiently, under a popular government; and I hold, that the moment the public confidence is withdrawn from a general, the executive is bound to remove him; for, no matter what may be his merits, or how transcendent his abilities, his private and personal interests should not be put in competition with the interests of the nation. Such being my sentiments and opinions, I could not for a moment permit the executive to be embarrassed by any considerations personal to myself, and I asked, through the adjutant-general, to be relieved from command.

"Your decision was received through the general-in-chief; discretion was given to me to retain the command or retire from it. Had circumstances remained as when I asked to be relieved, I should have retired at once; but a material change had taken place: the press, either mistaking or misrepresenting my motives, had denounced me, in no very measured terms, for asking to be relieved; and the people of the country, as well as the officers of the army, so far as their opinions were made known to me, seemed to desire that I should retain the command. My feelings and interests alike prompted me to retire, but in the position I then found myself in, I believed I was not at liberty to do so, and I announced my intention to remain.

"Your letter approving my plan of campaign, was received on the 7th of August. Measures were immediately adopted to fulfill the views of the government.

"In consequence of the alarm pervading the country, and the inefficiency of the regular troops, caused by their sickly condition, as well as by the want of officers, I had to give a military organization to the whole population on the frontier. This was a measure attended with considerable expense, but it was the only means in my power of preserving the country from entire devastation. I kept the mounted men constantly scouting, to deter the enemy from approaching the settlements, or annoying the inhabitants; and was taking measures to commence active hostilities so soon as a small regular force should arrive.

"While thus engaged, the commanding officer at Fort King reported the arrival of several Indians in the vicinity of that post; and stated that the chiefs were desirous of communicating with me. I proceeded thither, and held conferences with them on the 19th and 20th of August. They expressed an earnest desire for peace, but declared the majority of the Indians to be averse to leaving the country. They were distinctly informed,

that preparation to emigrate must be preliminary to any discussion in relation to peace ; that I would confer with them on no other subject ; that they must make up their minds to fulfill their treaty, and emigrate ; that when prepared to communicate to me that determination, a deputation would be received from them ; and they were directed to use a white flag to secure them from the attacks of any of our scouting parties that might be out at the time of their approach ; and they were assured, that after having fulfilled their treaty in good faith, by emigrating to the country assigned them west of the Mississippi, the executive would receive a deputation from them, and hear and attend to any thing they might have to say.

“Coe-Hajo, the principal chief present, informed me that many of the Seminole chiefs were in favor of the treaty, and ready to emigrate ; but Appiaccia or Sam Jones, and Powell, who controlled the young men, were opposed to the measure ; and that the former had threatened with death all who favored it. He added, however, that the chiefs of the nation proposed to hold a council on the St. John's in a few days, where their whole policy was to be discussed, and particularly, at his instance, the question of emigration ; but he was certain that Appiaccia would prevent the council, if possible, or at all events oppose the execution of the treaty. He promised to meet me at Fort King in twenty days, and inform me whether the chiefs had met in council, and their determination. In the mean time, he desired that hostilities should cease on both sides. Being then in the midst of the sickly season, I assented to the proposition ; and it was arranged that all the Indians should withdraw south of Fort Mellon, and on no account return north of the post ; that they should neither cross to the eastern side of the St. John's, nor to the western side of the Fort King road ; and that the violation of any of those terms should be considered an act of hostility.

“Coe-Hajo did not return to Fort King at the time appointed ; and I learned afterwards that but few chiefs attended the council, and those who attended, though they made a law to punish any of their people who should commit depredations upon the white inhabitants, decided not to leave the country.

“On the 4th of September, several negroes surrendered at Fort Peyton, near St. Augustine, and communicated important information. Lieutenant Peyton, the commanding officer at the post, made arrangements to proceed with a part of his command against a body of Indians and negroes, which they represented to be forty or fifty miles below. Brigadier-General Hernandez, who commanded the troops and posts east of the St. John's, increased the force, took the direction of the movement, and pro-

ceeded south; the result of his operations was the surprise and capture of two camps of Indians and negroes, among whom were several important chiefs.

"One of these chiefs, Emathla (King Phillip), desired to communicate with his family, to induce them to surrender. General Hernandez permitted one of the prisoners to bear his message. Coacoochee (Little Wild Cat), a son of Phillip, returned with the messenger. Phillip, after conferring with him, proposed to send him out with messages to the chiefs and people, promising that many of them would return with him. General Hernandez informed me, that he was under no obligation to allow him to leave St. Augustine; but, on full consideration of the subject, I deemed it proper to permit him to go with the message of his father. He promised to bring in all the Seminoles of the St. John's; but I authorized no one to be invited to come in for any other purpose than to remain. I promised, however, that all who should come in and surrender, should receive kind treatment. Previous to his departure he examined several sites, in company with General Hernandez, for the purpose of determining on a suitable position for an encampment.

"He went out, and on the 17th of October returned, and reported that about a hundred Indians, and as many negroes, were on their way to St. Augustine. General Hernandez, with a detachment of troops, went to meet them. He met the advance at Pellicier's Creek, and directed them to move forward to Fort Peyton, where it was intended they should encamp.

"On the 20th, John Cavallo, a sub-chief, a hostage who had violated his parole in May of last year, came into St. Augustine with a message from Powell and Coe-Hajo, stating that they had encamped near the fort, and desired to see General Hernandez. Several negroes came in on the same day: from them I learned that the Indians had, but a short time previous, killed a white man; that they did not intend to leave the country; that they were desirous of obtaining powder and clothing; and, as some of the negroes expressed it, they had '*come for no good*;' and that, when they set out for St. Augustine, a party of Miccasukies and Tallahasseees had started from their camp for the Alachua frontier, to steal horses and drive off cattle.

"The Indians, by their chiefs, had surrendered to me by capitulation at Fort Dade, in March, 1837; and, in addition, Powell had, in May of that year, gone in to Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, at Fort Mellon, and had received subsistence to take his band to Tampa Bay. Coe-Hajo had received subsistence for *his* band for the same purpose. The former, in violation of his plighted faith, not only failed to go on himself, but prevented Coe-Hajo, by force and threats, from fulfilling his engagements, which he was at-

tempting faithfully to do. He also attempted to kill Yaholo-Hajo, an unarmed herald or messenger, whom, in a period of peace, I had sent to communicate with Coe-Hajo and Nocose-Yoholo.

"As I had informed the chiefs at Fort King that I would hold no communication with the Seminoles, unless they should determine to emigrate; as I had permitted no Indian to come in for any other purpose but to remain; as they were all prisoners of war, or hostages who had violated their parole; as many of them had violated the truce entered into at Fort King, by occupying the country east of the St. John's; by allowing predatory parties to go to the frontier, and by killing at least one white man; and as the white flag had been allowed for no other purpose than to enable them to communicate and come in without danger of attack from our parties, it became my duty to secure them, on being satisfied of the fact that they intended to return to their fastnesses. I accordingly required General Hernandez to seize them, and take them to St. Augustine; but, notwithstanding their character as prisoners and hostages who had violated their parole, and who according to the laws of war, as recognized by civilized nations, had forfeited their lives, I directed that they should be treated with every kindness, and have every accommodation consistent with their security.

"Soon after the seizure of the Indians, Powell and Coe-Hajo requested an interview with me. I saw them at my quarters, at St. Augustine. They informed me that Micanopy, Jumper, Holatoochee, and the greater part of the Seminoles were ready to execute their treaty, and were only deterred from coming in by the Miccasukies. They advised that messengers be sent to Micanopy and Jumper; and requested to be allowed to send for their own people, who, they said, would come in, on being assured their lives will be spared. I permitted them to send messengers to their families and people, and I sent a messenger to Micanopy.

"The principal Indian force on the 1st of October, as I ascertained about the 10th of that month, was concentrated on the Upper St. John's, though there were several small roving bands north of Fort Mellon and Tampa Bay, and other bands spread over the country south to Florida Point. The theatre of my operations extended over more than five degrees of latitude. To cover a country so vast, forty posts were required to be occupied during the campaign; and I was obliged to operate from a base extending from Charlotte's Harbor, by way of the Suwannee, to St. Augustine, upwards of 300 miles.

"I had desired to commence operations on the 1st of October, because, at that time, the St. John's is navigable a greater distance than at a later period; and I could then have availed

myself of more than two months of the services of the Florida troops, whose term of service expired in December. The regular troops, however, did not begin to arrive until near the last of October, and they continued to come in until December. The principal volunteer force arrived about the 1st of December.

"Colonel Smith, of Louisiana, was ordered to enter the peninsula through the Coloosahatchee. His operations covered the whole country from that river south to Cape Sable. The results were one or two skirmishes, in which he lost a few men, probably killed some of the enemy, and took 243 prisoners.

"General Taylor was directed to proceed from Tampa Bay, open a road in nearly an eastern direction into the heart of the country, establish a post on the head of Pease Creek, another on the Kissimmee, and attack the enemy in that quarter. His operations covered the whole country east of the Fort King road, Tampa Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, from the Withlacoochee to the Coloosahatchee, and east of the Kissimmee to the eastern line of the Okechobee. He came up with the enemy on the Okechobee, on the 25th of December, attacked them, and in one of the best fought actions known to our history, gained a complete victory, though with great loss of officers and men. The enemy have acknowledged a loss of fourteen killed. During the whole of General Taylor's operations, he has taken and secured 484 Indians and negroes.

"Brigadier-General Nelson, with a brigade of Georgia volunteers, was directed to secure the frontier of Middle Florida, and the western part of East Florida. His operations covered the country west of the Fort King road, from the southern point of the Annuttaliga Swamp to the Withlacoochee, and to the head of that river; and south of the Tallahassee road to Stein-Hatchee; the whole distance on the coast being a continued swamp, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the interior, from ten to thirty miles, and along the Gulf a hundred and fifty miles (further than from this city to Philadelphia). He had several skirmishes with the enemy, and the result of his operations, so far as they have been reported to me, is six Indians killed, and fourteen prisoners.

"Colonel Snodgrass, with a battalion of Alabama volunteers, was ordered to scour the swamps and hammocks between Black Creek and the Ocklawaha, and drive out, capture, or destroy, any Indians in that section of country, and then to operate between the St. John's and the Ocklawaha. He performed the duty assigned to him north of the latter river; then crossed to the east of the St. John's at Picolata; passed around Dunn's Lake; and, recrossing at Volusia, took a position at the Four Lakes, about twenty miles west of that post. His operations covered the

country between the St. John's and the Ocklawaha, and west of the latter to Fort King, and around Orange Lake, and through the swamps about Orange Lake Creek. He destroyed several Indian villages, and though often on the trails of small bodies of Indians, he succeeded in taking but one prisoner.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Coffee, of the Alabama volunteers, was ordered to proceed by land from Garey's Ferry to Fort Mellon, with four companies. He marched to Fort King; then proceeded to the Okeehumka Hammock, crossed the Ocklawaha immediately below the outlet of Ahapopka Lake, and thence to Fort Mellon, by moving along the eastern side of that lake. He was afterwards sent on an expedition from Fort Christian to Tohopkeliga.

"Major Lauderdale, with the Tennessee volunteers, crossed the St. John's at Picolata, traversed the country between that river and the Atlantic to Volusia, and thence to Lake Munroe.

"General Hernandez commenced operations east of the St. John's in September. After securing Powell and Coe-Hajo, and their bands, he was ordered south to Spring Garden, where he made several prisoners. He was again ordered forward to New-Smyrna, when the general movement of the army took place; his mounted men by land, and foot by water, on the Atlantic. He caused posts to be established at New-Smyrna, and at the haul-over, from Mosquito Lagoon to Indian River; and made arrangements to receive supplies west of Indian River, turned the head of it, and then traversed the country to Lake Munroe, where he communicated with me at Fort Mellon. Here the Tennesseans joined him, and he proceeded forward to the head of the St. John's. Lieutenant-Colonel Pierce, with several companies of his regiment (the 1st artillery), moved in barges down Indian River to the inlet, where he established a post, built Fort Pierce, and employed his command in bringing supplies from the haul-over to the fort, and thence to Fort Jupiter. The result of General Hernandez's operations was two Indians killed, and two hundred and ninety-seven Indians and negroes taken.

"Lieutenant Powell, of the navy, with a small naval and military force, proceeded south from Fort Pierce, to examine the south lagoon of that river as far as Jupiter Inlet. He landed at the head of one of the branches of Jupiter River; fell in with and attacked a body of Indians, and, after a most gallant effort, was overpowered by numbers, and compelled to retreat with the loss of several officers and men killed and wounded. He killed three Indians and a negro, and made one prisoner.

"General Eustis, having organized the regular troops, by assigning the recruits to companies, and having caused Volusia and Fort Mellon to be occupied, and proper garrisons of mounted men and foot to be placed at the several posts on the frontier to

Fort King, proceeded from Garey's Ferry, on the 17th of November, to Fort Mellon. Colonel Twiggs had been previously detached to Volusia, with instructions to examine the country between the St. John's and the Ocklawaha; and Colonel Mills had been detached from the Suwannee frontier, *via* Fort King, to the same point, with orders to scour the country on his route. I accompanied General Eustis's command to Volusia, and there, joining the mounted force under Colonel Twiggs and Colonel Mills, proceeded to Fort Mellon by land, where I arrived on the 26th of November. Late in that month, the chief Coa-coochee, with seventeen of his band, escaped from St. Augustine. At Fort Mellon I found the messenger sent out by Powell and Coe-Hajo, and the messenger I had sent to Micanopy. That chief sent me word that he was ready to fulfill the arrangement made at Fort Dade, and he had no doubt of inducing the chiefs and the greater part of his people to surrender.

"Previously to my departure from Picolata, a deputation of Cherokee chiefs arrived from their principal chief, John Ross, to the Seminoles. That talk contained, as I thought, propositions at variance with my instructions. It held out to the Seminoles the promise of a treaty; but I was required to enforce the provisions of an *existing treaty*, not to make a *new treaty*. The deputation were told, that unless the talk were modified they would not be allowed to present it. They were permitted to go to Fort Mellon, where, having consented to change the more objectionable parts of the talk, they were allowed to proceed on their mission. Coe-Hajo, who was desirous of collecting and emigrating his people, was sent out as a guide to the Cherokees, and as my messenger to the Seminole chiefs. I authorized no assurances to be given to the Indians that they were to come to my camp and be permitted to return. I promised them protection and kind treatment. If the Cherokees promised more, it was on their own responsibility, and without my authority. Coe-Hajo returned with many of his people, accompanied by the Cherokees, and by the chiefs Micanopy, Cloud, Toskegee, and Nocose Yoholo, with fifteen or twenty of their followers. Micanopy reported that he had come to remain with me, and assured me that his people would come in and emigrate.

"A council was held, the chiefs agreed to fulfill their treaty; they designated messengers to be sent out to collect their people, and bring them to camp. Some of the Cherokees accompanied those messengers; they returned with favorable reports; went out again, returned, and reported the failure of their mission. During the last visit of the Cherokees, most of the attendants of Micanopy and Cloud left them. Micanopy reported their flight

to me, and desired that they might be pursued; and Coe-Hajo, fearing that some of his people might follow their example, requested that they might be brought into camp. The Cherokees returned to Washington. I lost fifteen most important days by their negotiation—a delay, the consequences of which no subsequent effort could retrieve; for, in the mean time, the Seminoles had dispersed, and the water in the St. John's had fallen so low as to compel me to use the boats propelled by oars and poles, to transport supplies to the depots which I found it necessary to establish further south on that river.

"The Seminole chiefs, with Coe-Hajo and his people, in all seventy-two, were ordered to St. Augustine, and thence, those taken with Powell, to Charleston.

"Major Dearborn was sent forward, with a detachment and supplies, in barges, to establish a depot at the head of Lake Harney; and General Eustis moved, with the principal force, by land. The country was so difficult that his march was necessarily slow. He erected Fort Christmas at Powell's Town on the 25th of December, and arrived on the 16th of January at Fort Taylor, a post about a hundred miles south of Fort Mellon, established by Colonel Twiggs, who had been sent in advance.

"Lieutenant Searle had been sent up the St. John's, to explore it; and Colonel Harney had followed, with several barges loaded with forage. They ascertained the practicability of navigating the river to Fort Taylor.

"On the 6th of January, leaving General Eustis to follow with the foot and a squadron of dragoons, I moved forward from Fort Taylor, with about five hundred mounted men, dragoons and volunteers, for the purpose of communicating with General Taylor. Previous to my departure, Lieutenant Ross had arrived, with abundant supplies, in barges. On the 7th I crossed the Big Cypress Swamp, and discovering fresh trails of Indians, sent out several scouting parties. One of them fell in with a small body of Indians, of whom they killed one warrior, and captured another, whom we employed as a guide. On the 9th I arrived at the head of the St. John's, where General Hernandez joined me, from the eastern side of the river.

"On the 10th I proceeded forward, for the purpose of finding General Taylor's route. On the 11th the guide informed me that he had mistaken the trail and brought me too far to the east. As it was important, not only to communicate with General Taylor, but to be certain of supplies at Fort Pierce, I directed the troops to fall back to the camp, near the head of the St. John's, whence they were moved to Fort Pierce. Having obtained a supply of forage, and directed that a depot be established

on the St. Lucey River, I returned to camp, where I found General Eustis. He had opened a communication with Fort Basinger, on the Kissimee.

"On the 20th the army moved from the head of the St. John's, and on the 24th came up with the enemy, strongly posted on the Locha-Hatchee, attacked, beat, and dispersed them; crossed the river on the 25th, and encamped on Jupiter Bay. A stockade (Fort Jupiter) was erected here. The column was delayed at this post for shoes and other supplies, until the 5th of February; but in the mean time the mounted troops were kept actively employed. Every thing necessary being received, it was put in motion on that day, and encamped about twelve miles in advance. In the evening General Eustis called on me, and urged me to terminate the war by an arrangement with the Indians, by which they should be left in the southern part of Florida; he believing, as I did, that from the nature of the country in which we were operating, no permanent advantage could be obtained except by peaceable means. The general expressed the most decided opinion that the department would approve the measure. I promised to consider it. On the 6th the column moved forward, and in the afternoon the officers in advance reported three or four fresh moccasin tracks, and stated that the trail had taken nearly a westerly direction. I ordered the troops to encamp, and sent a detachment of dragoons, with several Shawnee Indians, forward, accompanied by my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Linnard, to reconnoitre the country. The detachment returned and reported 'fresh signs of a small party of Indians.' While it was out, Colonel Twiggs, with other superior officers of the army, called on me, and urged, as General Eustis had, that I should terminate the war by allowing the Indians to retain part of the country; they believing that no decided advantage could be gained over them unless they could be withdrawn from the swamps. Understanding from those gentlemen that most, if not all, the officers of the army entertained similar views, I, on full consideration, decided to send a messenger to the Indians, and offer them peace; but I determined on no account to grant them the privilege of remaining in the country, unless the measure should be sanctioned by the general government.

"Early on the morning of the 7th, a Seminole negro was sent out to endeavor to come up with the Indians, and invite the chiefs to a conference. The column was put in motion about 8 o'clock, and had proceeded several miles, when the trail appeared to terminate. Parties were sent forward in various directions; the trail was found, and when the troops were about to advance, General Eustis reported to me that several Indians were waiting for me with a flag, in advance of a cypress swamp

in advance of the army. I met them: a young chief, Halleck-Hajo, conducted the conference on their part. He spoke of the wretched condition of the Indians, and of their ardent desire for peace; but declared the greater part of them wished to remain in the country; that they would thankfully receive from us any part of it, however small, that we might think proper to assign for their residence. He added, that if I required them to leave the country, they must go. I demanded hostages, or the surrender of their arms. He would not consent to either, from the impossibility, as I afterwards learned, of enforcing obedience to such a measure. I required that Toskeegee, the principal chief of the party, should attend. He met me next day, with Halleck-Hajo; and after some discussion it was arranged, that the Indians should assemble within ten days, in a camp near Fort Jupiter, with their families, and await the decision of the president whether they should remain in the country. I promised to recommend that a small district should be assigned for their residence in the south part of the peninsula; and they agreed, if the Miccasukeis should not come in, to furnish guides to conduct the troops to their fastnesses. Though the arrangement for allowing the Indians to remain in the country was urged upon me by General Eustis, Colonel Twiggs, and other superior officers, I adopted it on my own responsibility. I mention the fact now, not to remove any part of the blame which may be attached to the measure from myself to them; but to show, that their opinions of the course best adapted to subserve the interests of the country, coincided with mine. I believed then, and I believe now, that, as the commander-in-chief of the army in the field, I had the right to adopt those measures, either of direct hostility or of policy, which promised to be most successful in the end; taking care not to place the ultimate decision of them beyond the control of my official superiors. The measure I adopted, has resulted in the peaceable surrender of between eleven and twelve hundred Indians and negroes; three hundred and nineteen of whom are warriors, or men capable of bearing arms. Had any other course been adopted, it is questionable whether twenty warriors could have been killed or taken.

“Having been apprised, by prisoners taken in the preceding campaign, of an arrangement entered into previous to the war, through the Seminole negroes, between the Indians and their slaves, that so soon as hostilities should commence, the latter were to join them and take up arms, I informed the Indians that all their negroes must be separated from them, and sent out of the country. On the 27th of February, I sent off a party of Indians and negroes to Tampa Bay, on their way to the west.

“Before I received your decision on my proposition in favor

of the Indians, the second chief of the nation, Hala-too-chee, had joined me from New-Orleans. Through his influence I had gained the chiefs who had come in, and I apprehended no difficulty as to emigrating their people. Toskeegee assured me that he would go to the west, even should the government give him land in Florida; and Halleck-Hajo declared that he was ready to obey the orders of the president, and at all events he would not separate from his negroes.

"Your decision in relation to the Indians, was received on the 17th of March. On the 19th, I directed the Seminole chiefs to meet me in council at 12 o'clock on the 20th. Toskeegee sent me word that he did not wish to attend; that he and his people would go with Halatoochee; and that I must manage Passac-Micco, and his party. None of the chiefs attended the council, and I directed Colonel Twiggs to seize the whole party. Five hundred and thirteen Indians were secured on the 21st and the two succeeding days; which with a hundred and sixty-five negroes, that at different times were taken and sent to Tampa Bay, made an aggregate taken at Jupiter, of six hundred and seventy-eight. Passac-Micco, with fourteen others, escaped.

"On the 24th of March, I detached Halatoochee, Tustenuck-cocha-conee, and the negro chief Abraham, to General Taylor. They were sent out with messages to the Seminoles west of the Okechobee and Pahai-okee; and prevailed upon Alligator, with three hundred and sixty Indians and negroes, of whom a hundred were warriors, to surrender to Colonel Smith and General Taylor.

"Major Lauderdale had been detached with a company of the 3d artillery, and two hundred Tennessee volunteers, to explore the country south, and to establish a post at New River. Previous to his arrival there, two of our people had been killed by some of Toskeegee's warriors. We were then in the midst of a truce; the Indians were afterwards captured, and the property of the murdered men found on them.

"Hearing from Indians who had come in, that Appiaccia was in the Everglades, near New River, I ordered General Eustis to proceed to that point with additional force, but, in consequence of depredations committed by the Indians in Middle Florida, his destination was changed, and he was sent to the north frontier of the territory; and Lieutenant-Colonel Bankhead, with a strong detachment of the 1st and 4th artillery, was ordered to New River.

"On arriving at New River, Lieutenant-Colonel Bankhead, by means of messengers furnished by Toskeegee, communicated with the Indians. They promised to meet him, but failed to do so, and he prepared to attack them. He was joined by Lieu-

tenant Powell, of the navy, and Major Lauderdale, with their commands; and having captured, by a detachment under Lieutenant Anderson, Pahose-Micco, a sub-chief of Toskegee, with his band of forty-seven persons, he proceeded into the Everglades in pursuit of Appiacca. The nature of the country was such, that the soldiers could not even carry their cartridge-boxes. They were compelled to deposit them, with their muskets, in light boats, which they pushed before them through the mud for many miles to an island, where they found the Indians. Lieutenant-Colonel Bankhead attempted to communicate with them, but they fired upon his flag. He attacked and dispersed them; but the troops were unable to find, or follow them.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Harney relieved Lieutenant-Colonel Bankhead in command. He pursued the Indians, came up with Appiacca (Sam Jones) fifteen or twenty miles southwest of Key Biscayne, attacked and beat him; and he was making arrangements for a further pursuit, when he was recalled.

"I crossed from Fort Jupiter to Tampa Bay in April, to attack the Miccasukies and Tallahasseees in the swamps to which they had retired, near the mouth of the Withlacoochee; and was drawing troops to that quarter, and had Indian guides employed who were acquainted with the positions they occupied, when I received general order No. 7, directing the movement of troops to the Cherokee country, and relieving me from command. I was compelled reluctantly to abandon the enterprise.

"The chiefs, Coe-Hajo, Toskegee, Halle-Hajo, Tustenuck-cocho-conee, and many others, have declared that the Cherokee deputation assured them in council, that the Indians were to remain in the country; and that I was carrying on the war contrary to the orders of the president. This accords with the information received through the negro chief Abraham, in December, and the negro Auguste, in February.

"Fifty-four Indians and negroes surrendered at Fort Mellon in November; sixty-five had been taken in small bands at different times during the campaign; several Indians had been reported to have been killed by small scouting-parties in Middle Florida, and the western part of East Florida; and messengers whom I had sent out to the Ocklawaha had brought into Fort King, before I left the country, twenty-four Indians.

"The number of Indians and negroes altogether, who surrendered or were taken by the army, from the 4th of September, 1837, until I left Florida, amounted to nineteen hundred and seventy-eight—twenty-three of whom escaped—leaving nineteen hundred and fifty-five actually secured; and I estimated the killed at thirty-five—though I am confident, from the admission of the chiefs, that, with those who died of their wounds, the number

killed was much greater. Of this number killed and taken, the warriors, or those capable of bearing arms, exceeded six hundred.

"From the time I commenced operations in December, 1836, to the 4th of September, 1837, the number of Indians and negroes taken and killed by the different detachments of the army, were equal to about four hundred; over a hundred of whom were warriors, or men capable of bearing arms.

"It will thus be seen, that during the whole period of my command in Florida, the Indians and negroes taken, with those who voluntarily surrendered, amounted to near twenty-four hundred, over seven hundred of whom were warriors.

"The villages of the Indians have all been destroyed, and their cattle, horses, and other stock, with nearly all their property, taken or destroyed.

"The swamps and hammocks have been every where penetrated, and the whole country traversed, from the Georgia line to the southern extremity of Florida; and the small bands who remain dispersed over that extensive region, have nothing of value left but their rifles.

"These results, trifling as they are compared with those of the Creek campaign, and with public expectation, are greatly beyond what we had any right to hope, when we consider the nature and extent of the country which has been the theatre of operations, and our utter ignorance of the greater part of it, even when we commenced the last campaign. Nothing but the untiring devotion of both officers and soldiers to their duties, and the energy and efficiency of the different branches of the staff, could have enabled me to overcome the difficulties which surrounded me, so far as to accomplish what has been done.

"If our operations have fallen short of public expectation, it should be remembered that we were attempting that which no other armies of our country had ever before been required to do. I, and my predecessors in command, were not only required to fight, beat, and drive the enemy before us, but to go into an unexplored wilderness and catch them. Neither Wayne, Harrison, nor Jackson, was required to do this; and unless the objects to be accomplished be the same, there can be no just comparison as to the results.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Hon. J. R. POINSETT, Secretary of War, }
Washington. }

THOMAS S. JESUP."

In connection with General Jesup's conflict with the enemy, on the 24th of January, 1838, at Jupiter River, of which his official report is given, there arose in his mind a suggestion, to put

an end to the conflict, and with this in view he held intercourse with the Indians, and at the same time made the above suggestions to the government.

“ *Head-Quarters, Army of the South, Camp* }
on Jupiter River, Jan. 26th, 1838. }

“SIR—This division of the army, which I have accompanied, took up the line of march from Fort Lloyd, at the head of the St. John’s, on the 20th instant, and arrived at the Indian crossing-place on the Locha-Hatchee on the 24th, between eleven and twelve o’clock, A. M. The enemy was found there in an almost impregnable position, attacked and dispersed, and the army encamped on the battle-ground.

“The Indian force has been variously estimated at from one to three hundred warriors. I am of opinion that not more than one hundred were engaged; but the strength of their position was such that they ought to have held it much longer than they did. The regular troops, both officers and soldiers, behaved as they always do, in the best manner. Some confusion occurred among the Tennessee volunteers, in consequence of which they suffered severely; but order was readily restored. Many of them behaved with the greatest bravery, and all of them as well as raw troops usually behave in their first encounter with an enemy. The North Alabama volunteers were on the right, and ready for action; but the enemy being before the left and centre, they were not engaged.

“Yesterday was occupied in throwing a bridge across the Locha-Hatchee, passing the army over, and marching to this place, distant four miles, where I shall be compelled to await supplies from Fort Pierce.

“Late last night I ascertained, by the scouts sent out in the morning, that the enemy had retreated south. Pursuit will be renewed so soon as I shall obtain four or five days’ subsistence.

“My wound, though severe, shall not prevent me moving with the army.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

Brigadier-General R. JONES, }
 Adjutant-General, *Washington City.* }

TH. S. JESUP,
Major-General Commanding.

“Return of the killed and wounded: Major-General Jesup, severe flesh-wound in the face. *Killed*—3d regiment of artillery, two; Tennessee volunteers, five—seven. *Wounded*—3d regiment of artillery, six; 2d regiment of dragoons, one; Tennessee volunteers, twenty-three*—thirty.”

* Eight dangerously (two since dead) and fifteen slightly.

General Jesup's letter to the secretary of war and his answer, are important records in the history of the general government, as well as being connected with the prosecution of the war. The general, with a candid spirit of wisdom and philanthropy, pleads the cause of his foe, and urges upon the government with cogent reasons, the adoption of measures, the result of experience, which, had they been listened to, would have saved the nation millions of dollars, as well as the lives of valuable citizens and officers. Mr. Poinsett, the secretary of war, persists, in answer, to the same mistaken policy which commenced the contest. The stipulations of the treaty of Payne's Landing had to be fulfilled. No questions of expediency were permitted to arise, no politic course could be adopted, whereby the end in proper time could be attained; but the same demand was made which caused the rupture; and two years had elapsed in the prosecution, draining the national treasury, and sacrificing the lives of her citizens, without the fulfillment of one single stipulation.

*"Head-Quarters, Army of the South, }
Fort Jupiter, Feb. 11th, 1838. }*

"SIR—I reported to the adjutant-general, on the 9th instant, the operations of this division of the army south of this post, to that date, and the arrangements I had entered into with the chiefs Tuskegee and Hallek-Hajo. The arrangement is, that they are to come in, with their families and people, and are to await the decision of the president, whether they shall remain in the country or not. I promised to recommend that they be permitted to remain, and that a portion of this territory be assigned to them as their residence. . . . Before presenting my views on that subject, and redeeming my pledge to the Indians, it might be proper for me to state my own position in regard to the question of emigration, so that in what I shall say in relation to the Seminoles, my views in regard to the general principle may not be mistaken. Believing, as I do, that the Indians cannot, under our constitution, have a separate political existence within an independent state of this Union, without the consent of the state, I believe it is due to the states in which they are congregated in large bodies, to remove them whenever they are pressed upon by the white population, and their lands become necessary to the agricultural wants of the community. And I hold that congress, and not the Indians, are to determine the proper time for their removal. We, in our federal capacity, owe the Indians protection; not that protection secured to our own citizens by the equal operation of our laws, for that, in their condition, would be merely nominal protection; but we owe them, in their individual and collective capacity, that protection which the parent owes to

the child, or the guardian to the ward; and to secure them that protection, we must place them beyond the operation of state laws. With the fullest conviction, therefore, not only of the policy, but of the justice and humanity of the measure, I am in favor of their entire emigration; and I have supported that policy under four successive administrations. But I believe we should not apply the principle until the white population are in contact with, or intermingled among them. The state of things at which I consider their removal imperative, actually existed when the tribes inhabiting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, and South Alabama, were sent to the west: that state of things actually exists in relation to the Cherokees in Tennessee, North Alabama, and Georgia; and, regardless of the opposition made to the measure, they should be at once removed.

"In regard to the Seminoles, we have committed the error of attempting to remove them when their lands were not required for agricultural purposes; when they were not in the way of the white inhabitants; and when the greater portion of their country was an unexplored wilderness, of the interior of which we were as ignorant as of the interior of China. We exhibit, in our present contest, the first instance, perhaps, since the commencement of authentic history, of a nation employing an army to explore a country, (for we can do little more than explore it,) or attempting to remove a band of savages from one unexplored wilderness to another.

"As a soldier it is my duty, I am aware, not to comment upon the policy of the government, but to carry it out in accordance with my instructions. I have endeavored faithfully to do so; but the prospect of terminating the war, in any reasonable time, is any thing but flattering. My decided opinion is, that unless *immediate* emigration be abandoned, the war will continue for years to come, and at constantly accumulating expense. Is it not then well worthy the serious consideration of an enlightened government, whether, even if the wilderness we are traversing could be inhabited by the white man, (which is not the fact,) the object we are contending for would be worth the cost? I certainly do not think it would; indeed, I do not consider the country south of Chickasa-Hatchee worth the medicines we shall expend in driving the Indians from it.

"If I were permitted—and it is with great diffidence that I venture to make the suggestion—I would allow them to remain, and would assign them the country west of the Kissimmee, Okeechobee, and Panai-Okee, and east of Pease Creek, south, to the extreme of Florida. That would satisfy them; and they might hold it on the express condition that they should forfeit their right to it, if they should either commit depredations upon the white

inhabitants, or pass the boundaries assigned to them without the written permission of the military commander or agent.

"By placing an agency, and authorizing trading-houses on Charlotte's Harbor, they could be soon concentrated; and stationing a competent military force there and at Tampa Bay, they might be readily controlled, and, if necessary, removed from the country, should they become troublesome, or fail to fulfill their engagements. I respectfully recommend the measure to your consideration, and that of the president, as the only means of terminating, immediately, a most disastrous war, and leaving the troops disposable for other service. I desire a decision as soon as your convenience will permit, as, by the middle of April, at farthest, the troops must be withdrawn from the posts in the interior, to preserve their lives.

"Should it be determined to remove the Indians by force, and continue the war until they submit unconditionally, I desire that the communication be confidential, and that the matter be considered confidential at Washington, in order that I may have information of it before it can be communicated by letter-writers to others; for there can be but little doubt of their flying to the swamps again, and renewing the war, should the decision be to remove them.

"If it be determined that the Indians now in Florida remain, it would be better that those who are at New-Orleans and Charleston, with the exception of one or two of the chiefs, be sent to the west; their force would thus be divided and weakened, and many of the relations of those sent west might soon be induced to follow.

"This communication will be delivered to you by my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Linnard, a highly valuable officer, whom I earnestly recommend to your favorable consideration and attention.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Honorable J. R. POINSETT, }
Secretary of War, *Washington City.* }

TH. S. JESUP,
Major-General commanding."

" Department of War, March 1st, 1838.

"SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 11th of February, which was delivered to me by your aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Linnard. The subject is one of deep interest, and I have given to it the most diligent and respectful consideration.

"In the present stage of our relations with the Indians residing within the states and territories east of the Mississippi, including the Seminoles, it is useless to recur to the principles and motives

which induced the government to determine their removal to the west. The acts of the executive and the laws of congress evince a determination to carry out the measure, and it is to be regarded as the settled policy of the country. In pursuance of this policy, the treaty of Payne's Landing was made with the Seminoles, and the character of the officer employed on the part of the government is a guarantee of the perfectly fair manner in which that negotiation was conducted and concluded. Whether the government ought not to have waited until the Seminoles were pressed upon by the white population, and their lands became necessary to the agricultural wants of the community, is not a question for the executive now to consider. The treaty has been ratified, and is the law of the land; and the constitutional duty of the president requires that he should cause it to be executed. I cannot, therefore, authorize any arrangement with the Seminoles, by which they will be permitted to remain, or assign them any portion of the Territory of Florida as their future residence.

"The department indulged the hope that, with the extensive means placed at your disposal, the war, by a vigorous effort, might be brought to a close this campaign. If, however, you are of opinion, that, from the nature of the country, and the character of the enemy, such a result is impracticable, and that it is advisable to make a temporary arrangement with the Seminoles, by which the safety of the settlements and the posts will be secured throughout the summer, you are at liberty to do so. In that event, you will establish posts at Tampa, and on the Eastern Shore, and wherever else they are, in your opinion, necessary to preserve the peace of the country; and I would suggest the propriety of leaving Colonel Zachary Taylor, of the 1st infantry, in command of them. In moving north with your forces, you may make similar arrangements with the other bands. I deem it, however, of great importance that every exertion should be made to chastise the maulauding Indians who have committed depredations upon the inhabitants of Middle Florida. I beg you will address yourself to Colonel James Gadsden for information on this subject; and you may, if you think proper, yield to his suggestion of leaving a battalion for the protection of the people of that neighborhood. It is hoped, however, that you will be able to put it out of the power of these Indians to do any further mischief. They ought to be captured, or destroyed. As soon as, in your opinion, it can be done with safety, you will reduce your force of mounted men from Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

Major-General THOMAS S. JESUP,
Com. Army of the South, *Fort Jupiter, Fla.* }

J. R. POINSETT."

The battle of Okechobee was fought during the command of General Jesup in Florida.

Colonel Z. Taylor's report (afterwards Brevet Brigadier-General) is here given.

*"Head-Quarters, 1st Brigade, Army South of the }
Withlacoochee, Fort Gardiner, Jan. 4th, 1838. }*

"SIR—On the 18th ultimo, I received at this place a communication from Major-General Jesup, informing me that all hopes of bringing the war to a close by negotiation through the interference or mediation of the Cherokee delegation, were at an end—Sam Jones with the Mickasukies, having determined to fight it out to the last; and directing me to proceed with the least possible delay against any portion of the enemy I might hear of within striking distance, and to destroy or capture him.

"After leaving two officers and an adequate force for the protection of my depot, I marched the next morning with twelve days' rations (my means of transportation not enabling me to carry more), with the balance of my command, consisting of Captain Munroe's company of the 4th artillery, total 35 men; the 1st infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Davenport, 197 strong; the 4th infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, 274; the 6th infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, 221; the Missouri volunteers, 180; Morgan's spies, 47; pioneers, 30; pontoneers, 13, and 70 Delaware Indians; making a force, exclusive of officers, of 1032 men: the greater part of the Shawnees having been detached, and the balance refusing to accompany me, under pretext that a number of them were sick, and the remainder were without moccasins.

"I moved down the west side of Kissimmee, in a southeasterly course, towards Lake Istopoga, for the following reasons: First, because I knew that a portion of the hostiles were to be found in that direction; second, if General Jesup should fall in with the Mickasukies and drive them, they might attempt to delude him by crossing the Kissimmee from the east to the west side of the peninsula, between this and its entrance into the Okeechobee, in which case I might be near at hand to intercept them; third, to overawe and induce such of the enemy who had been making propositions to give themselves up, and who appeared very slow, if not to hesitate, in complying with their promises on that head, to surrender at once; and lastly, I deemed it advisable to erect block-houses, and a small picket-work on the Kissimmee, for a third depot, some forty or fifty miles below this, and obtain a knowledge of the intervening country, as I had no guide who could be relied on, and by this means open a communication

with Colonel Smith, who was operating upon the Calooschatchee, or Sanybel river, under my orders.

"Late in the evening of the first day's march, I met the Indian chief, Jumper, with his family, and a part of his band, consisting of fifteen men; a part of them with families, and a few negroes—in all sixty-three souls—on his way to give himself up, in conformity to a previous arrangement I had entered into with him. They were conducted by Captain Parks, and a few Shawnees. He (Parks) is an active and intelligent half-breed, who is at the head of the friendly Indians, both Shawnees and Delawares, and who I had employed to arrange and bring in Jumper, and as many of his people as he could prevail on to come in. We encamped that night near the same spot; and the next morning, having ordered Captain Parks to join me, and take command of the Delawares, and having despatched Jumper in charge of some Shawnees to this place, and so on to Fort Fraser, I continued my march, after having sent forward three friendly Indians (Seminoles) to gain intelligence as to the position of the enemy.

"About noon on the same day, I sent forward one battalion of Gentry's regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Price, to pick up any stragglers that might fall in his way; to encamp two or three miles in advance of the main force; to act with great circumspection; and to communicate promptly any occurrence that might take place in his vicinity important for me to know. About 10 P. M. I received a note from the colonel, stating that the three Seminoles sent forward in the morning had returned; that they had been at or where Alligator had encamped, twelve or fifteen miles in his advance; that he (Alligator) had left there with a part of his family four days before, under the pretext of separating his relations, &c., from the Mickasukies, preparatory to his surrendering with them; that there were several families remaining at the camp referred to, who wished to give themselves up, and would remain there until we took possession of them; unless they were forcibly carried off that might by the Mickasukies, who were encamped at no great distance from them.

"In consequence of this intelligence, after directing Lieutenant-Colonel Davenport to follow me early in the morning with the infantry, a little after midnight I put myself at the head of the residue of the mounted men, joined Lieutenant-Colonel Price, proceeded on, crossing Istopoga Outlet, and soon after daylight took possession of the encampment referred to, where I found the inmates, who had not been disturbed. They consisted of an old man and two young ones, and several women and children,

amounting in all to twenty-two individuals. The old man informed me that Alligator was very anxious to separate his people from the Mickasukies, who were encamped on the opposite side of the Kissimmee, distant about twenty miles, where they would fight us. I sent him to Alligator, to say to him, if he was sincere in his professions, to meet me the next day at Kissimmee, where the trail I was marching on crossed, and where I should halt.

"As soon as the infantry came, I moved on to the place designated, which I reached late that evening, and where I encamped. About eleven P. M. the old Indian returned, bringing a very equivocal message from Alligator, who, he stated, he had met accidentally. Also, that the Mickasukies were still encamped where they had been for some days, and where they were determined to fight us.

"I determined at once on indulging them as soon as practicable. Accordingly, the next morning, after laying out a small stockade-work for the protection of a future depot, in order to enable me to move with the greatest celerity, I deposited the whole of my heavy baggage, including artillery, &c., and having provisioned the command, to include the 26th, after leaving Captain Munroe and his company, the pioneers, the pontoneers, with eighty-five sick and disabled infantry, and a portion of the friendly Indians, who alleged that they were unable to march further, crossed the Kissimmee, taking the old Indian as a guide who had been captured the day before, and who accompanied us with great apparent reluctance, in pursuit of the enemy, and early the next day reached Alligator's encampment, situated on the edge of a cabbage-tree hammock, in the midst of a large prairie, from the appearance of which, and other encampments in the vicinity, and the many evidences of slaughtered cattle, there must have been several hundred individuals.

"At another small hammock at no great distance from Alligator's encampment, and surrounded by a swamp impassable for mounted men, the spies surprised an encampment containing one old man, four young men, and some women and children. One of the party raised immediately a white flag, when the men were taken possession of, and brought across the swamp to the main body. I proceeded with an interpreter to meet them. They proved to be Seminoles, and professed to be friendly. They stated that they were preparing to come in; they had just slaughtered a number of cattle, and were employed in drying and jerking the beef. They also informed me that the Mickasukies, headed by A-pi-a-ka (Sam Jones), were some ten or twelve miles distant, encamped in a swamp, and were prepared to fight.

"Although I placed but little confidence in their professions of friendship, or their intentions of coming in, yet I had no time

to look up their women and children, who had fled and concealed themselves in the swamp, or to have encumbered myself with them, in the situation in which I then was.

"Accordingly, I released the old man, who promised he would collect all the women and children, and take them in to Captain Munroe, at the Kissimmee, the next day. I also dismissed the old man who had acted as guide thus far, supplying his place with the four able warriors who had been captured that morning.

"These arrangements being made, I moved under their guidance for the camp of the Mickasukies. Between two and three P. M. we reached a very dense cypress-swamp, through which we were compelled to pass, and in which our guides informed us we might be attacked. After making the necessary dispositions for battle, it was ascertained that there was no enemy to oppose us. The army crossed over and encamped for the night, it being late. During the passage of the rear, Captain Parks, who was in the advance with a few friendly Indians, fell in with two of the enemy's spies, between two and three miles of our camp, one on horseback, the other on foot, and succeeded in capturing the latter. He was an active young warrior, armed with an excellent rifle, fifty balls in his pouch, and an adequate proportion of powder. This Indian confirmed the information which had been previously received from the other Indians, and, in addition, stated that a large body of the Seminoles, headed by John Co-hua, Coacoochee, and, no doubt, Alligator, with other chiefs, were encamped five or six miles from us, near the Mickasukies, with a cypress-swamp and dense hammock between them and the latter.

"The army moved forward at daylight the next morning, and after marching five or six miles, reached the camp of the Seminoles on the borders of another cypress-swamp, which must have contained several hundred, and bore evident traces of having been abandoned in a great hurry, as the fires were still burning, and quantities of beef lying on the ground unconsumed.

"Here the troops were again disposed in order of battle; but we found no enemy to oppose us, and the command was crossed over about eleven A. M., when we entered a large prairie in our front, on which two or three hundred head of cattle were grazing, and a number of Indian ponies. Here another young Indian warrior was captured, armed and equipped as the former. He pointed out a dense hammock on our right, about a mile distant, in which he said the hostiles were situated and waiting to give us battle.

"At this place the final disposition was made to attack them, which was in two lines; the volunteers under Gentry and Morgan's spies to form the first line, in extended order, who were instructed to enter the hammock, and in the event of being at-

tacked and hard pressed, were to fall back in the rear of the regular troops, out of the reach of the enemy's fire; the second line was composed of the 4th and 6th infantry, who were instructed to sustain the volunteers, the 1st infantry being held in reserve.

"Moving on in the direction of the hammock, after proceeding about a quarter of a mile, we reached the swamp which separated us from the enemy, three-quarters of a mile in breadth, being totally impassable for horse, and nearly so for foot, covered with a thick growth of saw-grass, five feet high, and about knee-deep in mud and water, which extended to the left as far as the eye could reach, and to the right, to a part of the swamp and hammock we had just crossed, through which ran a deep creek. At the edge of the swamp all the men were dismounted, and the horses and baggage left under a suitable guard. Captain Allen was detached, with two companies of mounted infantry, to examine the swamp and hammock to the right; and, in case he should not find the enemy in that direction, was to return to the baggage, and in the event of his hearing a heavy firing, was immediately to join me.

"After making these arrangements I crossed the swamp in the order stated. On reaching the borders of the hammock, the volunteers and spies received a heavy fire from the enemy, which was returned by them for a short time, when their gallant commander, Colonel Gentry, fell mortally wounded. They mostly broke, and, instead of forming in the rear of the regulars, as had been directed, they retired across the swamp to their baggage and horses; nor could they be again brought into action as a body, although efforts were made repeatedly by my staff to induce them to do so.

"The enemy, however, were promptly checked and driven back by the 4th and 6th infantry, which, in truth, might be said to be a moving battery. The weight of the enemy's fire was principally concentrated on five companies of the 6th infantry, which not only stood firm, but continued to advance, until their gallant commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, and his adjutant, Lieutenant Center, were killed; and every officer, with one exception, as well as most of the non-commissioned officers, including the sergeant-major and four of the orderly sergeants, killed and wounded of those companies; when that portion of the regiment retired a short distance, and were again formed, one of these companies having but four men left untouched.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, with six companies, amounting in all to one hundred and sixty men, gained the hammock in good order, where he was joined by Captain Noel, with the two remaining companies of the 6th infantry, and Captain Gillam, of

Gentry's volunteers, with a few additional men, and continued to drive the enemy for a considerable time, and by a change of front separated his line, and continued to drive him, until he reached the great lake Okee-Chobee, which was in the rear of the enemy's position, and on which their encampment extended for more than a mile. As soon as I was informed that Captain Allen was advancing, I ordered the 1st infantry to move to the left, gain the enemy's right flank and turn it, which order was executed in the promptest manner possible; and as soon as that regiment got in position, the enemy gave one fire and retreated, being pursued by the 1st, 4th, and 6th, and some of the volunteers, who had joined them, until near night, and until these troops were nearly exhausted, and the enemy driven in all directions.

"The action was a severe one, and continued from half-past twelve until after three P. M., a part of the time very close and severe. We suffered much, having twenty-six killed and one hundred and twelve wounded, among whom are some of our most valuable officers. The hostiles probably suffered, all things considered, equally with ourselves, they having left ten dead on the ground, besides, doubtless, carrying off many more, as is customary with them when practicable.

"As soon as the enemy were completely broken, I turned my attention, in taking care of the wounded, to facilitate their removal to my baggage, where I had ordered an encampment to be formed. I directed Captain Taylor to cross over to the spot, and employ every individual whom he might find there in constructing a small foot-way across the swamp; this, with great exertions, was completed a short time after dark, when all the dead and wounded were carried over on litters, made for that purpose, with one exception, a private of the 4th infantry, who was killed and could not be found.

"And here, I trust, I may be permitted to say, that I experienced one of the most trying scenes of my life, and he who could have looked on it with indifference, his nerves must have been very differently organized from my own—besides the killed, among whom were some of my personal friends, there lay one hundred and twelve wounded officers and soldiers, who had accompanied me one hundred and forty-five miles, most of the way through an unexplored wilderness, without guides, who had so gallantly beaten the enemy, under my orders, in his strongest position, and who had to be conveyed back through swamps and hammocks, from whence we set out, without any apparent means of doing so. This service, however, was encountered and overcome, and they have been conveyed thus far, and proceeded on to Tampa Bay, on rude litters, constructed with the axe and knife alone, with poles and dry hides, the latter being found in

great abundance at the encampment of the hostiles. The litters were conveyed on the backs of our weak and tottering horses, aided by the residue of the command, with more ease and comfort to the sufferers than I could have supposed, and with as much as they could have been in ambulances of the most approved and modern construction.

"The day after the battle we remained at our encampment, occupied in taking care of the wounded, and in the sad offices of interring the dead; also, in preparing the litters for the removal of the wounded, and collecting, with a portion of the mounted men, the horses and cattle in the vicinity belonging to the enemy, of which we found about one hundred of the former, many of them saddled, and nearly three hundred of the latter.

"We left our encampment on the morning of the 27th, for the Kissimmee, where I had left my heavy baggage; which place we reached about noon on the 28th. After leaving two companies and a few Indians to garrison the stockade, which I found nearly completed on my return, by that active and vigilant officer, Captain Munroe, 4th artillery, I left there the next morning for this place, where I arrived on the 31st, and sent forward the wounded next day to Tampa Bay, with the 4th and 6th infantry, the former to halt at Fort Fraser, remaining here myself with the 1st, in order to make preparations for taking the field again, as soon as my horses can be recruited, most of which have been sent to Tampa, and my supplies in a sufficient state of forwardness to justify the measure.

"In speaking of the command, I can only say, that so far as the regular troops are concerned, no one could have been more efficiently sustained than I have been from the commencement of the campaign; and I am certain they will always be willing and ready to discharge any duty that may be assigned to them.

"To Lieutenant-Colonel Davenport and the officers of the 1st infantry, I feel under many obligations, for the manner in which they have, on all occasions, discharged their duty; and although held in reserve, and not brought into battle till near its close, yet their eagerness to engage, and the promptness and good order in which they entered the hammock, when the order was given for them to do so, is the best evidence that they would have sustained their own characters, as well as that of the regiment, had it been their fortune to have been placed in the hottest of the battle.

"The 4th infantry, under their gallant leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, was among the first to gain the hammock, and maintained this position, as well as driving a portion of the enemy before him, until he arrived on the borders of Lake Okeechobee, which was in the rear, and continued the pursuit until

near night. Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, who was favorably noticed for his gallantry and good conduct in nearly all the engagements on the Niagara frontier during the late war with Great Britain, by his several commanders, as well as in the different engagements with the Indians in this territory, never acted a more conspicuous part, than in the action of the 25th ultimo; he speaks in the highest terms of Brevet-Major Graham, his second in command, as also the officers and soldiers of the 4th infantry, who were engaged in the action. Captain Allen, with his two mounted companies of the 4th infantry, sustained his usual character for promptness and efficiency. Lieutenant Hooper, of the 4th regiment, was wounded through the arm, but continued on the field, at the head of his company, until the termination of the battle.

"I am not sufficiently master of words to express my admiration of the gallantry and steadiness of the officers and soldiers of the 6th regiment of infantry; it was their fortune to bear the brunt of the battle. The report of the killed and wounded, which accompanies this, is more conclusive evidence of their merits, than any thing I can say. After five companies of this regiment, against whom the enemy directed a most deadly fire, were nearly cut up—there being only four men left uninjured in one of them; and every officer and orderly-sergeant of those companies, with one exception, were either killed or wounded, Captain Noel, with the remaining two companies—his own company, 'K,' and Crossman's, 'B,' commanded by Second-Lieutenant Woods, which was the left of the regiment, formed on the right of the 4th infantry—entered the hammock with that regiment, continued the fight and the pursuit until its termination. It is due to Captain Andrews and Lieutenant Walker to say, they commanded two of the five companies mentioned above, and they continued to direct them until they were both severely wounded and carried from the field; the latter receiving three separate balls.

"The Missouri volunteers under the command of Colonel Gentry, and Morgan's spies, who formed the first line, and, of course, were the first engaged, acted as well, or even better, than troops of this description generally do; they received and returned the enemy's fire with spirit, for some time, when they broke and retired, with the exception of Captain Gillam and a few of his company, and Lieutenant Blakely, also with a few men, who joined the regulars, and acted with them, until after the close of the battle; but not until they had suffered severely; the commanding officer of the volunteers, Colonel Gentry, being mortally wounded while leading on his men, and encouraging them to enter the hammock, and come to close quarters with the

enemy; his son, an interesting youth, eighteen or nineteen years of age, sergeant-major of the regiment, was severely wounded at the same moment.

"Captain Childs, Lieutenants Rogers and Flanagan, of Gentry's regiment; Acting-Major Sconce, and Lieutenants Hase and Gordon, of the spies, were wounded whilst encouraging their men to a discharge of their duty.

"The volunteers and spies having, as before stated, fallen back to the baggage, could not again be formed and brought up to the hammock in any thing like order; but a number of them crossed over individually, and aided in conveying the wounded across the swamp to the hammock, among whom were Captain Curd, and several other officers, whose names I do not now recollect.

"To my personal staff, consisting of First-Lieutenant J. M. Hill, of the 2d, and First-Lieutenant George H. Griffin, of the 6th infantry—the latter aid-de-camp to Major-General Gaines, and a volunteer in Florida from his staff—I feel under the greatest obligations, for the promptness and efficiency with which they have sustained me throughout the campaign; and more particularly for their good conduct, and the alacrity with which they aided me and conveyed my orders during the action on the 25th ultimo.

"Captain Taylor, commissary of subsistence, who was ordered to join General Jesup at Tampa Bay as chief of the subsistence department, and who was ordered by him to remain with this column until he, General Jesup, joined it. Although no command was assigned Captain Taylor, he greatly exerted himself in trying to rally and bring back the volunteers into action, as well as discharging other important duties which were assigned him during the action.

"Myself, as well as all who witnessed the attention and ability displayed by Surgeon Satterlee, medical director on this side of the peninsula, assisted by Assistant-Surgeons McLaren and Simpson, of the medical staff of the army, and Drs. Hannah and Cooke, of the Missouri volunteers, in ministering to the wounded, as well as their uniform kindness to them on all occasions, can never cease to be referred to by me but with the most pleasing and grateful recollections.

"The quartermaster's department, under the direction of that efficient officer, Major Brant, and his assistant, Lieutenant Babbitt, have done every thing that could be accomplished to throw forward from Tampa Bay, and keep up supplies of provisions, forage, &c., with the limited means at their disposal. Assistant-Commissaries, Lieutenant Harrison stationed at Fort Gardiner, and McClure at Fort Fraser, have fully met my expectations in

discharge of the various duties connected with their department, as well as those assigned them in the quartermaster's department.

"This column, in six weeks, penetrated one hundred and fifty miles into the enemy's country, opened roads, and constructed bridges and causeways when necessary, on the greater portion of the route; established two depots, and the necessary defences for the same; and finally overtook, and beat the enemy in his strongest position. The results of which movement and battle have been the capture of thirty of the hostiles; the coming in and surrendering of more than one hundred and fifty Indians and negroes, mostly the former, including the chiefs Holartooche, Tus-ta-nug-gee, and other principal men; the capturing and driving out of the country six hundred head of cattle, upwards of one hundred head of horses; besides obtaining a thorough knowledge of the country through which we operated, a greater portion of which was entirely unknown, except to the enemy.

"Colonel Gentry died in a few hours after the battle, much regretted by the army; and will be doubtless by all who knew him, as his State did not contain a braver man or a better citizen.

"It is due to his rank and talents, as well as his long and important services, that I particularly mention Lieutenant-Colonel A. R. Thompson, of the 6th infantry, who fell in the discharge of his duty, at the head of his regiment. He was in feeble health, brought on by exposure to this climate during the past summer, refusing to leave the country while his regiment remained in it. Although he received two balls from the fire of the enemy early in the action which wounded him severely, yet he appeared to disregard them, and continued to give his orders with the same coolness that he would have done, had his regiment been under review, or on any other parade duty. Advancing, he received a third ball, which at once deprived him of life; his last words were, 'Keep steady, men; charge the hammock—remember the regiment to which you belong.' I had known Colonel Thompson personally only for a short time, and the more I knew of him, the more I wished to know; and had his life been spared, our acquaintance no doubt would have ripened into the closest friendship. Under such circumstances, there are but few, if any other than his bereaved wife, mother, and sisters, who more deeply and sincerely lament his loss, or who will longer cherish his memory, than myself.

"Captain Van Swearingen, Lieutenant Brooke, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Center, of the same regiment, who fell on that day, had no superiors of their years in service; and in point of chivalry, ranked among the first in the army or nation; besides their pure and disinterested courage, they possessed other

qualifications which qualified them to fill the higher grades of their profession, which, no doubt, they would have attained and adorned, had their lives been spared. The two former served with me in another arduous and trying campaign; and on every occasion, whether in the camp, on the march, or on the field of battle, discharged their various duties to my entire satisfaction.

With great respect, I have the honor to be,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

Brig. Gen. R. JONES, Adj. Gen. U. S. A., }
Washington, D. C. }

Z. TAYLOR,
Colonel Commanding."

Return of Killed and Wounded at the Battle of Okee-chobee.

REGIMENTS AND CORPS.	COMMANDED BY	KILLED.		WOUNDED.	
		Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.
<i>Regulars.</i>					
First Infantry	Lieutenant-Colonel DAVENPORT				4
Fourth Infantry	Lieutenant-Colonel FOSTER		3	1	18
Sixth Infantry	Lieutenant-Colonel THOMPSON	4	16	2	53
Mounted Fourth } Infantry }	Captain G. W. ALLEN				1
<i>Volunteers.</i>					
Missouri Volunteers	Colonel GENTRY	1	1	3	22
Spies	Lieutenant-Colonel MORGAN		2	3	4
Indians	Captain PARKS				
	Total	5	22	9	102

In this affair, the most important chiefs participated. It was known they were retreating in a body south, and would be obliged to betake themselves to that inhospitable region called the Everglades, or maintain their ground by an obstinate resistance. Halpatter-Tustenuggee or Alligator says, there were engaged in the action three hundred and eighty warriors. He commanded one hundred and twenty, his own band, and was posted in the centre of the line, with Lake Okee-chobee in his rear. Apeiaka or Sam Jones, with the Prophet, Otolke-Thlocko, and a large number of warriors, were on the right; Coa-coochee or Wild Cat, with eighty men, formed the left. Sam Jones fled at the first fire, when Halleck-Tustenuggee rallied those who were inclined to follow his example. The Prophet was engaged in preparing his medicines, singing and dancing, removed from all danger. This was to inspire the young men with courage. In front of the Indian line there was a deep morass of saw-grass and palmetto, almost impassable. In the rear was the lake, with a clear sandy beach, upon which a rapid retreat could be made

if necessary. The grass in front in some places was cut down to invite the troops into the most impassable spot. Ten Indians were in trees enveloped in moss so as not to be discovered, which enabled them to oversee the advance of the command, and communicate the direction to those below. The trees were notched, behind which the most expert marksmen were posted, and in which they rested their rifles, and thus obtained a steady aim.

Coa-coochee says not an Indian faltered, until the soldiers rushed upon them whooping and yelling, when they retreated in small parties. He, together with Alligator, finding the troops pressing them so closely as to prevent their loading, and that large numbers had retired, thought it prudent to do the same. The following day they scattered, in parties of ten and fifteen, throughout the country. Eleven Indians and one negro were killed, and nine wounded. The fatality among the officers of the command, was enough to shake the firmest troops. Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, 6th U. S. infantry, was wounded in three places before he fell. The first ball passed through the abdomen to the left, the second in the right breast, and the last through the chin and neck, evidently shot from a tree. He fell in a sitting posture. His last words were, "Men, you know the regiment you belong to," and died immediately.

Captain Van Swearingen, 6th infantry, was shot, in advance of his company, in the lower part of his neck. When passing to the rear he raised both hands to his head, and fell flat on his face, and expired instantly. Lieutenant and Adjutant J. P. Center, 6th infantry, was shot through the head from a tree, and expired on the spot. First-Lieutenant E. J. Brooke, 6th infantry, was shot through the heart. Colonel Gentry, of the Missouri volunteers, was shot through the body, and soon after the battle expired. The same ball passed through him and through his son's arm into a tree. He was a gallant and intelligent officer. Major Sconce, Captain Childs, Lieutenants Rodgers, Hose, and Gordon, were wounded. Of this corps thirty-five were killed and wounded.

The fate of Oseola or Powell, captured by General Hernandez, by order of General Jesup, on the 22d of October, 1837, was indeed melancholy. His spirit was broken by defeat and imprisonment. That high independence of feeling which had never before known restraint, had become enfeebled, and sunk as the chances of escape passed unimproved. Upon his removal from Castle St. Marco at St. Augustine, to Fort Moultrie, Charleston Harbor, all hope was gone, and the conviction that he was forever banished from his land, weighed and wore upon his spirits, until nature became exhausted. He refused sustenance, and declined seeing visitors. All efforts to cheer and reconcile him to

his fate by representing Arkansas as a desirable home, entirely failed. He expired after a short illness, broken-hearted. He was thirty-three years of age. A brave and a generous enemy, and respected as he was by the nation for his open, manly nature, he was too proud to be under the dominion of the white man.

The manner of capturing this chief has been thought unjust by those unacquainted with the peculiar state of affairs in the territory. He had been an active participator in the treachery, which for two years, and particularly in the *capitulation*, had caused so much disappointment and dissatisfaction. He was the war-spirit of the nation. He improved every opportunity to mislead the commander of the army, and disregarded the most solemn promises to abstain from hostile acts and prepare for emigration. His professions of friendship and assurances of peace were only to give time to plant and gather crops, and to harass and break down the troops by exposing them to the climate and fatiguing marches. The sacred obligations of a white flag were not tendered him; he came in bearing one, and was received, as he had been promised, with kindness. General Hernandez, who commanded the camp, was ordered by General Jesup to take him prisoner, if he had not complied with the assurances he had made to surrender his band. Not one of these had been regarded, and, conscious of his delinquency, he ingeniously evaded all questions upon the subject, and talked of friendship, clothing, and provisions. General Hernandez accordingly detained him, with seventy others, who came at the same time, and imprisoned them in the castle at St. Augustine.

Brigadier-General Joseph Hernandez took an active part in the commencement of the Florida war. The defenceless state of East Florida received his early attention. On the 26th of October, 1835, he represented to the governor of the territory the necessity of an immediate organization of the militia, as the obstinacy of the Indians in regard to emigration foreboded an open rupture, when the citizens would be exposed to their merciless barbarity, at a moment when least expected. These predictions were painfully realized. Finding his frequent representations unavailing, he addressed the secretary of war upon the subject, requesting that five hundred stand of arms be put at his disposal, that the citizens might aid in defending themselves. His brigade was at once mustered and disciplined, and as early as the 8th of December, three weeks before the first blow was struck, detachments took the field, affording protection to such settlements as had become alarmed by the threats of Indians, made through the negroes, upon the numerous plantations east and west of the St. John's river. But in spite of his exertions with so inadequate a force, the enemy desolated the country in every quar-

ter. Protection was given to the city of St. Augustine and Jacksonville, and the attacks upon several plantations were thwarted and delayed by his activity and the presence of troops, thus enabling many to save the lives of their families, and secure their negroes and other property remote from settlements or assistance. Major Benjamin A. Putnam, a lawyer of distinction, resident of St. Augustine, co-operated, and by prompt and forced marches intimidated the enemy, and in a sharp conflict with a large band at Dunn Lawton, sixty miles south of St. Augustine, on the 11th of January, 1836, taught the Indians a salutary lesson.

The operations in Florida becoming more extensive, General Hernandez was mustered into the service as brigadier-general in the service of the United States, on the 20th of December, 1836, and was assigned by Major-General Jesup, commanding the army of Florida, to the command of the forces east of the river St. John's. His exertions corresponded with the means at hand and the confidence reposed in his abilities and patriotism. In co-operation with General Jesup, who was operating west of the St. John's river, he carried out a series of energetic measures on the eastern side along the Atlantic coast, a considerable distance south of St. Augustine. He captured important chiefs, and restored to citizens upwards of three hundred negroes, who had been captured by the Indians.

On the 9th of September, 1837, he, with a small detachment, assaulted the camp of King Phillip, a noted Seminole chief of distinguished intelligence and great influence, and took him, with eleven of his tribe, prisoners. On the morning of the 10th he attacked the camp of the chief, Uchee Billy, and secured him, his brother, Uchee Jack, and eighteen men. This led to the surrender of Coa-coochee, the son of King Phillip, who had received a message from his father, earnestly desiring to see and confer with him. Coming in thus involuntarily, and at the solicitation of his father, Coa-coochee was satisfied he would not be detained a prisoner, he therefore did not hesitate to comply with the invitation. It proved also that he had a further object in coming, being charged with an important negotiation, which was attended by interesting results.

He bore with him a *white plume*, together with a neatly-wrought bead-pipe, sent to General Hernandez by Oseola, the master-spirit of the war, accompanied by a message, the purport of which was, that these tokens were intended as an evidence of his desire for peace; that the white plume was to be considered as giving an assurance that the path, to use their figurative language, "was white and safe" from the general to him, and as expressing his desire to know if it would be equally agreeable to

return. Blue Snake, who accompanied Coa-coochee, came as an envoy from Coa-Hajo, another influential chief, having a similar emblem and message. In accordance with these indications of a desire to negotiate, on the part of these important chiefs, General Hernandez, with the sanction of General Jesup, immediately dispatched Coa-coochee, with a friendly message and presents, acceding to the proposition for a conference, but clearly conveying the understanding, that it would be held with a view of making arrangements for the emigration of themselves and their people to the west.

Punctual to the day he had appointed, Coa-coochee returned, giving the satisfactory information that this overture had been accepted, and that Powell or Oseola and Coa-Hajo, with upwards of one hundred of their warriors, and about one hundred negroes, taken from the different plantations to the east of the St. John's, were on their way to St. Augustine. With a view of accelerating their arrival, General Hernandez proceeded the following day with supplies for them, and met an advance party, with John Cavallo at their head, at Pelican's Creek, about twenty miles south, from whom he learned that Oseola was to join them that evening. He left the provisions, and desired them to select their own position within a mile or two of Fort Peyton, and to apprise him of their having done so, when he would go out to see them. On the arrival of these chiefs near Fort Peyton, about seven miles southwest of St. Augustine, they were met by General Hernandez, accompanied by his own, and a portion of the staff of General Jesup. General Hernandez then, by the direction of General Jesup, addressed to Oseola the following inquiries:

Memoranda of the specific questions addressed to Oseola on the above occasion :

Ascertain the objects of the Indians in coming in at this time. Also their expectations. Are they prepared to deliver up the negroes taken from the citizens at once? Why have they not surrendered them already, as promised by Coa-Hajo at Fort King? Have the chiefs of the nation held a council in relation to the subjects of the talk at Fort King? What chiefs attended that council, and what was their determination? Have the chiefs sent a messenger with the decision of the council? Have the principal chiefs, Micanopy, Jumper, Cloud, and Alligator, sent a messenger, and if so, what is their message? Why have not those chiefs come in themselves?

*St. Augustine, }
Oct. 21st, 1837. }*

(Signed) THOS. S. JESUP,
Major-General Commanding.

Whether there was any thing in those questions which awakened distrust in the minds of the Indians, or they had not come with a determination to emigrate, could not be ascertained, but the answers of Powell or Oseola to these inquiries were certainly evasive and unsatisfactory. In fact, Oseola, after a few

vague replies became silent, and, turning to Coa-Hajo, was overheard by the interpreter to say, "I feel choked; you must speak for me;" a proof of uncontrollable emotion, remarkable in an Indian, and possibly the result of a suspicion of what followed, or of disappointment and dissatisfaction at the course which the conference had taken.

The following is the order from General Jesup directing the capture of the Indians:

"Head-Quarters, Army of the South, }
Fort Peyton, Oct. 21st, 1837. }

"GENERAL—Let the chiefs and warriors know that we have been deceived by them long enough, and that we do not intend to be deceived again. Order the whole party directly to town. You have force sufficient to compel obedience, and they must move instantly.

"I have information of a recent murder by the Indians. They must be disarmed.

"They can talk in town, and send any messengers out, if they please.

I am, general, your obedient servant,

General J. M. HERNANDEZ, commanding }
east of the St. Johns, *Fort Peyton.* }

THOS. S. JESUP,
Major-General Commanding."

The results of the conference and the details of the execution of the order, were communicated by General Hernandez to General Jesup in the following note:

"SIR—For the purpose of carrying into effect your instructions, conveyed to me verbally by your aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Linnard, after having left Fort Peyton, that if the answers of the chiefs to my inquiries should not be satisfactory, they were to be made prisoners, I had given the necessary directions to Major Ashby to ensure their capture, if it should become necessary. In conformity to these directions, believing from the disposition of the Indians that they did not mean to surrender, they were completely surrounded in about ten minutes after I reached their encampment. I found there Oseola and Coa-Hajo, with a force which I estimated at about sixty warriors.* In the prosecution of my purpose in this interview, I learned that the Indians were perfectly disposed to bring in the negroes and property taken from the inhabitants during the war; but that they were by no means prepared to surrender themselves,

* There were seventy-one, the *élite* of the Mickasuky tribe, six women, and four Indian negroes.

and their answers to the questions put to them in regard to their breach of the stipulations made with you at Fort King, I conceived to be wholly evasive and unsatisfactory. Indeed their answers were generally so. From these circumstances, and agreeably to your express order conveyed to me during the talk, 'that they should be made prisoners,' I gave a signal previously agreed upon, and the troops closed in on them. The arms, baggage, and ponies, were collected, and the line of march taken up to St. Augustine.

I have the honor to be, general, your obedient servant,

Major-General JESUP, commanding }
Army of the South. }

JOSEPH M. HERNANDEZ,
Brigadier-General Commanding."

Notwithstanding the unfavorable impression excited in the minds of the Indians by the manner of their capture, both Oseola and Coa-Hajo came forward, and proposed sending a message to their people and the chiefs who were out, recommending them to come in, and join them in emigrating to the West. This was readily acceded to by General Jesup. One young chief and two warriors were despatched on this embassy. They were instructed to invite all those who might be disposed to comply with this proposition, to meet General Jesup and General Hernandez; the former at Fort Mellon on Lake Monroe, and the latter at New Smyrna, as might best suit the convenience of the different parties coming in. In compliance with this invitation, the leading chiefs Micanopy, Jumper, Cloud, and Alligator, met General Jesup at Fort Mellon, with about eighty of their warriors; while some thirty or forty negroes, who had been prisoners among them, crossed over to a point opposite New Smyrna, and there surrendered themselves to General Hernandez, with whom they were acquainted, and by whom they were safely returned to their owners.

Matters thus far went on well, but, to the entire frustration of these well-devised arrangements for the conclusion of the war, the young chief Coa-coochee, who had been left prisoner at St. Augustine, contrived to make his escape through the loophole of the casemate in the fort, in which he slept. He made his way south, and succeeded in reaching the camp of Arpeika or Sam Jones, who was on his way with his people to Fort Mellon to meet General Jesup, along with the other chiefs of the nation. The representations of Coa-coochee, who had been greatly exasperated by his imprisonment, and the treatment received by him and the other Indians captured near Fort Peyton, at once aroused the suspicions and indignation of that wary and hostile old chief; who not only immediately relinquished all idea of surrendering or communicating any further with the com-

manding general, but succeeded in preventing all the Indians who were out, from coming in or listening to any proposal for peace. But for this untoward event, the war would certainly have terminated at this juncture, instead of being renewed and prolonged, as it afterwards was, through several eventful and disastrous years.

The regular and volunteer force in the field being deemed sufficient to protect the inhabitants and subdue the enemy, General Hernandez, induced by the situation of his private affairs (his property having been ruined and devastated by the inroads of the enemy, along with that of the rest of his fellow citizens), now asked to be relieved from the service in which he had borne so conspicuous and meritorious a part. The frequent reference to his name in the official reports of General Jesup, together with the subjoined letter and orders, give ample testimony of the manner in which the responsible and delicate duties intrusted to him, were discharged. Had his timely admonitions been heeded by higher authority in regard to the Indians, and his demands complied with, East Florida would have been spared, in a great measure, the series of disasters which occurred from month to month, carrying in their train sorrow and want.

“*Head-Quarters, Army of the South,* }
Fort Pierce, January 15th, 1838. }

“GENERAL—Agreeable to your request I have directed by the order of to-day, that you and the gentlemen of your staff, as well as the remainder of your brigade, be discharged from the service. I speak not in the language of idle compliment, general, when I assure you of the high estimation in which I hold your services. The cordial, constant, and efficient support which you have invariably given me, has made an impression upon me not easily to be effaced; and I shall always remember with pleasure the period we have been associated together on duty. Should it be in my power to serve you at any time, you have only to command me.

I am, general, with sincere respect and regard,

Your obedient servant,

Brig. Gen. HERNANDEZ, }
Fort Pierce, Fla. }

TH. S. JESUP.”

“ORDERS, }
 No. 50. }

“PAR. I. Brigadier-General Hernandez having expressed a desire to be relieved from duty in consequence of his private affairs claiming his immediate attention, and the greater part of his brigade being already out of service, he is permitted to return

to St. Augustine, where he will be honorably discharged. In parting with Brigadier-General Hernandez, the major-general commanding desires to assure him of the high estimation in which he holds his valuable services. He has ever found him ready for duty, and prompt and energetic in its execution; and he entertains not a doubt that the operations which he has so successfully commenced during the autumn would have resulted in peace and the removal of the Indians, but for the escape of the prisoners Coa-coochee and others from St. Augustine. The major-general tenders his thanks, and assures him that he shall ever feel the most lively interest in his prosperity.

"The gentlemen composing the staff of Brigadier-General Hernandez—Major Drysdale, Major Roubion, and Major Gibbs—will also be honorably discharged. The major-general thanks them for the promptitude, correctness, and ability with which they have performed their respective duties.

"PAR. II. Lieutenant-Colonel Hanson, with Captain Peltier's and Whitehurst's companies, will proceed to St. Augustine, where they will be honorably discharged on the expiration of their term of service. To the lieutenant-colonel, and to the captains named, as well as to their officers and men, the major-general commanding acknowledges his obligations and tenders his thanks for the efficient services they have performed.

By order of Major-General Jesup,

(Signed)

J. A. CHAMBERS,

Aid and Act. Assist. Adj. General."

On the 15th of May, 1838, General Jesup relinquished the command of the Army of Florida to Brevet Brigadier-General Z. Taylor, then colonel of the 6th regiment of U. S. infantry, whose report to the adjutant-general of the army, on the 20th of July, 1839, upon the conclusion of active measures, is a good evidence that he, like other commanders, had done his duty, as well as the officers and men composing the army. The enemy in several instances had been found, chased, and some killed, but they were far from being caught or subdued.

" *Head-Quarters, Army of the South, }*
Tampa, Florida, July 20th, 1839. }

"GENERAL—Although I have from time to time advised the department of the several operations of the troops under my command in Florida, I deem it advisable and proper to make a concise report at the close of the campaign.

"With a view to compel the emigration of the Apalachee Indians, who had engaged to leave the country on the 20th of October, for their towns on the Apalachicola river, which I

reached on the morning of the 12th, with two companies of mounted men, (one dragoons and one infantry,) the whole under the command of Captain E. Backus, 1st infantry, and found on my arrival a portion of the 6th infantry under Major Noel.

"On the day fixed for their removal, I succeeded without the use of compulsion, in embarking the whole of the Apalachee Indians, about two hundred and twenty in number, to their new homes beyond the Mississippi.

"After directing Lieutenant-Colonel Green to leave two companies in this district of country, to observe the movements of the fugitive Creeks, and to locate four companies in the vicinity of Deadman's Bay, to open roads, &c., between the Gulf of Mexico and the Federal or Bellamy road, I proceeded to Fort Harlee, East Florida, where I had a consultation with Colonels Twiggs, Davenport, and Cross, with regard to future operations.

"Colonel Twiggs, with ten companies 4th artillery, six companies 2d dragoons, and two Florida militia, was placed in command of the country within the following limits, viz., from the Santa Fe to the Atlantic, and along the coast as far as New Smyrna, and between the St. John's and Ocklawaha, as high as Fort Mellon on the former, and Lake Aha-pop-ka on the latter.

"Brevet Colonel Davenport, with five companies 1st infantry and one company 2d dragoons, was directed to search for the enemy between the Withlacoochee and Suwannee rivers, especially through the swamps and hammocks bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, in the Wahoo swamp, and cove of the Withlacoochee.

"The troops in Middle Florida, consisting of ten companies of 6th infantry, and one company 2d infantry, were placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Green.

"Major G. Loomis, 2d infantry, who had been stationed with four companies of infantry and one of dragoons around the Okefen-okee swamp, was ordered to co-operate with General Floyd, who, with a force of mounted Georgians, had been authorized by the department to proceed against the Indians in that quarter, without being placed under my orders.

"After making the above arrangements, I left Fort Harlee for Tampa Bay, where I had hoped to meet a considerable number of the hostiles, who had given intimation of their intention to emigrate in the fall. A few of them only met me.

"I remained at Tampa collecting small parties of Indians, and opening communications with Colonel Davenport, until about the 27th of November, at which time I sent Captain Abercrombie, 1st infantry, with his company and some friendly Indians, to Fort Deynaud, on the Coloosahatchee, to ascertain the number, position, and views, of the enemy in that quarter.

"I then proceeded to Fort Clinch, on the Withlacoochee, where I met Colonels Davenport and Cummings, the latter having but recently arrived at Garey's Ferry, with four companies of his regiment. Colonel Cummings, previously ordered to Tampa, so soon as four companies of 3d artillery should join him, was directed to open a good wagon-road from Tampa to Fort Mellon, and to establish posts about twenty miles distant from each other, wherever the localities permitted.

"These arrangements made, I proceeded across the country to Deadman's Bay, with one company 2d dragoons, and was joined on the route by two companies 2d infantry.

"I reached the Istenhachee river, on which the post is established, on the 18th December, and found four companies 6th infantry under Major Noel, who had been actively employed in opening roads, erecting defences, storehouses, &c., and who, from his known zeal and activity, would doubtless have accomplished more, had his companies been stronger, having an aggregate of (23) twenty-three each.

"I put him into immediate motion, together with the troops who accompanied me, to examine the swamps and hammocks of the Istenhachee, Econfinny, and Finihalloaway rivers. Many signs of small parties of the enemy were discovered, and on the 30th a large camp, supposed to contain about one hundred and twenty people, was discovered in a large hammock between the Econfinny and Finihalloaway. This was surprised, and all the effects taken from it; such, however, was the dense cover of the enemy that nothing more decisive was accomplished, the enemy making little or no resistance.

"At this time my dispatches from Lieutenant-Colonel Fanning, 4th artillery, commanding on the Ocklawaha, learning that the enemy, in considerable force, was supposed to be encamped on that river, and urging my presence in that quarter, I turned over the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Green, with instructions to search for the enemy with the utmost zeal and activity.

"Upon my arrival at Fort King I communicated with Colonel Fanning, who was in the vicinity. From him I learned that the Indians referred to by him had left their camp with the avowed intention of going to Tampa for the purpose of emigration. Having no confidence in their professions, I directed Colonel Twiggs to detach two companies of dragoons to observe their movements. Three companies, under Captains Winder, Lloyd, and J. Beall, succeeded in capturing, on two different occasions, about thirty-three of the enemy. Colonel Twiggs was also instructed to rebuild and reoccupy Fort Pierce, on Indian River Inlet, Fort Lauderdale on New River, and Fort Dallas on the Miami, opposite Key Biscayne, for the purpose of harassing

the enemy, and to give protection to such unfortunate persons as should be shipwrecked along the coast. I was desirous to re-occupy these posts previous to the sickly season.

"Colonel Fanning was directed to continue his search along the St. John's and Ocklawaha, until every swamp and hammock was penetrated, agreeably to the plan of campaign.

"Colonel Davenport having reported that he had completed his examination of the hammocks and swamps between the Suwannee to within a short distance of Tampa, through the Cove of the Withlacoochee and Wahoo, as far south as Fort King road, meeting a few Indians in one instance, and with few signs of their having been in that country, he was ordered to join Major Wilcox, then engaged in opening the road, from Tampa to Fort Mellon, and to aid in completing the same. Major Wilcox had been placed on this duty by Colonel Cummings, then commanding at Tampa.

"At the same time Colonel Davenport was directed to look for the enemy on the head-waters of the Withlacoochee and Hillsboro, and around Tohopkiliga. The road being completed, and the posts established, and the examination made as directed, I proceeded to Fort Mellon.

"Ascertaining here that Colonel Fanning, with much zeal, perseverance, and labor, had nearly completed the operations on the Ocklawaha and St. John's, and that Major Ashby, 2d dragoons, had examined all the country between the Atlantic and St. John's, from St. Augustine to Smyrna, (which post had been rebuilt and occupied,) meeting no evidence of the enemy's permanent location in that quarter, and Captain Abercrombie, 1st infantry, having reported many Indians on the islands of the Everglades, I resolved to carry an expedition into that region.

"Colonel Twiggs was ordered to reinforce Forts Pierce, Lauderdale, and Dallas, with two companies under command of Major Churchill.

"Major Ashby, with two companies of dragoons, was ordered to proceed across the country from Fort Kingsbury to Fort Pierce, and to search for the enemy between that post and the Kissimmee, as far south as Lake Okee-chobee and the Halpataokee. Colonel Davenport was ordered to concentrate his command and that of Major Wilcox at Fort Cummings, and proceed to Fort Deynaud on the Coloosahachee, where a depot had been established by Captain Bonneville, 7th infantry.

"I returned to Tampa, when, after completing arrangements, I intended to join Colonel Davenport, and proceed immediately to the Everglades.

"A day or two after my arrival at Tampa, intelligence of a most painful character was received from Middle Florida, that

several families had been murdered within a few miles of Tallahassee, near the railroad leading to St. Mark's, where there was a daily passage of cars, in a part of the country hitherto exempt from the depredations of the enemy. The utmost consternation and alarm prevailed in that country.

"Believing it to be my first duty to give protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants, I recalled Colonel Davenport, and dispatched him with two hundred infantry and one company of dragoons, to reinforce Colonel Green, and to assume the direction of affairs in Middle Florida.

"About this time I received the sanction of the department to a plan I had previously recommended, after ascertaining that the enemy would not give battle to the regular troops, even in single companies, while, at the same time, every opportunity was seized to wreak his vengeance on the unarmed inhabitants of the country. Under these circumstances, and for these reasons, I resolved to abandon for a time the southern expedition.

"On the 25th of February, one hundred and ninety-six Indians and negroes, who had been collected for emigration, were shipped for Arkansas, and I left Tampa for Fort King, to superintend in person the districting of the country, and the establishment of posts between the Ocklawaha and the Suwannee, on which duty I was constantly employed besides visiting several of the posts in Middle Florida, until the 30th of April, when I was joined by Major-General Macomb, at Fort King.

"The plan was nearly carried out, as far as proposed, on both sides of the Suwannee, when, on the 18th of May, an armistice was entered into with the Indians by General Macomb, and all operations of a hostile nature were, by his order, suspended.

"The position of the posts and squares will be fully seen by reference to the map accompanying this report.

"The exertions made, the labor performed, and the privations endured by our troops, although not successful in bringing the enemy to battle, have been unparalleled. By reference to the map and accompanying report of Captain Mackay and Lieutenant Blake, topographical engineers (marked 'C'), the length of new roads and bridges constructed, the number of posts built or rebuilt, &c., may be seen.

"Besides what has been done around the Okeefenokee, and of which I have no official knowledge, it will be observed that fifty-three new posts have been established, eight hundred and forty-eight miles of wagon-road, and three thousand six hundred and forty-three feet of causeway and bridges opened and constructed.

"Besides which, every hammock and swamp between Fort Mellon and Tallahassee, quite across the country, has been thor-

oughly searched by detachments from the several columns. The troops have been constantly and actively employed, performing their duties with the utmost cheerfulness, so long as the most remote hope existed of forcing the enemy to battle. . . . The volunteers under General Floyd made every possible exertion to dislodge the enemy from the Okeefenokee and limits of Georgia. His report has been furnished the department and published, from which it will be seen, that the regulars under Major Loomis, 2d infantry, had their full proportion of the labors and privations of the campaign.

"After the expiration of service of General Floyd's command, a battalion of mounted Georgians was called into service, under Brigadier-General Nelson, acting as major, which, together with the troops under Major Loomis, have succeeded in giving entire protection to the Georgia frontier.

"A few companies of Florida militia have also been called into service, from time to time, and have aided in quieting the alarm on the frontiers.

"Whether or not the campaign was judiciously planned or properly executed, my superiors must decide, but certain it is, both officers and soldiers, of regulars, volunteers, and militia, have done their duty.

"I believe those who have been with and near me, during the whole or part of the time I have had command in Florida, will bear evidence to my zeal and exertions to carry out, in the most prompt and effectual manner, the views and instructions of the government.

"Although two officers and some six or eight privates have been waylaid and killed since the opening of the campaign, it has been apparent that the object of the enemy has been to avoid all encounters with our troops. Could the enemy be brought to battle, even in his strong-holds, the war would soon be closed, no matter at what sacrifice of life on the part of officers and soldiers.

"Fortunately for them, however, that such is the nature of their country that concealment is found to be more efficacious than opposition, and they leave the climate to fight their battles, which certainly has proven more destructive to our troops than the rifle or scalping-knife. If nature has so organized the Indian that he is fleet of foot than the white man, and given him a country where no tracks are left when he flies; and if we have not overtaken him, it is our misfortune, not our fault. And should the war be renewed, (which I sincerely hope may never be the case,) the only way to bring it to a successful issue, in my opinion, is to cover the whole country so as to prevent the enemy from hunting and fishing.

"Notwithstanding our operations have been extended over more than fifty thousand square miles, no want of transportation or supplies have been experienced, owing to the judicious arrangements of Colonel Cross, assistant quartermaster-general, and his able assistants.

"The commissariat, at the head of which was Captain John C. Casey, has always supplied the army with rations of the most excellent quality.

"Owing to the dispersed state of the troops, the officers of the medical staff have been unusually occupied, having to visit several forts at some distance from each other; their duties have been performed with cheerfulness and ability.

"The officers of the topographical engineers (Captains Mackay and Guion, Lieutenants Blake, Gunnison, and McLane), one of whom accompanied each column, have done all I could expect from them. Their maps and charts will show the labor they have performed.

"Since Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, 2d dragoons, has joined the army of the south, he has been most actively employed in bringing about an interview between General Macomb and the hostiles, as well as in carrying out the pacific arrangements made at Fort King.

"Captain George H. Griffin, assistant adjutant-general, and my personal staff-surgeon, Wood, medical director on the west side of the peninsula, Lieutenant Grandin, 4th infantry, A. D. C., and, for a short time, Lieutenant Scarritt, engineer corps (a volunteer in Florida), uniformly accompanied me through Florida, in my visits to the various columns, and have performed their duties to my entire satisfaction.

General R. JONES, }
Adjutant-General, U. S. Army. }

Z. TAYLOR.
Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A. Com."

The plan of operations in moving in columns and detachments having been so long pursued without finding the Indians, or controlling them in such a manner as to keep them from the settlements, General Taylor commenced dividing the territory into military districts of twenty miles square. In the centre of each, or at the most eligible point, a post was to be established, and occupied by twenty or thirty men, a part of the number mounted. The officer commanding was to scout his district every alternate day, thoroughly examining the swamps and hammocks, and was to be held responsible that it was clear of Indians.

This project was advancing rapidly under the direction of skillful topographical engineers, who, in parties of five and ten, encamped in the woods without a guard or an escort. The suc-

cess of this measure was not tested; the cessation of hostilities, through the exertions of Major-General Macomb, caused it to be discontinued. Could the experiment have been made with the number of troops necessary—probably thirty or forty thousand—the Indians would have been kept from the settlements, and ultimately driven from the country.

Major-General Macomb, commanding the army of the United States, arrived at Fort King on the 20th of May, 1839. He came empowered by the president of the United States "to make an arrangement with the Seminoles." Through a friendly Indian negro, communication was had with Halleck-Tustenuggee, and Thlock-lo-Tustenuggee or Tigertail, who, on the third day, came to the fort with forty-six warriors. Arpeika or Sam Jones sent Chitto-Tustenuggee as his representative. He arrived at Fort King accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, 2d dragoons, U. S. A. A great council was convened, and Halleck-Tustenuggee was appointed lawyer or speaker upon the occasion. He expressed his regret that the older chiefs were either dead or gone from the country, which obliged him to *talk* on so important an occasion. He felt there was a great responsibility in being the organ of so many people. He wished peace, and was prepared to enter into terms that did not require him to move to Arkansas. An arrangement was finally made assigning them a portion of land, *temporarily*, far south, as traced upon the map, within which they were to assemble their families before the expiration of sixty days. The utmost good feeling and apparent sincerity prevailed. Provisions and clothing were issued, and after indulging in drink for three days, they left, giving the assurance of a prompt discharge of their obligations. General Macomb returned to Washington, when affairs were again in the hands of General Taylor, who had no confidence in these arrangements, but considered them as a prelude to more treachery and bloodshed. General Macomb on the 20th of May issued the following order:

GENERAL }
ORDERS. }

"Head-Quarters of the Army of the United States, }
Fort King, Florida, May 18th, 1839. }

"The major-general commanding in chief has the satisfaction of announcing to the army in Florida, to the authorities of the territory, and to the citizens generally, that he has this day terminated the war with the Seminole Indians, by an agreement entered into with Chitto-Tustenuggee, principal chief of the Seminoles, and successor to Arpeika, commonly called Sam Jones, brought to this post by Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, 2d dragoons, from the southern part of the peninsula. The terms of the agreement are, that hostilities immediately cease between the parties; that the

troops of the United States, and the Seminole and Mickasukie chiefs and warriors, now at a distance, be made acquainted, as soon as possible, with the fact that peace exists, and that all hostilities are forthwith to cease on both sides; the Seminoles and Mickasukies agreeing to retire into a district of country in Florida, below Pease Creek, the boundaries of which are as follows, viz., beginning at the most southern point of land between Charlotte Harbor and the Sanybel or Coloosahatchee river, opposite to Sanybel Island; thence into Charlotte Harbor, by the southern pass between Pine Island and that point, along the eastern shore of said harbor to Taalk-Chopko or Pease Creek; thence up said river to Hatchee-Thloko, or Big Creek; thence up said creek to its source; thence easterly to the northern point of Lake Istok-poga; thence along the eastern outlet of said lake, called Istok-poga Creek, to the Kissimmee river; thence southerly down the Kissimmee to Lake Okee-Chobee; thence south through said lake to Ecahlahatohee or Shark river; thence down said river westwardly to its mouth; thence along the sea-shore northwardly to the place of beginning; that sixty days be allowed the Indians north and east of that boundary to remove their families and effects into said district, where they are to remain until further arrangements are made, under the protection of the troops of the United States, who are to see that they are not molested by intruders, citizens or foreigners, and that the said Indians do not pass the limits assigned them, except to visit the posts which will be hereafter indicated to them. All persons are therefore forbidden to enter the district assigned to said Indians, without written permission of some commanding officer of a military post.

By command of the General, }
 EDMUND SCHRIVER, }
Captain and A. A. General. }

ALEXANDER MACOMB,
Major-General Commanding in Chief."

He soon after informed the secretary of war that he had effected an arrangement with the Seminoles:

*"Head-Quarters of the Army of the United States, }
 Fort King, Florida, May 22d, 1839. }*

"SIR—Agreeably to the instructions I had the honor to receive from your hands at Washington, on the 20th of March last, I lost no time in repairing to Florida, and arrived at Black Creek, the general depot of the army, on the 5th of April. There I had the good fortune to meet with Brigadier-General Taylor, the commander of the forces in this territory, then on a tour of inspection and review of the troops, and at the same time engaged in his plan of dividing the country nearest to the settlements into squares of twenty miles, and establishing posts therein. This

fortunate meeting enabled me to place in the hands of General Taylor a copy of your instructions, and to give him orders to co-operate with me in carrying those instructions into effect, directing his attention particularly to the protection of the settlements along the line from Garey's Ferry to Tallahassee, and west of the latter place, authorizing him, at the same time, to call into service such a force of militia as mentioned in your instructions. General Taylor having with him interpreters, and Indians connected with the hostile parties by ties of consanguinity and intermarriage, was desired to open, if possible, a communication with them, and thereby make them acquainted with the fact of my arrival in the country, and my wish to see the chiefs and warriors at this post by the 1st of May, instant, to hold a conference with them. Colonel Twiggs, who was then commanding at Garey's Ferry, having military authority over a considerable extent of country, was also made acquainted with my instructions, and he rendered a ready and efficient aid in furthering my views. Colonel Warren, of Jacksonville, who heretofore had command of the militia serving in Florida, and highly recommended to me on account of his efficiency and activity as an officer, was invited to raise and take command, as lieutenant-colonel, of a battalion of mounted militia, to assist in the defence of the settlements east of the Suwannee, and expel the Indians. Although quite inconvenient to him, at the time, on account of his private affairs, the colonel very promptly complied with my wishes. In the mean while General Taylor was making arrangements with the governor of Florida in raising, for the defence of the settlements on the west of the Suwannee, a military force. Notwithstanding all these measures, the Indians, dividing themselves into small parties, penetrated the settlements, committed some murders, and fired from their coverts on the expresses and passengers going from post to post.

"Under these indications it was the general belief that no communication could be opened with the hostile parties, especially as it had been given out that the Indians would on no account receive any messengers, but would destroy any person that might approach them with a flag. This threat having been executed more than once, confirmed the opinion that it was worse than useless to attempt to communicate with them. Finding at Garey's Ferry a party of prisoners, consisting of one man, two well-grown lads, and a number of women and children, amounting in all to eighteen, it occurred to me that by treating them kindly I might, through their instrumentality, communicate with the hostile bands. Accordingly, I set them at liberty, and sent them into the country in search of their friends, that they might make known to them, and the Indians generally, the object of my

coming among them. General Taylor also sent out his Indians, in whose sincerity and honesty he had great confidence. This first attempt to open a communication entirely failed, General Taylor's Indians having left him, and joined the hostile party before Tampa, and those sent by me returned without seeing any whatever. In the mean time, reports were received of the continual hostilities of the Indians, and of their attacking defenceless people and killing them. According to my previous notification, that I would be at this post by the 1st of May, I left Garey's Ferry on the 25th of April, with a guard of dragoons, taking with me the prisoners previously mentioned, and again sent them off in search of their friends; but it was not, after remaining here, until the 9th instant that any Indians called to visit me.

"Knowing the slowness of the Indians in performing any matter of national importance, I did not yield to the general belief that none would attend to my invitation, and I had the gratification to receive a visit from a young chief of considerable importance, accompanied by seven young active warriors. I explained to the chief the object of my mission, telling him that his great father (the president) was sorry that there had been so much fighting between his white and red children, and that for their good he recommended them to cease firing on each other, and make peace. The chief expressed himself greatly delighted with the prospect of peace. I told him that if the whole nation would retire below Pease Creek, that hostilities would cease, and that they might remain there until further arrangements could be made. He again expressed his gladness at what I said, and promised that he would take my communication and spread it around, being persuaded that it would be well received by all his people. In a few days after, he collected a considerable party of his people, consisting of men, women, and children, and paid me another visit. I repeated to him, in their presence, the same 'talk,' and they seemed all pleased with it. I then made them some presents, after which they departed, much gratified, for they were in a most destitute condition, as to clothing and other necessities.

"On the 17th instant, Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, of the 2d dragoons, who had previously received my directions to open a communication with the Indians in the southern portion of the peninsula, near Key Biscayne, arrived with Chitto-Tustenuggee, principal chief of the Seminoles, who had been recently elected by a council held by the Seminoles and Mickasukies. Chitto-Tustenuggee expressed great desire that the business on which he was called to meet me might be speedily attended to. Accordingly, on the next day a meeting was held, composed of

Chitto-Tustenuggee, attended by Oche-Hadjo, a brother of Blue Snake, who came with him to witness the proceedings, at the request of the council of the nation, and Harlock-Tustenuggee, chief of the Mickasukies in this section of the country, and all his band that had not been dispatched by him to call in the warriors who were out in detached parties. After going through the usual ceremonies among Indians, of shaking hands and smoking, I explained to the Indians who I was, and the object of my mission among them, at which they evinced great satisfaction. I then dictated to them the terms of peace, which they readily accepted, manifesting great joy on the occasion, and they have since been dancing and singing, according to their fashion, in token of friendship and peace, in which many of our officers joined them, all being satisfied of the sincerity of the respective parties. The enclosed general order, announcing the result of the conference, exhibits the terms of peace. Under existing circumstances, I did not think it necessary to enter into a formal written treaty, such an instrument with Indians having but little binding effect. Nor did I think it politic, at this time, to say any thing about their emigration, leaving that subject open to such future arrangements as the government may think proper to make with them. No restriction upon the pleasure of the government, in this respect, has been imposed, nor has any encouragement been given to the Indians, that they would be permitted permanently to remain in Florida.

"There is every reason to believe, that when the Indians remaining in Florida shall learn the prosperous condition of their brethren in Arkansas, they will, at no distant period, ask to be permitted to join them.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Hon. J. R. POINSETT, Secretary of War, }
Washington City.

ALEX. MACOMB,
Maj. Gen. Commanding in Chief."

The citizens of the territory were again induced to believe that peace and prosperity had returned to their homes. Many, however, were incredulous; others, dependent upon the soil for support, were rejoiced to escape from the crowded villages, where were congregated hundreds, without employment and without bread. The country was free from alarms during the month of June. The Indians were quietly cultivating their crops for the winter's campaign. This state of quietude increased the confidence among the borderers, who reoccupied their plantations. These hopes were soon frustrated. Early in the month of July, trains, express-men, and travellers, were assailed on the highway; plantations were attacked, and the occupants again fled, leaving

every thing behind. A general alarm prevailed. Those who had endeavored to make Florida a home returned to the neighboring states, in the belief that the *Florida war* would never end. Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, in execution of the *arrangement* made by General Macomb, proceeded to Charlotte's Harbor, to establish the trading-house for the convenience of the Indians, who were expected to remove within the designated boundaries. While there, he was attacked in a most treacherous manner, and his command murdered in their beds. This consisted of twenty-six dragoons, armed with Colt's rifle. Mr. Dalham and Mr. Morgan accompanied him with a large supply of Indian goods. The Indians visited the camp, for several days previous, in a most friendly manner. The detachment was encamped in an open pine-barren on the Coloosahatchee river, about twenty miles up from the mouth. At the dawn of day, on the morning of the 22d of July, a simultaneous attack was made by two hundred and fifty Indians, headed by Chekika, the Spanish chief Hospetarke, and Holatter-Micco or Billy Bowlegs. The surprise was complete. The men, aroused from their beds by hideous yells and the continued discharge of rifles, and overpowered by numbers as they were, rushing suddenly on them, even grappling with the men under their mosquito-bars, no effectual resistance could be made. Those not murdered in their beds, fled to the river, when they were shot down in the water. Colonel Harney escaped by swimming to the fishing-smacks, which lay at anchor some distance down the river. The whole party consisted of thirty men, of whom about twenty-four were killed, among them Mr. Dalham and Mr. Morgan. Negroes Sandy and Sampson, interpreters, were taken prisoners. The former was cruelly murdered the next day. Sampson was detained a prisoner two years, when he effected his escape. Colonel Harney visited the place the same night, and found the bodies of most of the party shockingly mangled. He remained near the ground several days, and rescued two men, who had escaped in the confusion, and had been living upon crabs and oysters.

Captain Griffin's official report announces the fact:

"Assistant Adjutant-General's Office, Army of the }
South, Fort Brooke, E. F., July 29th, 1839. }

“SIR—It becomes my painful duty to inform you of the assassination of the greater part of Lieutenant-Colonel Harney’s detachment, by the Indians, on the morning of the 23d instant, on the Coloosahatchee river, where they had gone in accordance with the treaty at Fort King, to establish a trading-house. The party consisted of about twenty-eight men, armed with Colt’s rifle; they were encamped on the river, but *unprotected by de-*

fences of any kind, and it is said without sentinels. The Indians, in large force, made the attack before the dawn of day, and before reveille, and it is supposed that thirteen of the men were killed, among whom was Major Dalham and Mr. Morgan, sutlers. The remainder, with Colonel Harney, escaped; several of them severely wounded. It was a complete surprise.

"The commanding general therefore directs, that you instantly take measures to place the defences at Fort Mellon in the most complete state of repair, and be ready at all times to repel attack, should one be made. No portion of your command will, in future, be suffered to leave the garrison except under a strong escort. The detachment at Fort Mellon will be immediately withdrawn.

"Should Fort Mellon prove unhealthy, and the surgeon recommend its abandonment, you are authorized to transfer the garrison, and reinforce some of the neighboring posts.

I am, sir,

Lieutenant W. K. HANSON, }
Commanding at *Fort Mellon*. }

GEO. H. GRIFFIN,
Assistant Adjutant-General."

The following extracts from letters received at Tampa Bay and Key West, furnish more particulars of the massacre :

"August 1st, 1839.

"DEAR SIR—Supposing you would like to know how the treaty succeeds, I will inform you, that on the 22d ultimo, at four o'clock in the morning, after you left the trading-house at Coloosahatchee, the Indians simultaneously attacked Colonel Harney's camp and the trading-house, and killed probably eighteen persons. They got fourteen of Colt's rifles, but only two pounds of powder, and all Dalham's goods, tents, provisions, &c. Colonel Harney escaped with only drawers and shirt, and has been expected at Tampa Bay since the 27th, on which day the express arrived at Tampa, and said that Colonel Harney would arrive in a boat on the following day. Fears are entertained for his safety, but we think it possible he may have changed his course to Key Biscayne.

"Statement of the dead, wounded, and missing, at the massacre by the Indians, at the trading-house, on the morning of July 23d, 1839: *Escaped*—Lieutenant-Colonel W. S. Harney; privates Dunsmore* (A), Dutcher (D), Britton (A), Horton (A), Powell (A), Starke (A), Warner (A), Britton (F), Hutchins (E), Eastman (F), Tucker (F), Willis† (F), Barrett (A)—fourteen.

* The letters in parentheses are those of the companies to which the men belonged.

† Wounded and recovering.

Missing and supposed killed—Sergeant Simmons (A); privates Thompson (A), Jeffs (F), Bedford (D), 2d dragoons; Mr. Dalham, sutler, Morgan, sutler's clerk, Howard, Hughey, citizens in employment of Mr. Dalham; Sandy, Sampson, negro guides—ten. *Killed on the ground*—Sergeant Bigelow (E), Corporal Haywood (D); privates Nicholas (C), Luther (C), Brown (A), White (F), Farrier Mee (F), 2d dragoons; Mr. Smith, in the employment of Mr. Dalham—eight.”

“*Synabel, Florida, July 22d, 1839.*

“The sloop Jane, from Tampa, arrived at the mouth of Synabel river, late in the evening, while the tide was running out. We were unable to proceed to the encampment, which was situated about eight miles up the river. We proceeded, however, early next morning, and got about five miles up, when we met a sloop with seven or eight men in her, and perceived that something was wrong, as the men in said boat were some half naked, and others with their heads bound up. Their cry was, ‘For God’s sake turn back, for Colonel Harney and all his men are wounded!’ The savages had surprised the poor fellows, at a time when least expected, just before the dawn of day; some were shot while lying in their beds; the men had not even time to seize their rifles. Those who escaped ran for the river, and swam off to a sloop, (the one that we met.) The first sergeant was wounded before reaching the river. An Indian from the bank entreated him to turn back and bring his men with him, and they would not hurt him; he foolishly turned back, and two or three others followed his advice. They were led away by the Indians, and were afterwards shot.

“After turning back with said sloop, we stopped at the mouth of the river, and perceived a canoe running down, which we at first took for Indians, but judge our surprise to find Colonel Harney and a soldier, who during the murder had taken to the wood on the bank of the river, and there found the canoe, and succeeded in making their escape. The first word from the colonel was, how many men had escaped, and how many rifles had we left, which upon examination we found to be three.

“The gallant colonel immediately determined on going back, as in all probability some of the men had escaped, and were yet on the banks of the river. It was a very hazardous expedition to proceed eight miles up a river lined with Indians, and only two or three rifles to protect themselves. The men muffled their oars, so as to make as little noise as possible, and started at about eleven o’clock at night. They got to the camp just before daylight, and after crawling up the bank, the first thing that met

their view was the body of one of their comrades, mangled in a most shocking manner, scalped, and his entrails taken out.

"They proceeded a little further, and found some six or seven in the same situation. Judging it not prudent to remain long, they seized on what few things the Indians had left, which were three kegs of pickles, a bag of corn, and some coffee, and returned to the sloops. The colonel dispatched one sloop to Tampa with two men that were wounded, and with our boat we proceeded for Cape Florida. The first day we were fired upon by Indians, about fifty miles from the Synabel, but we were too far from land for the shot to take any effect.

"On the 27th we arrived at Cape Sable, and fell in with the schooner Charles Howe, which we hired to go to Cape Florida, to put what few troops are there on their guard. I put into Key Vacas, which gives me the opportunity of relating the news. The number of soldiers stationed at Synabel was twenty-five, a sutler and his clerk, and two men employed as laborers, and one man employed as a pilot.

"The sutler's name is Dalham, the clerk's name Morgan, the carpenter's name Howard, the pilot's name H. McCarty, soldiers' names not known.

"The Indians have got considerable booty. The sutler had an assortment of goods worth about two or three thousand dollars, and about one thousand dollars in specie. The soldiers had *fourteen patent rifles, six carbines, one keg of powder*, a number of *percussion-caps*, and a great quantity of private property belonging to Colonel Harney and soldiers. They had placed every confidence in the Indians. They would come into camp every day and talk with the men, and when asked if they were satisfied with the treaty, answered they were.

* * * * *

"Lieutenant Hanson, upon the receipt of this intelligence, seized forty-six Seminoles then visiting his post to obtain provisions. This his command, though small, effected in a most skilful manner, and shipped them immediately for Charleston, South Carolina. From thence they were sent to Arkansas."

The Florida war was again renewed, with all its horrors and embarrassments, and preparations were being made for another campaign, as soon as the season would permit.

The Honorable J. R. Poinsett, secretary of war, in his annual report to the president of the United States, uses the following language in regard to the war:

"Congress having expressed a desire that an attempt should be made to terminate the war in Florida by pacific measures, and

appropriated a sum of money for that purpose, the department, early in the spring, dispatched Major-General Macomb to open a communication with the Indians, and, if possible, to treat with them. He succeeded with difficulty in obtaining an interview with some of the chiefs and head-men, and made an arrangement which it was hoped would put a stop to this long-protracted war. Its only result, however, has been the loss of many valuable lives. Our people fell a sacrifice to their confidence in the good faith and promises of the Indians, and were entrapped and murdered with all the circumstances of cruelty and treachery which distinguish Indian warfare. Composed, as the Florida Indians are, of the remnants of tribes that have taken refuge there, and acknowledge no common head, no treaty stipulations that are not sanctioned by each and every tribe can be regarded as binding; nor can the government consider the country pacified, until there has been a general submission of all the chiefs of the various tribes of Indians inhabiting the peninsula. The experience of the last summer brings with it the painful conviction that the war must be prosecuted until Florida is freed from these ruthless savages. Their late cruel and treacherous conduct is too generally known to require a repetition of the revolting recital. It has been such as is calculated to deprive them of the sympathy of the humane, and to convince the most peaceable of the necessity of subduing them by force. With this view, the regular forces have been augmented in Florida, as much as the circumstances of the country will permit, and orders have been given to change, for the present, the theatre of operations. The frequent murders committed in West and Middle Florida, show that there are still small bands of Indians lurking there, and it is the determination of the department, in the first place, to drive them from that portion of the territory, and free the settlements from further molestation. In the mean time, the posts on the Atlantic and the Gulf will be maintained, in order to protect the passing trade, in which effort it is expected the navy will co-operate. For this purpose, the vessels hitherto employed on the coast have been transferred to that department.

“Until the operations of the campaign were interrupted by the attempt to negotiate with the Indians, they were conducted with vigor and ability, under that zealous and indefatigable officer, Brigadier-General Taylor, who accomplished all that could be expected with the very limited means at his command, spread out as they were over so extensive a field of operations. Throughout the whole of this disastrous war, the officers and men engaged in it have endured fatigue and privations, sickness and suffering, without a murmur or complaint, and have, on all occasions, exhibited the qualities of good and brave soldiers. With untiring

perseverance they have opened roads through the swamps in pursuit of the enemy, and, whenever they could bring him to battle, displayed the utmost coolness and intrepidity; in every instance driving him from his fastnesses. But all these exertions and sacrifices have proved unavailing. Heretofore the Indian population of our states and territories have been expelled by the gradual increase and advances of a superior race; whereas, in Florida, the attempt has been made, for the first time, to drive aborigines from the unsettled wilderness, or, what is still more difficult, to catch them for the purpose of transporting them beyond its limits. If the Indians of Florida had a country to retire to, they would have been driven out of the territory long ago; but they are hemmed in by the sea, and must defend themselves to the uttermost, or surrender to be transported beyond it. To reduce them to that extremity, spread, as they are, over a space of at least forty-five thousand square miles of country, abounding in provisions suited to their habits, defended by a climate, benign to them, but deadly to the whites, and presenting difficulties to the march of armies, that have been often described and cannot be exaggerated, will require great exertions, and probably other than those hitherto tried."

* * * * *

Every expedient which could be devised had been resorted to to close this distressing and protracted war. The enemy, finding these had failed, now became more bold, active, and cruel, than ever. They showed themselves on the highways, and attacked travellers and plantations at noonday. The executive of the territory had awaited with patience and anxiety, when his constituents, appealing to him in the most earnest manner, could return to their homes, and the country once more be blest with permanent peace and happiness. Governor Reid, on the assembling of the territorial legislature at Tallahassee, in November, addressed to them language calculated to soothe the excited feelings of the populace, and to induce them to render their aid once more in attempting to reduce the enemy.

The following is an extract from the message of Governor Reid to the legislative council of Florida, December 10th, 1839:

"The efforts of the general and territorial governments to quell the Indian disturbances, which have prevailed through four long years, have been unavailing, and it would seem that the prophecy of the most sagacious leader of the Indians will be more than fulfilled; the close of the fifth year will still find us struggling in a contest, remarkable for magnanimity, forbearance, and credulity on the one side, and ferocity and bad faith on the other. We are waging a war with beasts of prey; the tactics that be-

long to civilized nations are but shackles and fetters in its prosecution; we must fight 'fire with fire;' the white man must, in a great measure, adopt the mode of warfare pursued by the red man, and we can only hope for success by continually harassing and pursuing the enemy. If we drive him from hammock to hammock, from swamp to swamp, and penetrate the recesses where his women and children are hidden; if, in self-defence, we show as little mercy to him as he has shown to us, the anxiety and surprise produced by such operations will not, it is believed, fail to produce prosperous results. It is high time that sickly sentimentality should cease. 'Lo, the poor Indian!' is the exclamation of the fanatic pseudo-philanthropist; 'Lo, the poor white man!' is the ejaculation which all will utter, who have witnessed the inhuman butchery of women and children, and the massacres that have drenched the territory in blood.

"In the future prosecution of the war it is important that a generous confidence should be reposed in the general government. It may be that mistakes and errors have been committed on all hands; but the peculiar adaptation of the country to the cowardly system of the foe, and its inaptitude to the operations of a regular army; the varying and often contradictory views and opinions of the best informed of our citizens, and the embarrassments which these cases must have produced to the authorities at Washington, furnish to the impartial mind some excuse, at least, for the failures which have hitherto occurred. It is our duty to be less mindful of the past than the future. Convinced that the present incumbent of the presidential chair regards, with sincere and intense interest, the afflictions we endure; relying upon the patriotism, talent, and sound judgment of the distinguished Carolinian who presides over the department of war, and confident in the wisdom of congress, let us prepare to second with every nerve, the measures which may be devised for our relief. Feeling as we do the immediate pressure of circumstances, let us exert, to the extremest point, all our powers to rid us of the evil by which we are oppressed. Let us by a conciliatory course endeavor to allay any unkindnesses of feeling which may exist between the United States army and the militia of Florida, and by union of sentiment among ourselves, advance the happy period when the territory shall enjoy what she so much needs, a long season of peace and tranquillity."

The legislature was induced to adopt their own expedients to effect the object. Accordingly, Colonel Fitzpatrick was authorized to proceed to Havanna, and procure a kennel of bloodhounds, dogs long noted in the West India islands for tracking and pursuing the negroes. He succeeded in obtaining thirty-

three, and returned on the 6th of January, 1840. The exorbitant price of \$151.72 each was paid, and with difficulty obtained. Five experienced Spaniards accompanied them, who were the only persons capable of using them effectively. The method adopted by the Spaniards to hunt the Indians, was to feed them liberally upon bloody meat, then muzzle and control them by a leash. They were to be put upon the footprint, which it was said they would follow until the individual was found. These dogs were attached to columns of troops, attended by their keepers. Young calves were driven with each detachment to feed them. Tracks of Indians were found, but the dogs finding the scent far different from that of a negro, refused to follow, which disappointed the most sanguine, who entertained the belief that the hounds would summarily close the Florida war. The attempt was a total failure. As ineffectual as this method of closing a sanguinary contest proved to be, it nevertheless aroused the indignation of many citizens in the largest cities, who, remote from the barbarities which had desolated the country, protested by memorials to the congress of the United States against a course so brutal and inhuman. The Honorable H. A. Wise, a representative from the state of Virginia, introduced a resolution in the lower house, inquiring into this step, and to know whether the general government had been a participator in so infamous a mode of exterminating human creatures, as expressed by the memorialists.

The Honorable J. R. Poinsett, in reply, transmitted the following :

" War Department, December 30th, 1839.

"SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th instant, inquiring into the truth of the assertion made by the public papers, that the government had determined to use bloodhounds in the war against the Florida Indians, and beg to assure you that it will afford me great pleasure to give you all the information on this subject in possession of the department.

"From the time I first entered upon the duties of the war department, I continued to receive letters from officers commanding in Florida, as well as from the most enlightened citizens of that territory, urging the employment of bloodhounds as the most efficient means of terminating the atrocities daily perpetrated by the Indians on the settlers in that territory. To these proposals no answer was given, until, in the month of August, 1838, while at the Virginia Springs, there was referred to me from the department a letter addressed to the adjutant-general, by the officer commanding the forces in Florida, General Taylor, to the following effect :

“ *Head-Quarters, Army of the South,* }
Fort Brooke, July 28th, 1838. }

“SIR—I have the honor to inclose you a communication this moment received, on the subject of procuring bloodhounds from the island of Cuba, to aid the army in its operations against the hostiles in Florida.

“I am decidedly in favor of the measure, and beg leave to urge it as the only means of ridding the country of the Indians, who are now broken up into small parties, that take shelter in swamps and hammocks as the army approaches, making it impossible for us to follow or overtake them without the aid of such auxiliaries.

“Should this measure meet the approbation of the department, and the necessary authority be granted, I will open a correspondence with Mr. Everson on the subject, through Major Hunt, assistant-quartermaster at Savannah, and will authorize him, if it can be done on reasonable terms, to employ a few dogs, with persons who understand their management.

“I wish it distinctly understood, that my object in employing dogs, is only to ascertain where the Indians can be found, not to worry them.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

General R. JONES, }
Washington, D. C. }

Z. TAYLOR,
Brevet Brig. Gen., U. S. A. Commanding.”

“On this letter I endorsed the following decision, which was communicated to General Taylor: ‘I have always been of opinion that dogs ought to be employed in this warfare, to protect the army from surprises and ambuscades, and to track the Indian to his lurking-place, but supposed, if the general believed them to be necessary, he would not hesitate to take measures to procure them. The cold-blooded and inhuman murders lately perpetrated upon helpless women and children by these ruthless savages, render it expedient that every possible means should be resorted to in order to protect the people of Florida, and to enable the United States forces to follow and capture, or destroy, the savage and unrelenting foe. General Taylor is therefore authorized to procure such number of dogs as he may judge necessary, it being expressly understood that they are to be employed to track and discover the Indians, not to worry or destroy them.’

“This is the only action or correspondence on the part of the department that has ever taken place in relation to the matter. The general took no measures to carry into effect his own recommendation, and this department has never since renewed the subject. I continue, however, to entertain the opinion expressed in the above decision. I do not believe that description of dog

called the bloodhound necessary to prevent surprise or track the Indian murderer, but still I think that every cabin, every military post, and every detachment, should be attended by dogs. That precaution might have saved Dade's command from massacre, and by giving timely warning have prevented many of the cruel murders which have been committed by the Indians in Middle Florida. The only successful pursuit of Indian murderers that I know of, was on a late occasion, when the pursuers were aided by the sagacity of their dogs. These savages had approached a cabin of peaceful and industrious settlers so stealthily, that the first notice of their presence was given by a volley from their rifles thrust between the logs of the house; and the work of death was finished by tomahawking the women, after tearing from them their infant children and dashing their brains out against the door-posts. Are these ruthless savages to escape, and repeat such scenes of blood, because they can elude our fellow-citizens in Florida, and our regular soldiers, and baffle their unaided efforts to overtake or discover them? On a late occasion, three estimable citizens were killed in the immediate neighborhood of St. Augustine, and one officer of distinguished merit mortally wounded. It is in evidence, that these murders were committed by two Indians, who, after shooting down the father and beating out the son's brains with the butts of their rifles, upon hearing the approach of the volunteers, retired a few yards into the woods, and secreted themselves until the troops returned to town with the dead bodies of those who had been thus inhumanly and wantonly butchered.

"It is to be regretted that this corps had not been accompanied with one or two hunters, who, with their dogs, might have tracked the blood-stained footsteps of these Indians, have restored to liberty the captives they were dragging away with them, and have prevented them from ever again repeating such atrocities. Nor could the severest casuist object to our fellow-citizens in Florida resorting to such measures in order to protect the lives of their women and children.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

HON. HENRY A. WISE, }
House of Representatives.

J. R. POINSETT."

"War Department, Jan. 26th, 1840.

"SIR—It is understood by the department, although not officially informed of the fact, that the authorities of the territory of Florida have imported a pack of bloodhounds from the island of Cuba; and I think it proper to direct, in the event of those dogs being employed by any officer or officers under your command, that their use be confined, altogether, to tracking the Indians;

and in order to ensure this, and to prevent the possibility of their injuring any person whatsoever, that they be muzzled when in the field, and held with a leash while following the track of the enemy.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

Brigadier-General Z. TAYLOR, Commanding }
Army of the South, *Florida*.

J. R. POINSETT."

The sickly season had again returned, when it was deemed expedient to withdraw the troops from the field. General Taylor's exertions had been unremitting in pursuing with vigor every scheme recommended or devised to bring the enemy to terms. His officers and soldiers bore their part, and, without a murmur, under every disappointment, privation, and fatigue, rendered a hearty co-operation.

Upon General Taylor's requesting to be relieved from duty in Florida, orders were issued at Washington to meet his wishes:

GENERAL ORDERS, }
No. 22. }

"Head-Quarters of the Army, }
Adjutant-General's Office, }
Washington, April 21st, 1840. }

"Brigadier-General Taylor having requested leave to retire from the command of the army in Florida, will be relieved by Brigadier-General Armistead, who is to assume the command accordingly, on the withdrawal of General Taylor on the 1st of May.

"General Taylor will communicate to General Armistead such instructions as he may have received, and are now requisite for the guidance of his successor in conducting the service in Florida.

"The head-quarters of the army in Florida are to be established at St. Augustine, after the 1st of May, where the reports and communications will be directed until otherwise ordered by the commanding officer.

By order of Major-General Macomb,

R. JONES, *Adjutant-General*."

The Spanish Indians inhabiting the southern part of the peninsula of Florida, finding themselves encroached upon by others from the north, driven down by the whites, became active participators. They plundered and murdered unfortunate seamen, wrecked upon the coast, and attacked the various settlements on the islands on the western coast, with whom they had lived in amity for years, engaged in fishing. Indian Key, a small island, about four miles in circumference and twenty from the main land, was attacked by a band of Spanish Indians in boats, under

Chekika. Dr. Perrine and his family were among the unfortunate sufferers. He was killed after eluding the Indians for some time. Distinguished for high classic and literary attainment, he had devoted years of his life, with great enthusiasm, to the study of botany. The southern portion of Florida was a spot peculiarly adapted to carry out his designs. His notes, which he had been accumulating for years, were all destroyed. In him science lost a bright ornament, social life a friend and kind parent, and Florida, as well as our common country, a benefactor. The following narrative, by an officer of the army, of what transpired at Indian Key, is full of interest:

"On the morning of the 7th of August, between two and three o'clock, the inhabitants of Indian Key were awakened from their sleep by the Indian war-whoop and the discharge of guns. Alarmed by the breaking of the glass of their chamber-windows, Mrs. Perrine and her three children descended into a small room at the foot of the stairs, in which was a trap-door that led to the cellar, used for bathing, as the tide filled it twice a day. Dr. Perrine accompanied them as far as the door, and then said he would go back and see what he could do.

"Mrs. Perrine resisted the entreaties of her daughters to go down into the water, until they heard the Indians breaking into the house of Mr. Howe, which was opposite to theirs. They went down into the cellar, passed through the bathing-room into a small place, say three feet high and four feet by ten in length and breadth, walled up on each side, with rocks and thick planks over the top, then covered by marl and stone and thin planks again, to make it even with the wharf which extended beyond, and was separated from it by palmetto posts driven deep into the marl; under this wharf was a large turtle-crawl. Soon after they had secreted themselves in this place, Dr. Perrine was heard upon the upper piazza, in Spanish, telling them he was a physician, upon which they gave a shout and left the house. While the Indians were gone, Dr. Perrine came down and closed the trap-door, and drew a heavy chest of seeds that was in the room over it, thinking that he should be saved, and he would try to save his family. During this time the Indians were heard breaking into different houses, while the Doctor's was left untouched; but about daylight they returned, jumped into the piazza, and commenced battering away at the doors and windows; one of them was heard to say, 'Stop that,' and then they rushed up stairs; the same voice was again heard to say, 'They are all hid—the old man up stairs;' for Dr. Perrine had evidently retreated to the cupola, which was entered by a heavy trap-door. The Indians were heard pounding at that door with most horrid yells,

but from its strength it resisted for some time ; when it gave way, their yells were like demons, and it was then that the massacre of Dr. Perrine was accomplished. They were soon heard breaking crockery, glass, doors, and indeed every thing they could lay their hands upon, while trunks, and chests of clothing, and all that they wished to carry off, were being dragged over the heads of the family that lay concealed, and loaded into boats. Indeed, while the family were in their place of retreat, there were two or three Indians most of the time sitting over their heads, talking and giving their commands ; they even lifted the plank from the turtle-crawl and looked down ; had they looked towards the end where the family were hid, they would certainly have been discovered.

“Soon after sunrise the smoke began to fill the cellar, but did not affect the Doctor’s family much, till about an hour before they left, at which time the whole house fell into the cellar ; it then became intolerable, and was so thick that though they were clasped in each other’s arms they could not see each other. The planks that supported the rocks over them took fire : during this time they kept their faces towards the water’s edge, plastered their heads with marl, and threw the water constantly over them to keep the air in motion so that they could breathe.

“When the planks took fire, they commenced throwing the marl upon them to stop the flames. The Doctor’s son, Henry, soon began to scream, when his mother held his mouth with her hands, fearing that the Indians would hear him, and his sister held his arms, until he burst from them, declaring that he would rather be killed by the savages than be burned to death : he forced aside a palmetto-post, and passed through the turtle-crawl and got out, while the others waited in horrible suspense, thinking that he would be killed and their discovery inevitable ; but hearing no noise, and knowing that they could live but a short time there, Mrs. Perrine dug down in the marl with her hands, until she could draw out the posts from the bottom. They then passed under the wharf, on which there were three cords of wood burning, and the floor burnt through, so that the coals fell upon their necks as they passed under. As they jumped out, they saw Henry standing in front of the store, looking about ; they then discovered a large launch at Houseman’s wharf, to which they waded, and beckoned to Henry to come to them. Henry and his sister dragged the launch into deep water, sprang in, and commenced poling and rowing with all their strength, until they were out of rifle-shot of the Key. They had one paddle, one oar, and two poles, and they went nearly a mile in this manner. Twice they got aground, but as Henry knew how to manage a boat, they soon succeeded in getting her off. They were taken

up by a boat from the schooner Medium. The boat in which the family escaped was one that the Indians were loading with plunder from the store ; it had in it a barrel of flour, one box of tobacco, soap, brandy, and molasses, and part of a musquito-bar. When they reached the vessel they found it to be one o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Howe, wife, and five children, Captain Houseman and wife, and Captain Otis, had reached the vessel before. Mrs. Perrine and children were immediately taken down into the cabin, and told to take any thing they could find to cover themselves with, having escaped from the house in their night-clothes. Mr. Howe afterwards found some dresses that the Indians had scattered, which were distributed. Friday and Saturday night they were on board the transport, where every service and attention that was in their power was rendered by the captain of the transport, and officers McCreery and Murray, of the United States navy.

"On Saturday night they were very much alarmed by hearing the report of two rifles, a signal which had been agreed upon, in case the Indians attacked Tea-Table Key, but it afterwards proved to have been a false alarm. Although there was a violent storm and a heavy sea, they begged to be permitted to get into an open boat and leave the vessel, thinking every moment the Indians would be upon them ; but the captain kindly refused to permit them to leave the vessel in such a storm, and thus saved them from a watery grave. On Saturday the United States schooner Flirt arrived, and Captain McLaughlin, immediately on learning the situation of those on board the Medium, kindly offered the use of his private state-room, which was accepted. On Monday the Flirt proceeded to Cape Florida, where she waited until Saturday for the steamer Santee, in which Dr. Perrine's family took passage for St. Augustine.

"Gratefully will ever be recollected by the sufferers the manifold kindnesses and attention received at the hands of Captain McLaughlin and his officers, in their destitute situation."

CHAPTER IV.

FROM JUNE 1840, TO MAY 1841.

State of affairs in Florida.—General Z. Taylor relinquishes the command of the army to General Armistead.—Strength of the army, regulars and militia.—Appropriations.—Attack of the Indians upon a detachment of the 7th infantry between Fort Micanopy and Watahoota.—Murder of Mrs. Montgomery.—Death of Lieutenant W. M. Sherwood, commanding the party, and Sergeant-Major Carroll.—Affair with Halleck Tustenugge and band at Orange Creek.—Resolute conduct of Lieutenant Alburdis, 2d infantry, and his men.—Troops take the field.—Colonel Worth's interview with Coacoochee or Wild Cat, at Camp Cummings.—Consents to assemble his band, and cease hostilities.—His appearance, and that of his followers, in coming into camp.—His talk.—He goes out again and returns.—Proceeds to Fort Brooke to see General Armistead.—Entire failure of negotiations through friendly Indians.—Coacoochee promises to assemble his band at Fort Pierce—His supposed infidelity there—Orders transmitted for his seizure.—General Armistead, in compliance with orders from Washington, relinquishes the command of the army to Colonel W. J. Worth, 8th regiment of infantry.

ON the 1st of January, 1841, the Florida war was no nearer a conclusion than the year previous. The difficulties which had obstructed the efforts of commanders still existed, without any apparent or possible means of attaining success. The Indians in their fastnesses were intractable, defying the exertions of troops, or the overtures of friendly messengers. Those who sought interviews with the whites, came to procure provisions, and practice the duplicity and cunning which had distinguished their conduct throughout this protracted war.

Brevet Brigadier-General W. R. Armistead, 3d artillery, U. S. A., relieved Brevet Brigadier-General Z. Taylor, 6th infantry, U. S. A., on the 6th of May, 1840, and established his head-quarters at St. Augustine, East Florida. Expeditions were dispatched in various quarters, which, as was reported, from the extreme heat of the season, the unknown haunts of the Indians, and sickness among the troops, frustrated the operations of the commanding general, who otherwise conducted the campaign with zeal and energy. These results, at this period, had caused, in the army and country, a general feeling of despair. All resources seemed to be exhausted; the troops lay in camp unoccupied, and the enemy roamed unmolested, striking a blow wherever and whenever his inclination or wants dictated. Peace and war, friendship and hostility, went hand in hand, so often alternated, that defeat and disappointment were the inevitable result. The strength of the army *present for duty* was 3403 non-commissioned officers and privates, and 241 commissioned officers; 564 comprised the number sick, together with seven commissioned officers. The aggregate of the army of Florida, present and absent, was 4941 men; this was composed of ten companies 2d

dragoons, nine companies 3d artillery, and the 1st, 2d, 3d, 6th, 7th, and 8th regiments of infantry. This force was posted at the numerous points throughout the territory, to prevent, if possible, the encroachments of the Indians upon the settlements, and occasionally make excursions, as circumstances required, without any organized system of co-operation. 1500 militia, 1000 mounted, and 500 foot, were being raised, to co-operate with the regular troops in protecting the border and subduing the enemy. Brigadier-General Leigh Reid, of Tallahassee, was placed in command; an officer of intelligence and merit. This fatal paralysis, neither peace nor war, prostrated every exertion, and crushed the ardent anticipations of officers and men. If Indians were found, they availed themselves of the truce, received kindness and attention, obtained subsistence and ammunition; improving the first opportunity to effect their escape, exulting among their companions at their own sagacity and the supineness of the white men. A party of twelve Seminoles and Mickasukies, from Arkansas, were operating in a friendly manner to obtain interviews with the hostiles. The sincerity of their acts and professions were often doubted; they, however, with difficulty could approach the enemy, either from cowardice or want of knowledge, in the almost impenetrable hammocks. Through their exertions, the commanding general obtained an interview with Halleck-Tustenuggee and Tigertail, two most crafty and notable chiefs, near Horse-Shoe Hammock, in the vicinity of Fort King, on the 10th of November, 1840. These chiefs came with forty warriors, artfully designing to strike a fatal blow, as inducement offered, or sagaciously improve the proffers of peace, and supply themselves with subsistence and ammunition. The general approached the hammock accompanied by several officers, when Halleck-Tustenuggee cautiously came out to meet him, bearing a white flag. His manner was humble and subdued; he talked calmly and feelingly upon the long and sanguinary continuance of hostilities, manifesting much interest that the contest should be closed. After earnest persuasion, he consented to return with the general to Fort King. His warriors, during the conversation, lay sequestered in the hammock. At Fort King he remained four days, visited constantly by small parties of his band, who returned by sundown to their unknown camp, supplied with enough to eat and to drink. In this way they lingered about the camp, giving the most ardent assurances of peace and friendship, by repeated *talks*, until the morning of the 14th of November, when it was announced that the entire party had *fled!* headed by the chiefs who commanded it. Both the chiefs slept in camp that night, with twenty men. Their wants were supplied; their object was accomplished; farther intercourse with the whites consequently

ceased. Pursuit by the troops in camp was immediately given, but without success; not even a *track* could be discovered. This, it was supposed, was enough to blast all hopes of success through the interposition of friendly Indians, or by the allurements of friendship and kindness, and cause activity in the command, to chastise the temerity of such proceedings, and vindicate the acknowledged sagacity of the white man. Yet the army was idle in camp, waiting for some anticipated result, the nature of which was neither understood nor expressed.

The head-quarters of the army were established at Fort Brooke, Tampa, Florida. Here was concentrated the largest portion of the disposable force; from which point it was contemplated to move, to strike an effectual blow at the proper time. The occurrence of some event was anticipated, whether it was the re-enacting of cruel murders, or the voluntary surrender of the enemy, were questions often mooted in the minds of those who suffered under feelings of disappointment and regret, and who were yet to bear the burden of the toil resulting from procrastination.

The intelligence of the attack upon Lieutenant Sherwood, 7th infantry, his death, the brutal murder of Mrs. Montgomery, (wife of Lieutenant Montgomery, 7th infantry,) caused the indignation of officers and soldiers, created alarm, and aroused the spirit of retaliation throughout the country. This occurred on the 28th of December, 1840. The party consisted of Second-Lieutenant Walter Sherwood, Lieutenant N. Hopson, Sergeant-Major Carroll, and ten privates, 7th infantry, as an escort to Mrs. Montgomery, who were proceeding on horseback from Micanopy to Watahoota, eight miles, accompanied by a wagon and five mules. The detachment had advanced about four miles, when from a strip of hammock known as Martin's Point, within twenty yards of the road, they received the fire of the enemy, followed immediately by the well-known war-whoop and savage yell: two privates fell dead. Lieutenant Sherwood rallied his escort, determined to stand his ground; and to protect Mrs. Montgomery persuaded her to dismount and get into the wagon; in the act of so doing she received a ball in her breast, which was fatal. A general panic ensued; the mules became entangled in the harness, and were killed on the spot. Lieutenant Hopson returned to Micanopy for reinforcement. With the few that remained, Lieutenant Sherwood fought hand to hand with the savages as they advanced from the wood; redoubled in fury by the havoc before them, until exhausted from the loss of blood, and overpowered by numbers, he fell a sacrifice to his own intrepidity and bravery, with the sergeant-major by his side. The Indians, after scalping the killed, and otherwise mutilating the bodies, re-

turned to the hammock. This party consisted of thirty warriors, headed by Halleck-Tustenuggee and Cosa-Tustenuggee. They came out for the purpose of plunder, secreted themselves in the palmettoes and *scrub*, and thus approached the most frequented route, where the hammocks formed a junction with the highway. The cold-blooded atrocity of this act intimidated Cosa-Tustenuggee, who sought the first opportunity to surrender, still relying upon the forbearance and credulity of the agents of the government. He assembled his band near Palaklikaha, when he was unexpectedly fired upon by a scouting party of dragoons, who took them prisoners and conducted them to Fort King. This act fortunately broke up the amicable relations supposed to exist between the enemy and the whites. The band was secured, consisting of thirty-two warriors and sixty women and children, and was embarked for Arkansas on the 20th of June. The infamy of his own acts, accident, and the resolution of the detachment of dragoons, (which at first caused the arrest of the officer in command,) had relieved Florida of an Indian chieftain, cruel, cowardly, and vindictive.

The authorities at Washington, harassed by the repeated and loud complaints of the citizens of the territory, rescinded the instructions to the commanding general to urge the Indians to amicable surrender, and required him to prosecute the war with vigor, under the stipulations of the treaty of Payne's Landing: "The department entertains the well-grounded hopes," says this communication, of February 1st, 1841, "that you will be able to bring the war to a close upon the terms required by the treaty, and by the interests and feelings of the people of Florida." Five years' experience had taught no lesson of instruction; these terms had been persevered in, under various suggestions and different forms, but every successive campaign had caused a large expenditure of money and life, without effecting the objects of the government, the wishes of the people, or the anticipations of officers and soldiers. Congress, disgusted with the sound of *Florida War*, continued its liberality in appropriating means to defray the expenses of any newly-devised scheme to bring the contest to a close. On the 18th of January \$100,000 was appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the secretary of war, for the removal, subsistence, and benefit, of such of the Seminole Indian chiefs and warriors as might surrender for emigration. On the 3d of March \$1,061,816 was appropriated for suppressing Indian hostilities in Florida. This placed in the hands of the commander abundant means to renew the war with vigor; at the same time granting him broad discretion in the use of money, to tempt the Indian to emigrate. This was the most favorable and important season of the year to find the haunts of

the enemy, and to destroy their fields, planted in the centre of hammocks, upon which they mainly relied for subsistence the ensuing year. Secure in these retreats, they sallied forth upon the unprotected at any moment; returned laden with plunder, confident in their security, and with enough about them to supply their wants. Many of these Indians were inclined to surrender; some effected their object; but the most zealous and intelligent, believing in the sacredness of the soil, as an inheritance from their forefathers, and reverencing with idolatrous fanaticism the graves of their men, women, and children, whose spirits they believed hovered around them in their festivals, pertinaciously refused all intercourse with the whites, and declared vengeance against those who dared place themselves within temptation, or listened to the terms of peace and emigration. With such an enemy, intimately acquainted with every avenue by land and water, to waylay the defenceless, and elude the vigilance of troops, the forcing them to surrender by the operations of the military, presented to those charged with this duty, and who participated, embarrassments and obstacles almost insurmountable. Could the enemy be found assembled in any number, the fortitude, the stern and inflexible sense of duty, on the part of officers and men, their perseverance and forbearance under all circumstances, gave every assurance that the gallantry and success that heretofore distinguished their encounters with the enemy, would have brought them to an unconditional surrender, and thus closed the contest, in compliance with the instructions of the war department, and the wishes of the suffering and unfortunate citizens of the country.

The atrocious scenes enacted by these Indians, disregarding the innocent and unoffending, desolating all within reach by fire and blood, caused many a shudder among those heretofore secure in the quietude of their homes, lest the coming night might involve them in the same fate. Neither time nor distance protracted or defeated these excursions, made generally at midnight; as the smallness of their numbers, and knowledge of the country, eluded the sagacity of the most experienced *trackers* among the whites, friendly Indians, and negro guides and interpreters.

It was important, that if active military operations were to be relied on, the utmost activity should be given to the movements of the troops during the months of February, March, April, and May. The periodical rains during the three latter months flooded the country, rendering many parts inaccessible, which at an earlier period were comparatively dry. The mutations of the climate, exposure to wet, a burning sun, and cool nights, tended to enervate the most hardy of the troops, however long accustomed to the climate. Heretofore the army had been burdened

with the sick and feeble at this season, demanding its withdrawal from the field to healthy stations, for the summer. This was considered necessary, unfortunately, as it gave the Indians ample time to plant and gather their crops.

At the present time the commanding general hardly knew where to concentrate or scatter his force, to strike the first blow. Arpeika or Sam Jones, though imbecile from age, occupied with his band the country in the neighborhood of Lake Okeechobee. Coacoochee or Wild Cat, well known for his youthful daring and intelligence, was supposed to be the instigator and leader in the exploits and inroads made upon the settlements east and west of the river St. John's, and participated with others in the murders along the Georgia line. Middle and West Florida were harassed by incursions from the vicinity of the Esteen-Hatchee (Man-river) and the Ocklockonne rivers. Okefenokee swamp afforded another shelter for these depredators upon the inhabitants settled on the southern frontier of Georgia. The hammocks and swamps bordering and communicating with the rivers St. John's, Ocklawaha (Bad Crossing), Withlacoochee (Big Water), Santa Fe, and Suwannee, were safe places of retreat. Orange Lake, Tuscowillar Hammock near Micanopy, Long Swamp near Fort King, the Wahoo Swamp on the Withlacoochee, the Wacassassa Hammock, and the country bordering the eastern coast of the Gulf, were favorite resorts for green-corn dances and councils, from which small war-parties emerged, cutting off travellers and express-riders. Constant intercourse was had between the bands living in these secluded spots, traversing from one to the other, as convenience and comfort required, without leaving a track behind. To prevent this concert of action, troops were posted in such a manner as to intercept them if possible. This tended to make them more cautious. Regardless of this, and confident of their ability to elude and baffle the whites, they frequently passed at night within the sight of camp-fires and posts. After congregating at some convenient point to strike an effectual blow, they accomplished their object at an hour when least anticipated, then scattered in parties of two, three, and five, carrying the booty to the general council-ground, where, in large numbers, they celebrated these achievements by dances, feasts, debauchery, and games.

Halleck Tustenuggee was another indomitable leader. A Mickasukie by birth, he boasted that his tribe had never been subdued by the white men. Young and intelligent, with a few but well-tried followers, he was crafty, savage, and fearless. The country from St. Augustine northwest to Fort King and Micanopy, he kept in constant alarm. His infidelity at Fort King, his avowed hatred to the whites, his sagacity, the despotism

with which he ruled his band, made him a dangerous and formidable foe. On the 2d of March he came in the neighborhood of Fort Brooks, on the Ocklawaha river, commanded by First-Lieutenant William Alburtis, 2d U. S. infantry. Here Corporal Long, belonging to the fort, while out on a hunting excursion, was overtaken and cruelly murdered. Knowing the garrison to be weak, the Indians assembled and invited a conflict, by most hideous yells over the remains of Long, secreting themselves in the hammock by the road-side, believing that as the troops advanced they would discover the body of Long, and gather around it, thus enabling them to inflict a murderous fire. Lieutenant Alburtis hearing the yells at his post, and believing it to be an attack upon the *train* with subsistence, expected from Fort Russell, accepted the invitation, and with nineteen men diverged from the wood to the left, which brought him in rear of the enemy, eagerly awaiting his approach. A well-directed and spirited fire announced his arrival, driving the Indians in consternation from their ambuscade to the pine-barren. Here the conflict was continued in a most gallant manner, the enemy twice the number of the command, until they retreated to the hammock, when, the ammunition being nearly exhausted, Lieutenant Alburtis retired to his post without molestation, taking with him one sergeant, one corporal, and three privates severely wounded. Still apprehensive that the provision-train would be intercepted by the enemy, another sally was made, with seventeen men, the entire effective force of the post. When crossing Orange Creek bridge, about six miles distant, the detachment received the fire of the enemy from both sides of the road, secreted in a dense hammock, and fought its way to the pine-barren on the opposite side. The Indians now becoming resolute and fearless, by their own strength and position, advanced with rapidity. The detachment extended from right to left, each man taking a pine-tree, sending forth rapid and well-directed shots, and returning with vigor the taunts and threats of their adversaries. This continued for more than an hour, when the troops, finding the Indians disinclined to approach far from the hammock, advanced upon them, when they retreated, leaving Lieutenant Alburtis in quiet possession of the ground. The train with subsistence soon arrived, and was conducted in safety to the fort. In this last encounter one soldier was killed and one wounded. The resolution and firmness of Lieutenant Alburtis and his little band received, as it deserved, the highest commendation. It taught a salutary lesson to Halleck Tustenuggee, whose visits in this quarter became less frequent and destructive. In both affairs he had thirty-five warriors; one sub-chief and three warriors were killed, and two wounded.

Waxehadjo, another cruel and intrepid warrior, who for months waylaid the express from Fort Cross to Tampa Bay, having recently burnt the mail, and put the rider to most horrible tortures, met a well-deserved and summary punishment by Captain B. L. Beall, 2d dragoons, who was dispatched immediately with his company, upon the receipt of the intelligence at headquarters, and found the chief with two men examining the mail-bag, having just finished their breakfast upon the contents of the express-rider's haversack, whose head they had cut off, and placed it upright on the coals upon which their meal had been cooked. The two Indians escaped; the chief, closely followed, took to a pond, in which he expected to elude his pursuers by remaining under water; this he nearly effected. The command eagerly watching when he should rise to the surface, discovered him almost beyond the reach of a rifle; several were discharged, when he sunk. The men waded the pond, and found him hanging to the grass beneath, in the last agonies of death. His body was hung upon a tree, as a warning to his companions.

Such incidents as these ought to have admonished the most prudent, that the closing of such a warfare could not be accomplished by the means in operation. Peace and friendship was cried in one quarter, war and bloodshed enacted in another. A band of Indians, active and vindictive, occupied the country south of Pease Creek, through the Big Cypress Swamp to the Everglades. Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs), Otalke-Thlocko (The Prophet), and Hospertacke (Shiver and Shakes), were the head-men. A part of the friendly Indians from Arkansas were operating in that quarter, from the camp at Sarasota, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Davenport, 1st infantry. Repeated interviews were had with these chiefs, resulting in their promising to assemble for emigration, and obtaining provisions and ammunition. The expedition of Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, 2d dragoons, with a detachment from the 3d artillery and dragoons, comprising one hundred men, in canoes, in December, 1840, caused much alarm among these bands, who had fled to this last foot-hold in the territory. This command threaded the most intricate passages of this unexplored region, consisting of land, mud, marsh, and water. Chekika, a Spanish Indian chief, with his followers, was found and attacked by a detachment of the 3d artillery, when after vigilant pursuit, he was killed, and six of his companions executed on the spot. With sullen indifference they awaited their fate, asked for no mercy, but manifested, to the last moment, bitter contempt and malignity towards the white man. This intimidated the Indians, fearing the same fate; as the facility with which the soldiers managed their boats showed that the most secluded spots could be penetrated. To elude capture, and



Death of Waxe-hadjo.

to divert operations in the Everglades, the Indians hastened to Sarasota, eagerly proffering peace, friendship, and emigration, and thus obtained time to plant their fields, and remove their women and children to places of safety. Their offers were accepted, generally believed to be sincere, and they were fed and clothed until the month of April, when, their plans having been matured, and the season advanced, they simultaneously returned to the Big Cypress Swamp and Everglades, elated at their own sagacity, and ridiculing the credulity of the whites. Through the exertions of Major W. G. Belknap, 3d infantry, stationed at Fort Fanning, on the Suwannee, the Tallahassee chief, Echo-E-Mar-thlar, with sixty followers, were secured and emigrated on the 20th of March. A few Indians came in from the Annuttiliga Hammock, giving assurances of friendship. Among these was Thlocklo-Tustenuggee or Tiger-Tail, who, since his interview with the commanding general at Fort King, and his escape, had roamed at large, instigating the young men to action. He protested his innocence, and exculpated himself by criminating the Mickasukies, cautioning the commander against their hostility and artful designs. These Indians, after remaining a few days, participating in the hospitality of the garrison, and in constant intercourse with the negro interpreters, whose livelihood depended upon this state of affairs, were permitted to depart as messengers to the hostiles, whose resolution, it was hoped would be shaken by the kindness heaped upon these men, who had been sent in, as being the most sagacious, to obtain ammunition, whisky, and subsistence. Some never returned, others came back, with the well-digested tale that their friends were assembling in camp, not far distant, ready to emigrate; but that the inability of the women and children to travel without food, would unavoidably cause delay. To expedite them to the place of embarkation, Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, subsistence was given to any amount demanded. At this season the crop of the past summer was exhausted. To struggle through, until those already planted afforded means of food, required activity and industry in obtaining natural productions, or to obtain enough by well practiced deception upon the whites, whose anxiety to close the contest made them credulous and confiding. Under the pretext of emigration, they were allowed to go to and fro, the bearers of friendly messages, until the season was sufficiently advanced, when the forest yielded its abundance, and their crops gave evidence of affording enough for the ensuing year. Eight, ten, fifteen, and twenty days were given them, from time to time, accompanied by entreaties and half-uttered threats, that if the bands were not in by the time allotted, they would be treated as hostiles. Disregarding these injunctions, they returned with

cunningly-devised excuses, relying confidently upon the credulity of those upon whom these artful schemes had had so charitable an effect. In this they were not mistaken; enough was obtained for the subsistence of women and children, powder sufficient for defence and amusement; while the crops were far advanced, and the season at hand, when the troops, spectators to these events, and worn down by exposure to the climate, would seek refuge for the summer.

The field of operations occupied by the regular troops was divided into seven military districts, viz., the Atlantic district, head-quarters St. Augustine; St. John's, head-quarters Black Creek; the Ocklawaha, head-quarters Fort King; Micanopy, head-quarters Micanopy; the Wacassassa, head-quarters Fort Fanning; the Withlacoochee, head-quarters Fort Clinch; the Tampa, head-quarters Fort Brooke; southern head-quarters Sarasota; each commanded by the senior officer present.

The militia force in the field, under the command of Brigadier-General Leigh Reid, was judiciously posted in the northern part of the territory, extending from the Ocklockonnee river, *via* Tallahassee, to Trader's Hill, Georgia, on the St. Mary's river. Palatka, on the St. John's river, was the principal depot, from which supplies were sent to the interior in wagons, escorted by dragoons and infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel T. F. Hunt, deputy quartermaster-general, was stationed here, the head of this department. The anxiety of the government to close this harassing warfare, was evident by the liberality which distinguished every staff department. Transportation could be had to any extent, and the soldier was supplied with every necessary to add to his comfort in sickness, and aid him in overcoming the obstacles which the climate and the character of the country interposed in all quarters. Marches of weeks and months, through deep sand and muddy water, burdened with a knapsack and musket, exposed to a vertical sun and drenching rains, brought the troops no nearer the enemy, who, with his rifle and a few companions, watched their weary progress from day to day, intercepting detachments at every point, with a fleetness unexampled, eluding and misleading by their intimate knowledge of the country. Hardly could the troops reach their destination, before the section of country which they had just left would be alarmed by the inroads of the Indians. Disregarding the dictates of humanity, the Indian mother has been known to leave her infant by the way-side, lest the burden might impede her flight. If a sound was heard in the neighborhood of their secluded camps, to which they were not accustomed, the cracking of a bush, or the ill-omened croaking of an owl, a move was immediately made to a more retired spot. The soldier and officer thus harassed, would willingly have dis-

pensed with the liberality of the government, to find and chastise the enemy. Health, reputation, and money were lavished, to receive in return censure, dissatisfaction, and defeat.

General hospitals were established at Picolata, on the St. John's, and at Cedar Key, on the Gulf side, near the mouth of the Suwannee river, to which the sick were sent, when the number at each interior post became so augmented as to limit the necessary means of comfort and attendance. These positions gave to the invalid the invigorating influences of the sea-breeze from the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The prevailing disease was dysentery, caused by being obliged to drink the turbid water from stagnant pools, and aggravated by the long continued and unvaried heat of the summer.

With the efficient force of regulars and militia at hand, supplies in abundance, the command in a comparatively healthy state, the season offering every inducement to exertion and enterprise, to remain longer inactive, anticipating a conclusion of the war by pacific measures, was as irreconcilable as it had proved unavailing. The movement of troops it was feared would alarm the Indians, and induce them to believe the promises of peace and friendship were disregarded. These, though made in good faith, were not obligatory, as their assurances of every kind had been totally disregarded, even when the troops were inactive, through their duplicity, sagacity, and entreaties.

On the 22d of January, a detachment of the 8th infantry, stationed at Fort Brooke, two hundred and forty strong, commanded by Captain T. P. Guynn, moved east for the Kissimmee river; supplies were pushed on, and a depot established on the head-waters of Pease Creek. A stockade was built, and called Fort Carroll, in memory of Sergeant-Major Carroll, 7th infantry, who fell with Lieutenant Sherwood. The country in which successful operations might be anticipated, either for peace or war, was in advance, in the neighborhood of the Kissimmee river; thence east to the Atlantic coast. Four additional companies of the 8th regiment, two hundred strong, followed the next day, together with Beall's company, 2d dragoons. Colonel W. J. Worth, commanding the regiment and the Tampa district, arrived on the 30th, and took the direction of operations. On the 4th of February the command encamped at Fort Gardner. The country on the route was found to be completely inundated, and the causeways and bridges erected by troops in the operations in this quarter, in 1838 and 1839, were completely destroyed. The banks of the Kissimmee were overflowed. The mounted men and Indians, sent to penetrate by the most frequented trails to the south, returned, unable to proceed on horse-

back more than six miles, the water continually increasing in depth. Five Indians of the Arkansas delegation, accompanied the command. Micco, an aged but intelligent Indian, captured in the Everglades by Major Childs, 3d artillery, was sent by the commanding general to co-operate as far as in his power with the friendly Indians. Coacoochee or Wild Cat, he said, occupied an island in Lake Tohopekaliga, and, could he cross the Kissimmee, he was satisfied he could find him. He was dispatched on the 6th of February, and returned on the 8th, finding the country, from the depth of water, impassable, and having lost his horse in endeavoring to swim for dry land. He designated Fort Cummings, thirty miles farther north, near the Big Cypress Swamp, on the Ockholwakee, as a point from which he believed he could proceed. The command took post at that place, when Micco was dispatched with a talk to Coacoochee, accompanied by a white flag, upon which was drawn clasped hands, in token of friendship, a bottle of whisky, pipes, and tobacco. Coacoochee, since his attack upon a party of theatricals proceeding from Picolata to St. Augustine, in which two were killed, and their entire wardrobes plundered, had secluded himself, lest vengeance might overtake him. This, together with his well-known infidelity, activity, and vindictiveness, almost precluded the hopes of an interview. His daughter, an interesting girl about twelve years of age, who had been captured in a skirmish near Fort Mellon, was then in camp, and it was thought would induce him to come in, and by the kindness extended to her, be the means of subduing his malignity to the whites, against whom he had waged so long and successful a warfare. The return of Micco was looked for with anxiety and suspense. An interview with this chieftain would afford facilities through which much might be accomplished. The flooded state of the country, and ignorance of their hiding-places, precluded the possibility of effecting the desired object through the operations of troops. This country, out of which it had been seriously proposed to starve the Indians, supplied the troops abundantly with venison, turkeys, fish, and turtle. On the sixth day Micco returned, and reported that he had found Coacoochee four days' travel from camp, in the Ockholwakee or Cypress Swamp. He brought from him professions of friendship, and a desire to *talk* with the white man, sending eight sticks, representing the number of days when he might be expected in camp, and requested the friendly Indians to meet him on the road. These Indians, well understanding the duplicity of their own color, feared some design to entrap and put them to death. Being assured that succor should be at hand, they departed on the appointed day. The command was put in

readiness, and the utmost vigilance enjoined, to frustrate any design the chief might have to surprise by numbers, or to accurately inform himself of the strength and position of the camp.

At noonday on the 5th of March, Coacoochee was announced approaching the encampment, preceded by the friendly Indians, and followed by seven trusty warriors. He came within the chain of sentinels boldly and fearlessly, decorated, as were his companions, in the most fantastical manner. Parts of the wardrobe plundered from the theatrical party the year previous, were wrapped about their persons in the most ludicrous and grotesque style. The nodding plumes of the haughty Dane, as personated in the sock and buskin, boasting of his ancestry and revenge, now decorated the brow of the unyielding savage, whose revenge had desolated the country by blood, and whose ancestors had bequeathed the soil, now consecrated by their ashes, which he had defended with unwavering fidelity. He claimed no inheritance or rights but those he was prepared to defend. Modestly by his side walked a faithful friend wound up in the simple garb of Horatio. In the rear was Richard III., judging from his royal purple and ermine, and the hideousness of a distorted, dark, and revengeful visage. Others were ornamented with spangles, crimson vests, and feathers, according to fancy. He approached the tent of Colonel Worth, who was prepared to receive him; shook hands with the officers around, undisturbed in language or manner. His speech was modest and fluent, calmly saying he had received the talk and white flag sent by Micco, and, agreeable to promise, was here, relying upon the integrity of those who had sent them. His youth, his manly bearing, his intelligent face, the calm subdued intonations of his voice, his fluent speech, and graceful gestures, won the sympathy of those around, and commanded the respect and attention of all. His child, who had been placed in a tent until the proper time to return her to her father, escaped from it and joined him so soon as she heard his voice, and with the instinct peculiar to her race, brought him musket-balls and powder, pieces of cartridges which she had found about the camp and secreted, anticipating her father's arrival. The safe return of his daughter, who had been captured from him when retreating from the execution of his bloody deeds, caused a glow of manly gratitude, as he returned the cordial reception given him by Colonel Worth and his officers. Tears seldom give utterance to the impulses of an Indian's heart: Coacoochee wept. He found the innate enemy of his race the protector of his child. He detailed with accuracy and feeling the occurrences of the past four years: "The whites," said he, "dealt unjustly by me. I came to them, they deceived me; the land I was upon I loved, my body is made of its sands; the

Great Spirit gave me legs to walk over it; hands to aid myself; eyes to see its ponds, rivers, forests, and game; then a head with which I think. The sun, which is warm and bright as my feelings are now, shines to warm us and bring forth our crops, and the moon brings back the spirits of our warriors, our fathers, wives, and children. The white man comes; he grows pale and sick, why cannot we live here in peace? I have said I am the enemy to the white man. I could live in peace with him, but they first steal our cattle and horses, cheat us, and take our lands. The white men are as thick as the leaves in the hammock; they come upon us thicker every year. They may shoot us, drive our women and children night and day; they may chain our hands and feet, but the red man's heart will be always free. I have come here in peace, and have taken you all by the hand; I will sleep in your camp though your soldiers stand around me like the pines. I am done; when we know each other's faces better I will say more."

Colonel Worth replied to him briefly, assuring him of kindness and protection. The transition from his wild mode of life to the confines of a military camp unfitted him to listen to opinions, or to the terms of peace and emigration. Notwithstanding the inflexibility of his feelings, his animosity to the whites, and the evidences about them of atrocious acts, policy dictated a wiser course than the gratification of prejudice or revenge. To secure the influence of this chief, whose voice was potential among the different bands, was of the first importance. The instruments in the hands of higher authority, had failed, by vain expedients; and the flooded state of the country, and the approach of the sickly season, gave strong evidences that another summer would pass in fruitless efforts to conquer the enemy. Coacoochee remained in camp four days. The necessity of his leaving the country he admitted, hard as it was. The difficulty of assembling his band, and, when found, the embarrassments in inducing them to acquiesce in his views, were such as almost to discourage the attempt. But he would make the effort, and return in ten days. No decisive steps could be taken until the green-corn dance in June. He, with his companions and child, left on the 9th, and, prompt to his engagement, returned on the tenth day, lamenting his inability to collect his band, but desired to see the commanding general at Tampa, in order that a future day might be appointed, when he would have his band assembled at any designated spot. His interview with General Armistead at Fort Brooke, on the 22d of March, was a repetition of what transpired at Fort Cummings, which confirmed, in the minds of all, the honesty of his intentions. Fort Pierce, on the Atlantic coast, commanded by Major Childs, was agreed upon as the point

at which he should assemble his band, preparatory to emigration. He left with a cheerful heart, having received from officers and soldiers every mark of friendship and distinction. If he was insincere in his professions, these measures tended at least to disarm him of hostility, and quiet the war spirit so long prevalent in the band.

The active operations of Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, 2d dragoons, and Major Childs, 3d artillery, from Fort Pierce, south and west, extending from the coast to Lake Okeechobee, thence through the Everglades, had laid open the country, disclosing large fields once cultivated by the Indians; but the approach of troops had driven them still deeper into their fastnesses. These movements were ordered to be suspended, in accordance with the wish of Coacoochee, that he might gather his band and induce them to emigrate. Major Childs was directed to receive him and his followers as friends, and treat them accordingly.

The band of Indians on the Ocklockonnee river, near Tallahassee, being adjacent to so thickly settled a part of the territory, had caused serious alarm. The commander of the 3d infantry, Colonel Vose, after many ineffectual efforts, by scouts and the agency of friendly Indians, reported on the, 9th of April his inability to meet the Indians in any manner. The few that came in to Fort Fanning discouraged all hopes of a successful result with those on the Esteen-Hatchee, as the chiefs Halpatter Tustenuggee and Cotzar-fixico-chopco had declared in council their determination to die upon the soil. These men and their followers kept the country around the Okefinokee Swamp constantly in arms.

Halleck-Tustenuggee, in co-operation with other chiefs, was actively engaged in obtaining supplies from Fort King. He dispatched his most intelligent and crafty sub-chiefs to Major Plympton, 3d Infantry, commanding, with a bundle of sticks as the number of his band, with assurances that he was assembling his followers at Warm Springs, thirty miles distant, for emigration; at the same time urging that the troops might remain quiet, as their movements intimidated the Indians, and caused them to disbelieve his assurances of peace and friendship. These practices were indulged for a time, in the hope that he might once more come within the chain of sentinels. But his demands increasing from time to time, and he as ingeniously procrastinating the fulfillment of his promises, farther supplies were refused him, and the messengers imprisoned. This put an end to professions of friendship. He returned to the hammocks, leaving in his *trail* sixty sticks, designating the number of his warriors, painted with blood; and, cut upon the pine trees, rude characters representing the white man in conflict with the Indian, in which the latter was

victorious. Such acts of defiance, while it signified the malignant and revengeful feelings of the enemy, gave striking evidence of their ability to elude their foe, and aggravate the already overtasked and almost despairing feelings of the soldier. The time was fast approaching when the Indian would enjoy his repose, with a harvest around him, while the soldier, broken in spirit and constitution, harassed night and day, wasted his energies in fruitless and unavailing efforts.

Lieutenant-Colonel Davenport, commanding at Sarasota, reported on the 26th of April, the entire failure of all negotiations south; the Indians suddenly had taken their departure. Soll Micco, a young sub-chief, was despatched with messages, with the hope of inducing others to return. This was of no avail, they counselled among themselves upon the expediency of putting him to death for bearing the message. It was determined, should they return, to make them prisoners. This resolution, unfortunately, was always matured too late, as their cunning far overreached the penetration of the whites.

The militia of Florida, commanded by General L. Reid, were discharged the service on the 20th of April. Loud calls immediately followed, through the governor, R. Raymond Reid, for protection along the exposed frontier. Tallahassee and its neighborhood offered great inducements for the approach of the enemy. The citizens, though having been sufferers in the loss of property and home, relied too much upon the presence of troops, instead of organizing and arming in their own defence. Their presence would have been a powerful auxiliary to detachments of regulars, in deterring and frustrating the Indians in their secret and hostile excursions. Every man's house should have been a citadel, a sturdy heart his weapon; but instead, the first impulse was to flee. Eight companies of the 3d infantry took post at Fort Pleasants, Fort Ocilla, and Fort Macomb. Detachments constantly moving in all quarters, deterred the Indians from frequent incursions, but to effectually prevent it, every house, swamp and hammock would have to have been converted into a military camp. The long pending negotiations—occasional acts of hostility—the reckless treachery of Indians with whom intercourse had been had six months past, receiving abundant supplies, and giving in exchange ardent promises of emigration, encouraged their audacity, and stimulated them to atrocities upon express-riders and the unprotected in all parts of the territory. Coacoochee, during the months of April and May, made frequent visits to Fort Pierce with many warriors, each time well supplied with provisions and whisky. He expressed much solicitude to emigrate, but found difficulty in collecting his people, as the movements of troops had caused them to disperse and hide. He

represented that a council was to be held near Lake Okeechobee, in which Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs), Arpeika (Sam Jones), and Hospetarke, were to participate, when an effort would be made to induce them to follow his example. The large amount of whisky and provisions demanded for this assemblage, induced Major Childs to doubt the sincerity of his professions. This, together with his extreme caution under all circumstances, and the absence of all amusements and dissipation within the garrison, left but little doubt that his determination was to obtain enough for the summer, and then return to the hammocks. He was indulged in his demands, but inducements were held out to him to return in a few weeks. Major Childs immediately dispatched a messenger to the commanding general, expressing his conviction, and that no time should be lost in frustrating this plot, which so far had been conducted with skill and success. In reply, orders were transmitted on the 21st of May, to seize Coacoochee and band, upon his return to the garrison.

Encompassed as the commander of the army had been with numerous and trying difficulties, they now seemed to thicken upon him in number and magnitude in all quarters. Four hundred and fifty Indians, of whom one hundred and twenty were warriors, had been emigrated during his command, but this fell far short of the hopes and expectations of those who had been participants. The number of Indians had been reduced, but this diminution, after what had transpired, increased the vindictiveness, activity, and strength of those remaining. Diminishing the number, increased the difficulty of finding the remainder. Conscious of this, whenever pressed by difficulties or troops, they scattered in small parties of two, three, or five, without leaving a track behind them. In this apparent weakness consisted their strength. The Florida War was still in full vigor, aggravated by treachery, bloodshed, the approach of the sickly season, and demands upon the forbearance of the people, and the treasury of the country.

From the delegation of friendly Indians from Arkansas much had been expected. They came from the country destined as the future home for those remaining in Florida. It was thought that through their instrumentality a constant communication could be had with the enemy, and inducements held out to them to emigrate without farther collision. They were urged to describe the country most flatteringly from which they came, and the advantages to be gained in pursuing an agricultural life with their friends and relatives in Arkansas. Many doubted their fidelity. If the truth was known, and justice and charity awarded them, it would be found that truth and sincerity had been the most powerful agents in defeating the policy of the government. In

giving their description of Arkansas, the wild and untutored Seminole compared the advantage there, with those of which he was already in the actual enjoyment. For him to turn from the land of his birth—producing all the Indian could ask, and a climate congenial to his habits the year round—was an outrage upon his feelings, independent of those superstitions which led him to believe the soil was consecrated ground. The country he was to receive in exchange, was destitute of game, cold and dreary, where many of his relations, for whom he had made anxious inquiries, had sickened and died. His only anxiety in Florida was to elude the white man. This had been successfully done from year to year, until habit had become a part of his nature. The efforts of the delegation bid fair, for a time, to accomplish some good; but after the lapse of a few months, seeing the treachery of those with whom they had had interviews, many of their own kindred became so timid, that it was with difficulty they could be induced to go beyond the sentinels of a garrison. Had the enemy been kept totally ignorant of the country allotted them, better results might have been anticipated; but what they had gathered from the honest confessions and silence of their brothers, tended to make them venerate, with more fidelity and increased love, the soil which they had defended, with heroic fortitude, for five consecutive years.

Who can but admire the stern dictates of human nature—the love of home? And though generated in the Indian bosom, and marked by cruelty and blood, in clinging to and defending the associations clustering around the wigwam and council fire, the candid and unprejudiced cannot but be charitable for those traits of character, which among the enlightened are eulogized and distinguished by the enchanting name of patriotism. Their mode of warfare is rational. The scalps of the white man are to them banners of victory and glory. Treachery and cunning take the place of organized and disciplined troops, and the intelligence of the age,—a current which has set upon the race from the earliest history of the country, threatening, in its course, total annihilation: a fate which, though inevitable, calls for, and will receive the condemnation of mankind.

Vindictive and unbending, they cling to their institutions as an inheritance from their fathers; their principles are inculcated in youth, and cherished with untiring assiduity in manhood; and however much we may deplore their fate, it is before them and around them. The ploughshare and pruning-hook follow closely upon their retiring steps; the busy hum of industry reveals their destiny, and drowns the discordant revels of the Indian camp.

Ignorance must give way to the restless, ungovernable, and

onward course of civilization; yet a nation cannot, disguise it as we may, shake off the responsibility and remorse which will, in all future time, be identified with the fate of the red man.

The following extract from a communication addressed to General Armistead by the adjutant-general of the army at Washington, dated May 19th, 1841, caused another crisis in the Florida war. The change of commanders brought new measures, which so far in the prosecution of the contest, created an accumulation of difficulties, ultimately inducing those who encountered them to retire from the field, after the lapse of one or two seasons, dispirited and disgusted:

"In consideration of your long, and faithful, and arduous service in Florida, and in accordance with what appears to be your desire, as expressed in your communication of the 30th ultimo, I am directed to inform you, that you will be relieved from your present command by Colonel Worth, of the 8th infantry, the officer next in rank on duty with the Florida army.

(Signed) R. JONES, *Adjutant-General.*"

On the 31st day of May, 1841, the following order was promulgated at head-quarters:

ORDERS, }
No. 37. }

"*Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, }*
Tampa Bay, May 31st, 1841. }

"I. In compliance with instructions from the war department, Brigadier-General Armistead turns over the command of the Florida army to Colonel W. J. Worth, 8th infantry.

"II. The assistant adjutant-general, now on duty at head-quarters, will accompany General Armistead to Washington City.

"III. In retiring from the command of the army, the general would do violence to his feelings, should he fail to acknowledge the prompt and zealous support which he has uniformly received from the officers and men under his command, in carrying out the measures of the government. They have his most sincere wishes for a successful and early termination of the war.

By order of Brigadier-General Armistead,

(Signed) W. W. S. BLISS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

CHAPTER V.

JUNE, 1841.

Instructions to Colonel Worth on taking command of the army of Florida.—Embarrassments in prosecuting the war.—Strength of the Army.—Sick Report.—Monthly expenses of the Army.—Civil employés.—Character of guides, interpreters, and Spaniards.—Number and location of the enemy.—Their desperate character.—The Creeks west of the Suwannee river.—A summer campaign determined upon.—Night attack upon the camp of Halleck-Tustenuggee, and disappointment of the troops.—Seizure of Coacooche or Wild Cat, with fifteen warriors and three negroes.—Sent to New-Orleans.—L. G. Capers, Esq., Indian agent, dispatched with orders from Colonel Worth to intercept and bring them back to Florida.—Importance of the step.—Much dissatisfaction expressed by the public.—Coacooche and warriors in irons.—Combined movements of the army to root out the enemy.—Their dispersed condition.—General devastation of crops, camps, and wigwags.—Character of the country through which operations were conducted.—Number of fields, &c., destroyed.—Sick report, and sufferings of the troops from disease.—Duties of officers.—Governor Call urges the necessity of a militia force to co-operate with the army.—Major D. L. Wilcox, U. S. A., engaged in inducing settlers to return to their homes, as authorized by the president of the United States.

“Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, May 19th, 1841.

“SIR—Brigadier-General Armistead being about to relinquish the command of the Florida army, as you will see by the instructions communicated to him of this date, of which a copy is herewith inclosed, as the officer next in rank on duty, you will relieve him, and assume the command accordingly.

“I am directed by the secretary of war to advise you of the earnest desire of the department to terminate as speedily as possible the protracted hostilities in Florida; and to cause the most perfect protection and security to be given to the frontiers, and to those citizens who may be disposed to penetrate the country for lawful purposes of trade or settlement. For the attainment of these important objects, you are considered as being clothed with all the powers of a commander in the field, under the laws and regulations of the army.

“It is expected the troops under your command will be kept in a perfect state of discipline, and that you make such disposition of them as to be in readiness to meet any contingency that may call for active and energetic movements, the execution of which is left entirely to your own discretion.

“If you should deem it indispensable for the protection of the frontier, the president directs, that you make a requisition upon the governor of Florida for a militia force, not exceeding one regiment, which, if called out, you will cause to be mustered into the service of the United states, in the manner prescribed by the regulations, for any period authorized by the constitution and laws.

“The secretary of war, placing as he does entire confidence in your ability and patriotism, desires me to say, that every possible

aid and support will be afforded, to enable you to bring to a close this protracted and most embarrassing war.

"As the commander of Florida you will exercise a sound discretion in the use of the means placed at your disposal; and while these should be employed with the greatest efficiency, the secretary of war directs that you will, consistently with the primary object in view, diminish, in a spirit of sound economy, all unnecessary drains upon the treasury, by discharging all persons employed in a civil capacity, whose services you shall not deem indispensable to the duties of your command, and by regulating and reducing, as far as practicable, all other expenses, in accordance with the just expectations of the government and the country.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Colonel W. J. WORTH, }
8th infantry, *Tampa, Florida.* }

(Signed) R. JONES,
Adjutant-General."

In accordance with the foregoing instructions, Colonel Worth assumed command of the army of Florida, and promulgated the following order :

ORDER, }
No. 1. }

" *Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,* }
Tampa, May 31st, 1841. }

"I. In obedience to the special instructions of the war department, of the 19th instant, and the orders of Brigadier-General Armistead, of this date, the undersigned assumes command of the army of Florida.

"II. The commanders of posts and stations will make a special report of the state of their respective commands, on the receipt of this order. Special reports are immediately required from the chiefs of the several branches of the staff, exhibiting the resources of each department. Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting and Major Thomas, of the quartermaster's department, will make a special statement as to the means of transport by land and water.

(Signed) W. J. WORTH, *Colonel Commanding."*

Assuming the command of the army of Florida at this season of the year, amid complicated embarrassments and difficulties, offered but little encouragement to the hopes and ambition of the officer placed in charge. The observation and experience of six years ought certainly to have added something towards perfecting the expedients which might be suggested or adopted. The past gave but little encouragement, other than to point out the difficulties still existing, and which were to be overcome.

The prosecution of the Florida war, from December, 1835, to the present time, had necessarily and unavoidably introduced

into the territory, a civil force in conjunction with the military. This force depended upon the operations of the military, which, if unsuccessful, added to the continued occupation of this class, who, honest, persevering, and zealous in their vocations, relied exclusively upon the expenditures of the government for support. The army of Florida had become a component part of a civil government, to which it was in many respects subservient. The influences operating were unmilitary in character and effect. The disposition to obtain and hold office, however humble, was the governing principle, operating with strong and imperceptible influence. This was not confined to the bounds of a military camp, but was cherished by many, of all classes, in the civil administration of affairs, who, through secret agents, it was believed, held intercourse with the enemy. The officer and soldier, faithful in their duties, found their exertions thwarted and defeated, by means beyond their influence or control. The employment of clerks, and mechanics of all kinds, teamsters, laborers, &c., for so long a time, drawing their monthly pay with regularity, at exorbitant rates, induced many to look upon the Florida war as interminable, or as a state of things which would secure employment profitable and lasting. This consequently excited a feeling hostile to successful military measures, and subjected an efficient commander to obloquy and reproach. A discharge from public employment, under any circumstances of necessity or economy, was by a large number considered a grievous wrong. The military, from the commander down, were considered aggressors upon the rights and liberties of the civilian. The interest of the government was considered of a secondary nature, or as subordinate to individual rights and opinions. These, when infringed upon, sent abroad a class disaffected and revengeful, who, industrious in the gratification of a personal feeling, interposed obstacles to the successful prosecution of the war, formidable, because secret, and not easily counteracted.

The negro interpreters and guides, some forty in number, were drawing large daily pay. The opinions and acts of this class, who it is known had frequent interviews with the enemy, but whose services were necessary, did more to aggravate and prolong the war than any other cause. They listened attentively, in the hope of rewards, to the views and wishes of designing whites, being incapable of drawing a distinction between the honest and intelligent, and the ignorant and vicious. And, however crude and improbable these opinions might be, they were easily conveyed to the Indians at night, in the hammocks, while, at the same time, ammunition was sold to them at an exorbitant price. They too saw that the termination of the war would deprive them and their masters of lucrative employment. A large

number of Spaniards on the Gulf coast, and around Tampa Bay, hardly a grade above the Indian or negro, in fact more timid and credulous than either, promulgated among the former the idle tales, fabricated and intended to do mischief. These made them shy and vindictive, and thus frustrated the exertions of the military, while it contributed to securing their daily bread. Most of them could speak the Seminole language, and, to carry on their designs, they, in several instances, came into the camp of friendly Indians, alarming them by threats of being hung and murdered, representing these menaces as coming from officers of the army. Some of every class of society, every profession, the opulent as well as the humble, in and out of the territory, had a pecuniary interest in the prolongation of the war. The coffers of the nation poured forth their contents without stint or cessation. Money flowed in abundance. The planter, driven from his home without employment or means, reluctantly mingled with the avaricious multitudes thronging around the public crib. To turn these turbid currents into better channels, revive society and industry, and restore them to their wonted functions; obtain peace, subdue the enemy, protect the citizens, and at the same time meet the requirements of the government, who desired "economy and the end of the war," demanded vigorous measures and a steady hand.

The civil part of the army numbered 1060 persons, receiving from thirty to two hundred dollars per month. The means of transportation consisted of 1373 horses, 1260 mules, 380 wagons, five steamboats, and three sail vessels. The soldiers were employed in their appropriate duties, while the civilians remained at the depots in the various staff departments.

The monthly current expenditures of the quartermaster's department, at this period, was \$65,470. The total current expenses of the war, per month, independent of the regular troops, was \$92,300.

This amount of money in the hands of zealous and intelligent men, as also in those of the ignorant and vicious, operated against any measure calculated to bring the contest to a close. Its influence radiated from the fireside of the daily-laborer, and the idle and profligate asking for bread; while the wealthy, free from all danger, looked on from the distance, awaiting anxiously the expiration of every month to receive their pay for the labor of their slaves. To break down such a power, so long in successful operation, and turn the resources of the nation to the desired end, to which the country had so long looked with anxiety, was a step demanded by every consideration of honesty and justice.

The officer who undertook this task hazarded his all, or the loss of his honor by public clamor and discontent, which he would

be sure to create by the brawling of political demagogues, seeking to prejudice and mislead the public mind.

These difficulties overcome, or rather this civil administration of affairs circumscribed, and brought to act in concert with military discipline and law, the two next most formidable difficulties to contend with were the climate and Indians.

The Indians were now secure in their hiding-places, enjoying the cool shades of the dense hammocks, luxuriating in an abundant harvest of green corn, melons, pumpkins, squashes, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and almost every other vegetable. They were too cautious to subject themselves to a hot sun, or to the liability of being pursued by their foe. Desirous of being undisturbed, they molested no one, postponing their excursions and outrages until after harvest.

To determine the number of Indians in Florida was beyond the power of any one. From the commencement of the war the number had been underrated. Those now remaining comprised Seminoles, Mickasukies, Uchees, Tallahasseees, and Creeks. They had seen their friends and relatives depart for Arkansas, heaping imprecations upon their heads, and declaring in the most positive manner their determination to die upon the soil. Such a foe, though comparatively weak, was from all these causes formidable. Every successful emigration added fuel to their burning thirst for blood and revenge. The interpreters and guides were ignorant and inefficient. From them no accurate information could be obtained as to the number or location of the enemy. They had become slothful and dissipated, having no thought or want beyond the present moment. The few friendly Indians, together with the Arkansas delegation, were calculated to embarrass operations by their extreme caution in the field, and desire to remain within the limits of a garrison. The location of the various bands, however, was correctly ascertained, as subsequent events demonstrated.

Arpeika or Sam Jones, then about seventy-eight years of age, occupied the country near the mouth of the Kissimmée river and the eastern border of Lake Okeechobee. He had seventeen warriors, and a large number of women and children. With him was associated Otulke-Thloko (the Prophet), a renegade Creek, thirty-eight years of age, who exercised a wonderful influence by ingenious tales and practices, making the Indians believe that he held communion with the Great Spirit, a delusion which he continued to keep up, by midnight fires, by dances, songs, and the use of roots as medicine, effecting pretended cures, and telling fortunes. These impostures he executed so successfully, that the most intelligent feared his indignation. Hundreds of miles dis-

tant, those who had surrendered for emigration, and were safely within a military camp, held sacred festivals to avert the pernicious influences and designs of this prophet. His success impressed the Indians with awe and reverence, enabling him to exercise a complete control over their minds. He lived in the Big Cypress Swamp. Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs), Hospetarke, Parsacke, Assinawar, Fuse Hadjo, all brave and intelligent chiefs, followed this prophet with fear and apprehension, admitting him at the same time to be a coward. He avoided all conflicts by ingenious pretexts, but none dared to upbraid him. In the Big Cypress Swamp, under these various chieftains, there was supposed to be one hundred and sixty fighting men. The swamp commences thirty miles south of the Carloshatchee river, running east and west from the Everglades to the Gulf. It is thirty-five miles in breadth, north and south, and fifty in length east and west. The vegetation is so dense that the sun never penetrates to the earth, and the water stands the year round, from six inches to two feet deep, covered with a green slime, which when disturbed emits a most noxious vapor. Snakes and alligators are here found in great abundance. In the centre of the swamp there are a few ridges or islands, upon which the Indians lived and planted. In canoes, this band navigated the Everglades to the eastern coast, where for several seasons they had planted extensively, but the movements of troops in boats had deterred them from so doing. The Coonta Ground, opposite Cape Florida, twenty-four miles along the coast, was a place of resort, to which the women repaired at a proper season, and procured enough for the ensuing year.

Coacooche or Wild Cat, with some eighty warriors, occupied the country from the head-waters of the St. John's along the eastern coast, to St. Augustine; extending west as inducements offered. This band had heretofore been active, and doubtless committed more cruel murders than any other in Florida. The recent interview at Fort Cummings it was believed would allay their hostile feelings.

Halleck-Tustenuggee, with physical and mental qualities far above his contemporaries, with a mind quick and subtle, and burning with revenge, led his band, consisting of thirty-five warriors, either to fight or retreat, with wonderful skill and success. His operations extended over a large section of country: from Lake Munroe down the eastern and western bank of the St. John's to Lake George, and Haw Creek, and Dunn's Lake, thence to the Ocklawaha river, Fort King, Big Swamp, Orange Lake, and Micanopy. When closely pursued, the Wahoo Swamp on the Withlacoochee generally covered his retreat. Associated with this band, was an old Indian by the name of Powis-fixico

or Short Grass; he had twelve followers, and was the most active and cruel of any of the Indians.

Thlocko-Tustenuggee or Fish King, better known as Tiger-Tail, was another cunning and active chieftain. With him was his brother, Nethlockemathlar, who commanded about sixty men. These Indians most generally resorted to the Suwannee river, Waccassassee river and hammock, Chocochate, and Annutiliga hammocks, and Homasassa and Crystal rivers, thence east to the Charlo-popka (trout ponds) lakes. Tiger-Tail spoke English with facility. His long intercourse with the whites acquainted him with their habits, enabling him to make attacks when least expected. Octiarche, a Creek, with nineteen men, planted in the Wacassassa hammock, and camped wherever he thought himself secure. This band was known to make two excursions as far north as Newnansville, putting to death women and children with arrows.

West of the Suwannee river were located mixed bands under Halpatter-Tustenuggee (Alligator Chief) and Cotzar-fixico-chopco (Mad Tiger). They had forty-two active young warriors, Creeks and Mickasukies, and but seventeen women and six children. This was the most intractable band in Florida. So few women and children enabled them to move with rapidity. They planted in Cook's hammock, and extended their war-parties to the Hitchatuckenne springs, on the Santa Fe river, thence to the Okefenokee swamp; attacking every house found unprotected, even at noonday, frequently approaching so near as to kill the inmates with arrows. The coast of Deadman's Bay supplied, at all seasons, fish and oysters; the swamps and hammocks, safe retreats; while the country from Charles's Ferry, on the Suwannee, offered inducements for plunder and blood.

The Indians on the Ocklockonne river, west of Tallahassee, under the chief Pascoffer, infested the country fifty miles round. Their number and location was for many years unknown. In the summer of 1836 a large body of Creeks came from Georgia, preparatory to emigration. Suddenly a portion of them refused to fulfill their promise, and fled to the swamps. They remained quiet, until the movement of militia in that quarter caused them to take up arms. Forty men comprised the war strength of the band, with a large number of women and children.

The Indians west of the Suwannee were those disaffected and malignant spirits who fled from the state of Georgia at the commencement of hostilities there, in May, 1836. They sought refuge in Florida, where, by exciting and participating with those in open warfare, they would receive a cordial welcome. Young, intelligent, and brave, unburdened by women and children, full of vindictiveness and revenge for wrongs heaped upon them in

their own land, they gave a hearty support to the Seminoles, ultimately taking the prosecution of the war into their own hands.

In connection with the acts of these savages, for whose conduct we can find a palliating motive, there was a band of white men, who robbed and murdered under the guise of Indians. In two instances it was well established, that the whites were instigators to attacks upon travellers known to have money, participating with the Indians in the murder, and sharing the plunder.

Forty-seven thousand square miles in the territory of Florida, was occupied by an enemy by nature vindictive and revengeful, treacherous and subtle, striving for their rights, and for the soil made sacred by those superstitious influences which become a part of an Indian's nature, by his duty to the *Great Spirit*, and the injunctions of parents and prophets. Every hammock and swamp was to them a citadel, to which and from which they could retreat with wonderful facility. Regardless of food or the climate, time or distance, they moved from one part of the country to the other, in parties of five and ten; while the soldier, dependent upon supplies, and sinking under a tropical sun, could only hear of his foe by depredations committed in the section of country over which he *scouted* the day before.

The season of the year was a still more formidable obstacle. Summer operations had heretofore failed. The past gave no encouragement. The troops sunk under the debility arising from exposure to noonday suns, constant rains, cool nights, turbid water, and the heavy marches through deep sand. Defeat, discouragement, and disease, marked too sadly and plainly the effect of military operations, at the same time proving the complete triumph of the enemy. The past, however, taught one thing not to be mistaken, though painful and revolting—that the Indian's ally was the summer season. Here was concentrated their power. It was to them what the depot and magazine is to a civilized force. This gave them the means wherewith to prosecute the war with vigor the coming eight months. The natural productions of the country were abundant, but in procuring them they left in their rear *tracks*, thus enabling the guides to follow them to their haunts. No alternative remained but to break up effectually this system of warfare. To accomplish it, pursuit must be continued the year round, disregarding the climate and its results. The foundation of this detestable warfare had to be dug up and destroyed, though the consequences might be detrimental to those to whom the task was assigned. Nothing remained but a summer's campaign, active and unceasing. Some thought this an unwarranted sacrifice of human life. Opinions and prejudices, resulting from observation and experience, had to be overcome, at the same time encouragement and zeal was to be imparted

among those who were to participate. As hopeless and discouraging as it was, the army, to a man, rendered a most cordial response. To die, or to be prostrated by disease, in carrying out what was believed to be the only effectual measure, differed but little from lying in camp feeble and discouraged, in the vain hope that negotiation and the proffers of peace would end a mode of life disgusting to the soldier, and degrading to the intellect and habits of man.

An imperative sense of duty gave to the officer and soldier resolution and fortitude. True and unyielding must be that feeling which moves the head and heart to accomplish an object at variance with the universal impulse of mankind—his love for his native land. No glorious achievements animated the soldier in his duty, and urged him on to victory; no principle of liberty or right was involved, for which he could shed his blood to mantle his name and memory in time to come; the clarion which led him to battle was the warwhoop; his sword, the sword of justice, a scalping-knife; his standards were the scalps of the red men, his prisoners harmless women and children.

On the 1st of June preparations were made to give the utmost activity to the troops. The contest was to assume a partisan character, offering every inducement to inspire the youthful and ambitious to vigorous measures, without the restraints of higher authority. The simple injunction, "Find the enemy, capture, or exterminate," was to govern commanders in their operations. The aggregate strength of the army, present and absent, was 4831 men: 4408 rank and file, and 205 commissioned officers were present. The medical director's statement, on the 31st of May, reported 1014 men and 15 commissioned officers unfit for duty, thus leaving a disposable force to take the field, of 3394 bayonets and 190 commissioned officers. This comprised the regiment of the 2d dragoons, commanded by Major T. T. Fauntleroy; companies A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, 3d artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel William Gates commanding; the 1st regiment of infantry, commanded by Brevet Colonel William Davenport, the aggregate strength of which was 476; of this number 210 were prostrated by disease. The regiment was concentrated at Horse Key, on the Gulf coast, to recruit its strength. At its former station, Sarasota, it had become infected with fever and dysentery.

Lieutenant-Colonel B. Riley commanded the 2d infantry, Major Wilson the 3d, Lieutenant-Colonel G. Loomis the 6th, Lieutenant-Colonel William Whistler the 7th, and Lieutenant-Colonel N. S. Clarke the 8th.

Surgeon B. F. Harney was the medical director. Thirty-two members of the medical corps were on duty in Florida.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Whiting, deputy quartermaster-

general, stationed at Palatka on the St. John's, was the head of the quartermaster's department of the army of Florida; thirteen assistant quartermasters were also on duty. Captain John B. Grayson, commissary, was stationed at the principal depot, Cedar Key.

Captain George Wright, 8th infantry, performed the duties of adjutant-general, who was soon relieved by Major Samuel Cooper, assistant adjutant-general.

First-Lieutenant John T. Sprague, 8th infantry, aid-de-camp.

The troops occupied thirty different posts or stations.

The following order briefly exhibits the outlines of the character of operations:

ORDER, {
No. 1. {

" *Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,* {
Fort King, June 8th, 1841. }

"I. Hereafter no expenditures of money will be made on account of barracks, quarters, or other buildings, at temporary posts, except for such slight covering as may be indispensably necessary for the protection of the sick and security of the public stores, without previous reference to and authority obtained from head-quarters.

"II. All safeguards or passports granted to Indians prior to this date, are hereby revoked. Any Indian presenting himself at any post will be seized, and held in strict confinement, except when commanding officers may, in the exercise of sound discretion, deem it advisable to send out an individual runner to communicate with others.

"III. When the garrisons are not too much reduced by sickness, detachments will be sent out as often as once in seven days, or more frequently, if circumstances indicate a necessity, to scour and examine in all directions, to the distance of eight or ten miles.

"IV. All restraints heretofore imposed upon district commanders, in respect to offensive field operations, are hereby revoked; on the contrary, the utmost activity and enterprise is enjoined. District commanders will give instructions to commanders of posts accordingly.

"V. Brief reports of the operations carried on under the foregoing orders, setting forth the strength of the detachments, and by whom commanded, with such observations as may be deemed useful or interesting to the service, will be made to district commanders, on the 10th, 20th, and last of every month, by whom they will be transmitted to these head-quarters.

By order of Colonel Worth,

(Signed) G. WRIGHT,
Capt. 8th Infantry, and A. A. General."

Halleck-Tustenuggee being the most active and vindictive of the hostile chiefs, his trail, as was supposed, being discovered near Fort King, the colonel commanding established his headquarters there, with a view to strike an effectual blow, or secure this chieftain, should he again, owing to the change of commanders, endeavor to seek another interview to obtain supplies. Reconnoitering parties were dispatched night and day, to examine the country in every direction. On the 8th of June the negro guides reported that they had discovered a temporary camp of Halleck's, and found his trail leading from it into the extensive swamps and hammocks surrounding Lake Faneesufkee. The negro guides recently of the band represented it as his favorite resort, from its seclusion, where he held his green-corn dances and councils. Measures were at once adopted to follow it up. Colonel Worth, with one hundred men of the 2d infantry, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Riley and Major Plympton, together with Captain B. L. Beall's company, 2d dragoons, and forty men of the 8th infantry, in command of First-Lieutenant J. H. Harvil, moved from Fort King for Fort McClure or Warm Spring, thence, under the guidance of Indian negroes, to the neighborhood of the lake. At midnight, on the night of the 10th, the swamp was reached, the troops having marched forty-four miles. To surprise the Indian camp just at break of day, was the only chance of success. The guides represented it to be on the opposite side of the swamp, five or six miles through. The horses were picketed and the baggage left with a small guard on the margin of the swamp. The soldier carried only his musket and ammunition, the officers a rifle or sword. Quietly and resolutely the command moved, confident of success. The water became colder and deeper at every step; halts were frequently made to extricate the officers and soldiers from the mud. The night was dark, which added to the dismal, gloomy shadows of a cypress swamp. The command could only follow by the splashing of water, and the calm but firm intonations of the word of command. The negroes in advance, followed closely by the most hardy and active, guided these two hundred men to what was believed to be the strong-hold of the enemy; every hour and step confirmed this conviction. The advance reached the opposite side just before the break of day. Anxiously they awaited and greeted every officer and soldier as he emerged from the swamp, covered with mud and water. Day broke, when silently the command was given, "Fall in!" Eleven officers and thirty-five privates were present. Occasionally a straggler would arrive, and report those in the rear as coming. The Indian huts, by the gray dawn of morning, twenty-four in number, could be

discerned through the *scrub*, which separated the white and red man, three hundred yards distant. At this hour the Indian around his camp-fire feels secure. From the number of huts, and their location, they outnumbered the assailants. To await the arrival of the entire force the day would be far advanced, and discovery was total defeat. It was determined with the number present to make a vigorous assault, and if outnumbered, to rely upon those in the rear. Each man reprimed his musket, and cautiously, on his hands and knees, worked his way through the dense undergrowth to within a few yards of the cluster of huts and temporary sheds. Not a word was uttered. Eagerly each man grasped his musket, anxious for the first whoop, when he would be rewarded for his toil. A musket was discharged to arouse the inmates, and meet them on their retreat. It sent back its dull heavy reverberation, causing disappointment and chagrin. Not a human being occupied the huts, or was upon the ground. The camp was soon razed, and every evidence given to subsequent visitors, that had they been there, they would have received their reward. Large fields, once cultivated, indicated that not long since it was the strong-hold of a powerful band. The troops, dispirited and disgusted, retraced their steps, scouring the country in hopes of seeing an Indian or a trail, to reward them for the toils of the night before. The utmost caution was enjoined upon commanders of posts, as this band, so closely pursued, might strike a blow when least expected.

Intelligence was received at head-quarters, Palatka, on the 15th of June, from Major Childs, commanding Fort Pierce, that, in compliance with orders from Brigadier-General Armistead, (then commanding,) of the 21st of May, he had seized Coacooche, his brother, and a brother of King Philip's, together with thirteen warriors and three negroes, and that, in accordance with instructions from the commander of the district, he had sent them to New-Orleans, *en route* to Arkansas. This step was without authority, but, under the circumstances, was by many thought justifiable. L. G. Capers, Esq., disbursing agent of Indian affairs, was immediately dispatched to New-Orleans with orders to intercept the prisoners and bring them back to Tampa Bay. To assume the responsibility of returning so formidable a chieftain as this, together with his companions, to Florida, was a measure which ultimate success alone could justify. The citizens were exulting at the departure of so active an enemy, who for years intercepted their daily avocations, and spread desolation and distress. Subsequent events evinced the wisdom of this step. It however caused much contumely and reproach. So many instances having been given in Florida of the Indian's ability to baffle commanders, it was not believed possible that

chains or sentinels could prevent Coacooche's escape. To the commander of the army the value of these prisoners, as events proved, was beyond the knowledge of casual observers. The door to the enemy was effectually closed; the exertions of friendly Indians had failed, the troops waded the country in ignorance, and nothing remained to warrant the hope of success, but the possibility of obtaining new instruments wherewith the enemy could be reached. The agent dispatched intercepted the party at the U. S. barracks, New-Orleans, La., on the 28th of June. Coacooche was elated at the prospect of returning. His entire band, he said, would take his advice, and accompany him to Arkansas. The presence of the handcuffs, which, for the first time in his life, were to abridge his freedom, made him sad, but he submitted with dignity and manhood, though humbled and subdued. He asked nothing for himself, but pleaded earnestly that his companions might be spared the degradation, for whose safety he would pledge his life.

The colonel commanding, on his way to Tampa Bay to meet Coacooche on his return from New-Orleans, dispatched combined expeditions to rout the enemy in all quarters. Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, commanding the Tampa district, was ordered to move on the 25th of June, to Fort Dade, with two hundred men; thence down the western bank of the Withlacoochee river, to Fort Cooper. Lieutenant-Colonel Riley marched from Fort King on the 25th, with two hundred men, examining the cove of the Withlacoochee to Camp Izard. Lieutenant-Colonel Loomis, with a like number of men, from Clear-Water Harbor, same date, scoured the country between Fort Cooper and the Gulf coast. First-Lieutenant C. R. Gates, 8th infantry, accompanied by Lieutenant John Rodgers, U. S. navy, and Lieutenant Sprague, 8th infantry, volunteers, descended the Withlacoochee to Camp Izard, in canoes, with sixty men. Captain C. Keu, 2d dragoons, with seventy men in boats, ascended the Ocklawaha to Lake Ahapopka. Positive orders were given to penetrate the strongholds, capture and destroy every thing calculated to give strength or sustenance to the enemy. These commands concentrated at Fort Cooper. From this point they were again dispatched, and ordered to keep the field until further orders. Lieutenant-Colonel Riley, with a part of his command, ascended the Withlacoochee in boats, while the other portion examined the eastern bank and Lake Panne-Suffke; there uniting, he, with his canoes on wheels, proceeded to Lake Ahapopka, to form a junction with Captain Keu. Lieutenant-Colonel Loomis examined the Annuttliga and Chocochate hammocks, and the country bordering the Homosassa and Crystal rivers. Captain Miller, 1st infantry, ascended these rivers, with seventy men, successfully

breaking up many fields. Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke scoured the Wahoo swamp and the neighborhood of Forts Armstrong, Dade, and McClure. To each body of troops mounted men were attached, to communicate rapidly, and co-operate, if necessary, in pursuing the enemy.

From Fort Dade to Camp IZard, eighty-six miles, the Withlacooche was found to be a succession of lakes, expanding from one to two miles in breadth, studded with willow-islands, and surrounded by a dense cypress-swamp. Four large corn-fields were here found and destroyed, producing all kinds of vegetables. Each was in the care of one or two Indians, but not a foot-track or a habitation could be found in any direction. While the troops were destroying a field, early in the morning, an Indian was descried approaching in a canoe. He found himself discovered, and turned immediately; the command pursued, but he, taking an unknown route around a willow-island, gained upon his pursuers, and when within rifle range he was ordered to surrender. Naked and alone, he still plied his paddle with wonderful effect, and finding himself unable to reach the dry land, plunged into the swamp with his rifle in hand. Several muskets were discharged at him; he was supposed to have fallen. The soldiers jumped from their boats into four feet of water, and searched the swamp in all directions. Nothing was left but his canoe. Some months after, this man was captured, when he stated that the entire command passed over him, he lying under water by the side of a log, his face covered by a pond-lily leaf. Thus he remained until the soldiers left the swamp. He heard them talk and split up his canoe. To revenge this act, he procured seventeen men, and lay in ambush three days, waiting for the command to reach a difficult spot in the river, which he had made more so, by obstructing the passage. Fortunately another route was taken, thus avoiding total destruction. It was the first time white men had ever been seen so far up the river. Destroying their crops, in possession of fields inaccessible by land, caused some solicitude. After counselling and collecting as many as possible on so short a notice, they determined to teach these intruders a salutary lesson, and thus intimidate them from again molesting their summer retreats. Lieutenant Gates explored the Charlo-Popka country. It is a succession of lakes, interspersed with islands, extending about twelve miles. Many of these islands were found highly cultivated; huts, palmetto-sheds, and corn-cribs, were discovered upon many of them. Thlocko-Tustenuggee or Tiger-Tail, planted a large field upon one of them, which was destroyed by a company of the 2d dragoons. After his surrender, he declared that this field was his reliance for the coming year. From a tree

in the hammock he saw his corn torn up by the roots, and his house burnt to the ground. The troops camped upon his field, and soon after dark he passed around the camp, and joined his brother in the Annuttliga hammock.

From Micanopy, detachments of thirty and forty men were sent in every direction. A command under Captain Seawell, 7th infantry, intercepted a straggling party, and captured a man, woman, and two children. They belonged to the band of Halleck-Tustenuggee. Under the guidance of this Indian, the trail was found. After three days' fatiguing marching, the band was met in a hammock. They fled at once, occasionally discharging a rifle. In the encounter, Sergeant Bridges of the 7th infantry was killed. The trail was still kept, until the day following, when it was lost by the Indians burning the grass and scrub as they passed along. Halleck-Tustenuggee, finding himself besieged in the Wahoo, was making his way to Lake George. Captain Bonneville, 7th infantry, with a detachment from Fort Fanning, destroyed several fields on the Suwannee river, and in the Wacasassa hammock.

Major Wilson, commanding the 3d infantry, stationed at Fort Stansbury, fifteen miles from Tallahassee, moved from Port Leon in boats, with four officers and sixty men. The shore of Deadman's Bay was explored, the Esteen Hatchee, Finholoway, and intermediate rivers, ascended to their sources. The scrub, swamps, and hammocks, were penetrated. Signs of Indians only were discovered, such as fallen bee-trees, pieces of palmetto-cabbage, a few tracks, which were soon lost in the scrub and abandoned fields.

Major Childs, immediately after the capture of Coacooche, made a rapid march for his camp, under the direction of Negro Joe, Coacooche's interpreter and agent. A march of fifteen hours, without intermission, brought him to the camp; but the enemy had fled. These Indians, fearing Coacooche's boldness would lead them into difficulty, and participating in his schemes, waited one day for his return, but he not coming, anticipated the worst, and returned to the hammocks for safety. Captain M. Burke, 3d artillery, entered the Everglades on the 25th of June, with fifty-three men in boats, starting from Fort Dallas, near Key Biscayne. Abandoned camps and fields assured him that the enemy had broken into small parties for safety.

The operations of the army during the month of June carried desolation into every part of the country known or supposed to be occupied by Indians. Heretofore these swamps and hammocks had been the depot for an active and vigilant foe. The Indians had fled, feeling too weak to resist, encompassed as they found themselves by the troops. They moved generally at night,

destroying as they went the impress of every footprint. Entering or emerging from a swamp or hammock, they jumped from log to log for miles, walked backwards, crawled upon their hands and knees, crossed and recrossed their tracks, if necessary to make them; then scattered in parties of four and five, with the understanding to meet at some well known camping-ground.

Finding themselves so closely pursued, a council was held on the last of June, in the long swamp, near Fort King, to adopt measures for their common defence. Halleck-Tustenuggee, Thlocklo-Tustenuggee (Tiger-Tail), Nethlockemathlar, and Octi-arche, were present, together with one hundred and twenty warriors.

It was agreed not to surrender, nor listen to any terms for peace, but enjoined upon all to put to death any messenger, whether Indians, negroes, or whites, who dared come within their reach. By remaining together they protected their families, and, if compelled, could make such a resistance as to cover their retreat. Scouts, composed of six, eight, or ten Indians, were organized daily, who examined the country twenty miles around, and at night made reports to their chiefs, of the number of troops they had seen, their direction and place of encampment. This was the means by which they eluded and passed around the most judicious and extended movements of troops. The animal sagacity and natural endowments of the Indian, acting in defence of his home, are more formidable and successful than the attainments or skill of the white man.

The slothfulness of the Indian at this season, the destruction of crops, the constant alarm from the approach of soldiers, caused great inconvenience, both in the indulgence of the ease customary at this period, and the enjoyments resulting from green-corn dances, and the fruits of their fields.

These amusements and resorts had been rudely broken in upon, and desolation and distress were around them and in the midst of them.

The country through which operations were conducted was mostly swamps and hammocks; some pine-barren, interspersed with numerous ponds. The Annuttiliga (the laying-down spot) hammock is fifteen miles long and seven broad. The Chococharte hammock (Red House) is thirteen miles long and eight broad; the Tuscowilla hammock is eighteen miles long, and six broad. The soil of these hammocks is said to be the richest in Florida. The timber is large and of great variety. The *magnolia grande flora* grows to a large size; many trees are from eighteen inches to two feet in diameter. At the proper season the forest is fragrant with the odor of its blossoms. The undergrowth is almost impenetrable, consisting of scrub-oak,

palmetto, and grape-vines; so thick that a passage can only be made with the assistance of an axe, cutting a foot-path as through a wall. At the distance of ten feet an individual is totally obscured. The wet hammocks are more formidable but less frequented. In most of them the water stands the year round, from four to six inches deep, with a thick undergrowth, intermixed with cypress-stumps and trees. The cypress-swamps are generally filled with water, from one to three feet deep. The trees are covered with a heavy dark-green moss, festooned from tree to tree like drapery, totally obscuring the sun, almost the light of day. A green scum floats upon the surface, and when disturbed by footmen, the atmosphere becomes impregnated with a noxious effluvium. Communicating with the wet and dry hammocks, are portions of land called *scrubs*, consisting of a stunted growth of oak and pine, from two to ten feet in height, with an undergrowth of bushes and vines. To these the Indians resorted when closely pursued, but the barrenness of the land and absence of water deterred them from remaining longer than to elude their pursuers.

The Charlo-Popka country (trout-eating ponds), interspersed as it is with beautiful lakes and islands, gives an interest to the wild and roving habits of those who have so long enjoyed its beauties and advantages. Providence seems to have designed it for their especial benefit. Their villages, located on the margin of lakes, overlooking a placid sheet of water reflecting the rising and setting sun, add to the romance and simplicity which surround the Indian in his native state, when not wronged by the counsels of the white man, or corrupted by his example. The thick saw-palmetto made it almost impossible for the troops to get from lake to lake. Their clothes were torn to pieces, and their feet, legs, and hands lacerated as if cut by a knife.

These columns or detachments continued in the field twenty-five days. Out of six hundred men, comprising the total number engaged in wading swamps and hammocks, two hundred and twenty were, from time to time, reported sick. Of this number one hundred and thirty were sent to the general hospital, totally unfit for any duty whatever. Fever and dysentery were the prevailing diseases. Officers and soldiers were unavoidably exposed to the vicissitudes of the climate. Day after day they were wet to the skin, then subjected to a burning sun, causing an atmosphere to rise from the heated sand, almost insupportable. The thermometer during this period averaged 86° Fahrenheit. Every attention was bestowed, which skill and devotion to duty could dictate, by the medical officers of the army, who, throughout the contest, have been distinguished for high professional attainments, combined with the qualities of a soldier.

The embarrassments and privations incident to such a service, the sufferings of men and officers, unavoidable, who appealed to them when lingering under the debility of aggravated disease, without comforts or shelter, was a severe test to their qualities professionally, and as men, to give succor to their comrades. Much suffering was endured, but the enterprise of the officers and the hardihood of the men overcame all obstacles. They were cheered on by the discomfiture of the enemy, the destruction of crops, and the prospect of terminating the war. The execution of the hazardous duties committed to the younger officers, many of them volunteers, elicited the praise of the commander of the army, as well as the commendation of their respective commanders.

The enemy found, to their sorrow, that they could be pursued at all seasons. Thirty-two fields were destroyed, containing all kinds of products, from five to twenty acres in extent. Five Indians were captured and one hundred and eighty sheds or huts burnt. The bands of Indians which for years had lived, from season to season, in the enjoyments of abundance, celebrating their corn-dances and festivals, harassing the white man, as suited their convenience or inclination, were now driven, in small parties, to remote and unhealthy hiding-places, dependent upon the industry of the women for subsistence. This was hazardous, lest they might be discovered, and the discharge of a rifle betrayed their seclusion; thus were they deprived of game, and subjected to a limited supply of food of every kind.

The foundation of the contest was reached, which inspired all with the hope of future success.

These operations naturally caused apprehensions among the settlers along the frontier. The enemy was at large, like a wild animal gored by mortal wounds. Expresses were dispatched in all directions, giving the alarm, to avoid a sudden assault. Troops from the various posts were extended, detached camps located at intermediate points, to intercept the enemy, and co-operate at the shortest notice. Escorts to trains were strengthened, and every wagoner armed with musket and cartridges. Daily patrols of cavalry moved on the roads most frequented by travellers.

The *signs* of Indians, unusual at this season of the year, being so evident in all quarters, His Excellency C. K. Call, now governor of the territory, addressed a letter to the colonel commanding the army, on the 29th of June, expressing his apprehensions, and urging that six hundred men might be mustered, which he thought would amply protect the frontier. "For your prompt attention," continues this communication, "to the protection of our frontier settlements and the prosecution of the

war, I return you my sincere thanks; and from the energy with which your operations have been commenced, I doubt not you will be successful. A few months of active pursuit, harassing the enemy and destroying their crops, will effect more towards bringing this disastrous war to a close, than years of negotiation. The Indian must be taught to feel our power and to dread our punishment."

In reply, he was assured that no means should be left undone to give adequate security, and that the 3d infantry, augmented by two companies from the 6th and 8th, guided by the zeal and enterprise of the officers of each, would be sufficient to prevent and punish the inroads of the enemy. "In addition," writes the commander of the army, "Major Wilcox, on special duty, is adopting measures to urge the settlers to return to their homes. The history of our country shows, that a few cabins, tenanted with stout hearts, exert a greater influence in causing the Indians permanently to abandon their resistance, than the bayonets of troops. The latter they regard as transient, the former as indisputable evidence of determined occupancy. Authority has been asked, to make the issue of rations conditioned upon occupancy; next, to furnish arms and soldier's pay to such as will comply with these conditions: in this I have great confidence."

Authority had already been given by the president of the United States, for the "issuing of rations to those who would penetrate the country during the necessary preparations for raising the means of subsistence at their selected homes." Major D. L. Wilcox, 5th infantry, assisted by Lieutenant M. R. Patrick, 2d infantry, were industriously engaged in inducing citizens to take advantage of this offer. This step, though to the timid jeopardizing property and lives, bade fair to accomplish much good. An industrious population thus introduced, added a powerful auxiliary force to the other measures of the government. It allayed the panic which had taken possession of the inhabitants, and was calculated to intimidate the enemy, who heretofore had roamed at large, redoubled in boldness and strength by the rapid flight of all who intercepted their path. The log-cabin and the woodman's axe are deadly foes to the red man. Timidity, to them, is an incentive to cruel and barbarous acts.

The medical director's consolidated report, for the month of June was considerably augmented. This, of course, was expected. 1014 men and 15 officers were unfit for duty on the first day of June. On the 30th of June he reports 2193 as having been taken sick. Out of the number sick on the 1st of June, and those taken sick during the month, making a total of 3107, 1935 were returned to duty by the expiration of the month; 22 died; 34, from disability, discharged; making 1991, which, deducted

from the total, 3107, left 1116 unfit for duty at the expiration of the month of June. Those once attacked with the prevailing disease, seldom after were fit for any duty whatever, unless sent to the north, where the cool bracing climate destroyed the enervating influences of the south.

The peculiar service devolving upon the officer in the *scouts* through the country, was quite as debilitating in professional exertions as the effects of the climate upon his constitution. His duties were divested of all the attributes of a soldier; but he went resolutely to work with one incentive—"To do his duty." The officer with his command of thirty or forty men, resembled more a banditti than a body of soldiers in the service of their country. He, at the head of his little band, without shoes or stockings, his pantaloons sustained by a belt, in which were thrust a brace of pistols, without vest or coat, his cap with a leathern flap behind, to divert the rain from coursing down his back; in this manner he led his detachment through bog and water, day after day; dependent for food upon the contents of his haversack strapped to his back. The only stars over his head were the stars of heaven, the only stripes were lacerated feet, by wading swamps and hammocks, and the only sound to welcome him after his toils, was the vulgar abuse of the inexperienced and vindictive.

CHAPTER VI.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1841.

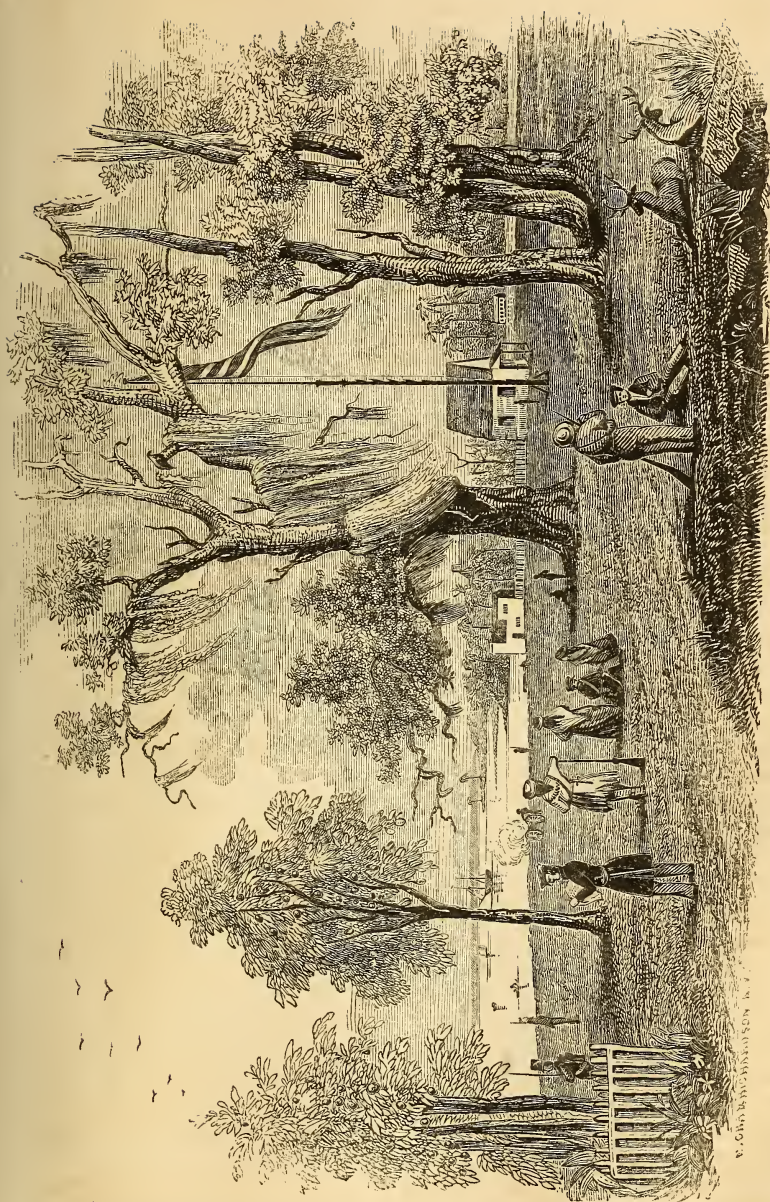
Coacooche and warriors arrived at Tampa Bay in irons.—Interview between the commander of the army and these warriors, on the 4th of July, on board the transport in the harbor.—Coacooche's talk.—He directed to bring in his band or suffer death.—Five messengers appointed to proceed to the interior of the country, to communicate with his band.—His last words to his followers.—Anxiety of Coacooche for the return of the messengers.—Forty days allowed them.—Arrival of the band, with old Micco.—Irons taken off Coacooche, and he permitted to go on shore to receive his warriors.—His reception.—His dress and conduct.—His speech to them.—A messenger sent to Holatter Micco and Sam Jones.—Coacooche's last words to his brother Otulka.—Departure of the messenger at midnight from the prison-ship.—General operations of the army.—Embarkation of the 1st infantry for New-Orleans.—The service of the regiment, its loss from disease, &c.—Death of Second-Lieutenant Lancaster, 1st infantry.—Arrival of Otulka.—Coacooche proceeds to Pease Creek.—Colonel Worth at Camp Ogden.—Coacooche proceeds to Hospetarke's camp.—Returns with him and eighteen warriors.—Capture of Hospetarke and warriors.—Taken to Fort Brooke, and confined to the prison-ship.—Their designs when visiting the camp.—Coacooche's tact and sagacity.—The warriors of Coacooche in irons.—Liberated and put on shore.—Reports of scouts made by officers of the army, during the months of July and August.—Sent to Washington.—Strength of the army.—Sick, &c.—Retrenchment, &c., &c.—Negroes permitted to accompany Indians to Arkansas.—The policy.—Florida, its position and importance.

THE result of operations during the month of June, gave a new and favorable aspect to the Florida war.

The colonel commanding arrived at Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, on the 3d of July, and had an interview with Coacooche and his warriors on the 4th; who were in irons, on board the transport in the harbor. The associations of the day, and the personages participating, gave a high degree of interest to the arrival, independent of the successful results anticipated by many, and the defeat predicted by others.

Colonel Worth, his staff, with a number of officers, together with intelligent interpreters, proceeded on board at 10 A. M. Coacooche, pale and haggard, received all with marked dignity and coolness. He and his companions, fifteen hardy young men, were closely ironed, surrounded by a guard of thirty soldiers. His present interview contrasted strongly with his first, at Fort Cummings, in March. Then, he had a bold, dashing demeanor; now, he was calm, quiet, and subdued. Those limbs which trod the soil, now forbidden ground, but again spreading out before him, with as much freedom as the aspirations of his mind, were degraded by shackles, the clank of which is never effaced in the recollection of an Indian. Around him were his well-tried and savage companions, who followed him in his war-path, and had been governed by his counsels.

To those who are not engaged, and are removed from the immediate participations in incidents of this kind, there is much



Scene at Tampa Bay, Florida.

to create a high degree of enthusiasm, even of triumph. But to the officer of the government who perfects the policy so unavoidably adhered to towards the Indian, there are humiliations and embarrassments almost sufficient to deter him from the execution of the orders enjoined, or what to many appear the reasonable expectations of citizens. He has to observe stern and inflexible justice on one side, and forbearance and humanity on the other; and whether the administration of justice be in consonance with the rights and feelings of the Indians, is a subject not to be descanted upon or discussed. The laws and habits of the white man, like the wash of the sea, must and will efface the footstep of every Indian from the soil. Even that which the officer seeks in his profession, distinction, is narrowed down to so small a compass, and attended with so much "unworthy of his blade," that he becomes indifferent to it, content with the conscientious conviction that to his country he performs his duty. The Indian is looked upon as a foe already subdued, broken in spirit, and incapable of resistance; but the contest in Florida, the desolated dwellings, poverty and distress, the affliction of families throughout the country, the sagacity with which the foe had foiled the government, for five successive years, and their resolution in battle, betrayed a spirit unyielding and unbroken. The contests with the savage arise from the spirit of gain; the feverish passions of the multitude for settlements and *pre-emptions*, more than for the vindication of any principle involved in the administration of the laws, or the mutations of political parties. The officer who can drive them successfully from the land, will not be condemned, if not praised. Though the present influences around him, and the authority to which he is amenable, may sustain and applaud him, incited by ambition and gain, yet in the future there is retribution, which will some day overtake the actors; and the same responsibility which rests upon man for his errors, may be transferred to the American people, as a nation. It then becomes the officer, civil and military, to feel that his acts bear upon the future as well as the present time.

Coacooche and his warriors came up slowly to the quarter-deck of the transport, their feet-irons hardly enabling them to step four inches, and arranged themselves according to rank. As they laid their manacled hands upon their knees before them, in the presence of so many whom they had so long hunted as foes, they hung their heads in silence. Not a cheering voice or expression could be seen or heard among the group. The chief sat quietly awaiting his doom. Colonel Worth arose, and taking him by the hand, said: "Coacooche—I take you by the hand as a warrior, a brave man; you have fought long and with a true and strong heart for your country. I take your hand with feel-

ings of pride ; you love your country as we do, it is sacred to you ; the ashes of your kindred are dear to you and to the Seminole ; these feelings have caused much bloodshed, distress, horrid murders ; it is time now the Indian felt the power and strength of the white man. Like the oak, you may bear up for many years against strong winds ; the time must come when it will fall ; this time has arrived. You have withstood the blasts of five winters, and the storms of thunder, lightning, and wind, five summers ; the branches have fallen, and the tree, burnt at the roots, is prostrated. Coacooche, I am your friend ; so is your great father at Washington. What I say to you is true, my tongue is not forked like a snake, my word is for the happiness of the red man. You are a great warrior, the Indians throughout the country look to you as a leader, by your councils they have been governed. This war has lasted five years, much blood has been shed, much innocent blood ; you have made your hands and the ground red with the blood of women and children. This war must now end. You are the man to do it ; you must and shall accomplish it. I sent for you, that through the exertions of yourself and men, you might induce your entire band to emigrate. I wish you to state how many days it will require to effect an interview with the Indians in the woods. You can select three or five of these men to carry your talk ; name the time, it shall be granted ; but I tell you, as I wish your relatives and friends told, that unless they fulfill your demands, yourself, and these warriors now seated before us, shall be hung to the yards of this vessel, when the sun sets on the day appointed, with the irons upon your hands and feet. I tell you this, that we may well understand each other. I do not wish to frighten you, you are too brave a man for that ; but I say what I mean, and I will do it. It is for the benefit of the white and red man. This war must end, and you must end it."

Silence pervaded the company as the speaker closed. The harsh grating of the handcuffs broke the spell, as each warrior raised his hand to wipe away the tear which never before stole down his rugged cheek. Coacooche rose, evidently struggling to suppress a feeling which made his manly form quiver with excitement : "I was once a boy," said he, in a subdued tone ; "then I saw the white man afar off. I hunted in these woods, first with a bow and arrow ; then with a rifle. I saw the white man, and was told he was my enemy. I could not shoot him as I would a wolf or a bear ; yet like these he came upon me ; horses, cattle, and fields, he took from me. He said he was my friend ; he abused our women and children, and told us to go from the land. Still he gave me his hand in friendship ; we took it ; whilst taking it, he had a snake in the other ; his tongue was

forked; he lied, and stung us. I asked but for a small piece of these lands, enough to plant and to live upon, far south, a spot where I could place the ashes of my kindred, a spot only sufficient upon which I could lay my wife and child. This was not granted me. I was put in prison; I escaped. I have been again taken; you have brought me back; I am here; I feel the irons in my heart. I have listened to your talk; you and your officers have taken us by the hand in friendship. I thank you for bringing me back; I can now see my warriors, my women and children; the Great Spirit thanks you; the heart of the poor Indian thanks you. We know but little; we have no books which tell all things; but we have the Great Spirit, moon, and stars; these told me, last night, you would be our friend. I give you my word; it is the word of a warrior, a chief, a brave, it is the word of Coacooche. It is true I have fought like a man, so have my warriors; but the whites are too strong for us. I wish now to have my band around me and go to Arkansas. You say I *must* end the war! Look at these irons! can I go to my warriors? Coacooche chained! No; do not ask me to see them. I never wish to tread upon my land unless I am free. If I can go to them *unchained*, they will follow me in; but I fear they will not obey me when I talk to them in irons. They will say my heart is weak, I am afraid. Could I go free, they will surrender and emigrate."

The commander, in reply, told him, with firmness and without disguise, that he could not go, nor would his irons be taken off until his entire band had surrendered; but that he might select three or five of the prisoners, who should be liberated, and permitted to carry his *talk*; they should be granted thirty, forty, or fifty days, if necessary. "I say to you again, and for the last time, that unless the band acquiesce promptly with your wishes, to your last wish, the sun, as it goes down on the last day appointed for their appearance, will shine upon the bodies of each of you hanging in the wind."

This injunction was given in such a manner as to impress the prisoners with the firm belief that it would be literally fulfilled. It was manifest in the convulsive expression of their stern and rugged faces. To escape, was beyond all hope. The vessel lay moored in deep water, two miles from shore. Firmly ironed, and surrounded night and day by sentinels, their fate was inevitable; and as the reality rose upon them they were sad and depressed. Here was a chief, a man whose only offence was defending his home, his fireside, the graves of kindred, stipulating, on the *Fourth of July*, for his freedom and his life. An incident occurred, when Coacooche was most excited, which carried forcibly to the minds of all present the import of the day, and

impressed in a manner not to be forgotten, the scene in which all were participating. A government schooner lay moored in the immediate neighborhood; at 12 M., as is customary, she opened her batteries. Coacooche, hearing the repeated discharge, and seeing the interest manifested, ceased speaking, and asked, "What is that for?" Again he inquired, but silence was the only response. The Indian instinctively seemed to think it the jubilee of freedom. Well might the white man deny the natal day of his country. That flag, waving from the mast-head of Coacooche's prison-ship, symbolical of freedom, was saluted by the roar of artillery, announcing to the world the liberty of twenty millions of people, free, independent, intelligent, and happy.

Coacooche, after consulting his companions, selected five to carry his talk to his band. He gathered around him these messengers, on whose fidelity he was led to believe depended his life and liberty, and in a calm tone and manner, endeavored to impress upon them his situation, and those they were to leave behind. The half-articulated words and the subdued intonations of his voice, differed widely from the violent manner and vehement utterance distinguishing him upon all other occasions. It was evident *his words* to these messengers were no idle talk, nor was he speaking for the approbation of listeners; he was pleading for his life from those of his own color, who now held his destiny in their hands.

"Has not Coacooche," said he, "sat with you by the council-fire at midnight, when the wolf and white man were around us? Have I not led the war-dance, and sung the song of the Seminole? Did not the spirits of our mothers, our wives, and our children stand around us? Has not my scalping-knife been red with blood, and the scalps of our enemy been drying in our camps? Have I not made the war-path red with blood, and has not the Seminole always found a home in my camp? Then, will the warriors of Coacooche desert him? No! If your hearts are bad, let me see them now; take them in your hands, and let me know they are dark with bad blood; but do not, like a dog, bite me, so soon as you turn your backs. If Coacooche is to die, he can die like a man. It is not my heart that shakes; no, it never trembles; but I feel for those now in the woods, pursued night and day by the soldiers; for those who fought with us, until we were weak. The sun shines bright to-day, the day is clear; so let your hearts be: the Great Spirit will guide you. At night, when you camp, take these pipes and tobacco, build a fire when the moon is up and bright, dance around it, then let the fire go out, and just before the break of day, when the deer sleeps, and the moon whispers to the dead, you will hear the voices of those

who have gone to the Great Spirit; they will give you strong hearts and heads to carry the talk of Coacooche. Say to my band that my feet are chained. I cannot walk, yet I send them my word as true from the heart, as if I was on the war-path or in the deer-hunt. I am not a boy; Coacooche can die, not with a shivering hand, but as when grasping the rifle with my warriors around me.

"My feet are chained, but the head and heart of Coacooche reaches you. The great white chief (Po-car-ger) will be kind to us. He says, when my band comes in I shall again walk my land free, with my band around me. He has given you forty days to do this business in; if you want more, say so; I will ask for more; if not, be true to the time. Take these sticks; here are thirty-nine, one for each day; *this*, much larger than the rest, with blood upon it, is the fortieth. When the others are thrown away, and this only remains, say to my people, that with the setting sun Coacooche hangs like a dog, with none but white men to hear his last words. Come then; come by the stars, as I have led you to battle! Come, for the voice of Coacooche speaks to you!

"Say this to my wife and child—" Here the chieftain, who had struggled during these remarks with feelings almost overpowering, paused, and turned away his head, to hide the tears flowing profusely down his melancholy, but youthful and manly countenance. Deep silence pervaded the entire company. The experienced soldier, to whom carnage had been familiar, the hardy sailor, acquainted with privation and danger, the savage, whose stoical heart is seldom warmed by feeling, now stood around, giving evidence of their sympathy in these last injunctions of a captive, by a participation in the gloom and silence, which none was so bold as to break. Without confusion, and without the utterance of a word, the irons were taken off the five messengers, when preparations were made for them to proceed to the shore. Coacooche shook each by the hand as they passed over the side of the vessel. To the last he gave a silk handkerchief and a breast-pin; "Give these," said he, to my wife and child."

All who were present during the interview felt a deep and painful interest in the fidelity of these messengers. On the following day they started on their mission. The band was supposed to be on the Kissimmee and St. John's rivers. From the recent operations of troops, serious apprehensions were entertained lest they might be detained more than forty days, the time allotted; it was understood, however, that if this was the case, a runner should be dispatched giving timely notice. Officers and soldiers participated alike in the excitement and interest occa-

sioned by this event, the success of which was believed to be, as was afterwards proved, the great turning point of the Florida war. Coacooche, his influence, his example and advice secured, other active and vindictive chiefs could be reached, thus breaking in upon an association, a concert of action, which had existed from youth to manhood; first in hunting-frolics and games, then in war parties, against a foe whose inroads they had watched with jealousy from boyhood.

Daily the officers visited the prison-ship, desirous of cheering the prisoners by expressing their belief in the integrity of the messengers.

Coacooche endeavored to surmount the gloomy forebodings which haunted him, by the semblance of cheerfulness, but his countenance told sadly and plainly the corroding influences of his doubts and fears. The guard on the transport was strengthened, and sentinels posted on shore at night, in the vicinity of the vessel. At sunrise and sunset the irons of each man were examined by a blacksmith, under the supervision of an officer. Nothing was left undone which might add to their pleasure and comfort. Every want was listened to and supplied, so far as was consistent with safety. They frequently wished the shackles taken off that they might stretch their limbs; others desired to go on shore to obtain medicinal roots; these were dangerous experiments, but they unceasingly urged them, until their importunities became so annoying, they were told that unless they desisted, close confinement would be necessary. This satisfied them that under no ingenious device could they have the most remote means of escape. Old Micco, the Indian who induced Coacooche to come in at Fort Cummings, in March, voluntarily accompanied the messengers. He was aged, though active; in his youth he had been the *sense-bearer* of King Philip, Coacooche's father. The old man, true to his promise, and solicitous for the life of his young chief, returned in ten days, with six warriors and a number of women and children, and reported that many were on the way. From day to day they arrived in small parties, when, on the last of the month, the entire band, consisting of seventy-eight warriors, sixty-four women, and forty-seven children, was encamped at Fort Brooke. The chief anxiously waited for the arrival of the number corresponding to the sticks he had given as the strength of his band. His extreme anxiety and restlessness might have been sufficient to have caused a doubt of his integrity; but there was in his general deportment and conversations a dignity, a self-pride, a principle of honor, which forbade his effecting his freedom under the guise of treachery or deceit. When told that his warriors were all in camp, his spirits, which had been drooping during his confine

ment, materially changing his cheerful appearance, again returned. The bold, dashing warrior, with his lofty tread and intelligent, sprightly countenance, took the place of the humble captive and suppliant. "Take off my irons," said he, "that I may once more meet my warriors like a man." This was granted, as promised him, though hazardous; it placed him upon his honor, and was calculated to inspire respect for the authority granting it, and made him feel his own importance in the midst of those who so scrupulously adhered to his wishes, and listened to his last words. His irons taken off, he proceeded to the shore, accompanied by an officer, dressed in the most fantastical manner. Three ostrich-plumes hung gracefully from his crimson turban. His breast covered with glittering silver ornaments, his many-colored frock and red leggings, with a sash around his waist, in which was thrust a scalping-knife, impressed both the whites and Indians crowding the landing, awaiting his arrival, with his importance. So soon as he trod the soil, his haughty bearing returned. Waving his arms, and stretching his form to the utmost height, a shrill whoop announced his freedom and arrival, which received from those on shore a most hearty response. The crowd simultaneously opened to the right and left, when he, without regarding the presence of any one, proceeded to the head-quarters, where he met the commander of the army, whom he saluted in the most respectful manner; then turned to the multitude around him, of men, women, and children, and addressed them in a brief but energetic manner: "Warriors—Coacooche speaks to you! You have listened to my word, and taken it; I thank you. The Great Spirit speaks in our councils. The rifle is hid, and the white and red man are friends. I have given my word for you. I am free; then let my word be true. I am done. By our council-fire I will say more." His wife and child, who sat in a remote corner, next received his attention, he manifesting more affection than generally belongs to the Indian character.

Coacooche and his band now safely within the chain of sentinels, steps were immediately taken to bring into action the influence he possessed over the various chieftains still in hostile array. Through his agency, communication could be had with those who had expressed a determination to die upon the soil. This desire he often expressed, as he saw no alternative but for the Indians to emigrate; and to obtain as many as possible to accompany him, would add importance to his position in Arkansas. He urged that the active operations of the army might be suspended to enable him to seek those chiefs with whom he so long had acted in concert. This was partially consented to, but the scouts along the frontier were prosecuted with vigor. On

the last of July the colonel commanding transmitted to the adjutant-general of the army the following reports, and adds: "I am aware many of these reports may be uninteresting; the whole are nevertheless forwarded, as honorable testimony to the zeal and activity of the officers and troops; respectfully soliciting particular examination of those of Major Childs, 3d artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel Riley, 2d infantry; Captains Hawkins and Seawell, 7th; Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, 8th (including that of Lieutenant Gates); Lieutenant-Colonel Loomis, 6th; Captain Miller, 1st infantry; and Captain May, 2d dragoons. I must be allowed to accompany these reports with the highest testimony to the activity, intelligence, and untiring zeal of officers of all grades, and the good and patient endurance of the soldier."

Memorandum of Reports.

Captain B. L. Beall, 2d dragoons.

Captain E. S. Hawkins, 7th infantry.

Captain U. Seawell, 7th infantry.

Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, 7th infantry.

Major T. T. Fauntleroy, 2d dragoons, and officers under his command.

Major Wilson, 3d infantry, and officers under his command.

Major Nelson, 6th infantry, do.

Captain A. S. Miller, 1st infantry, do.

Lieutenant-Colonel N. S. Clarke, 8th infantry, do.

Lieutenant-Colonel B. Riley, 2d infantry, do.

The movements detailed in these reports covered the entire territory.

On the 11th of August a detachment of the 8th infantry, commanded by Captain T. P. Gynn, was posted on Pease Creek, twenty miles from the mouth, on the southern bank, and eighty miles south of Fort Brooke. The post was called Camp Ogden, and established for the double purpose of being an advanced position towards the Big Cypress Swamp, and a convenient spot where suitable material could be procured for canoes, designed, the coming season, to penetrate the Everglades. The skillful operations of Major Childs, with a detachment of the 3d artillery, in the exploration of the Everglades, and destroying Indian fields, caused much apprehension on the part of Otulka-Thlocko (the Prophet), and his adherents. Lieutenant John Rodgers, with a detachment from the Florida squadron, commanded by Lieutenant J. T. McLaughlin, co-operated, and carried into his measures that intelligence and resolution which distinguished the navy in these harassing expeditions.

Soon after the camp on Pease Creek was established, Sole-

Micco, accompanied by Ah-ah-tustenuggee, Kle-is-ti-an, and twenty women and children, came in, claiming protection, as they were closely pursued by a party of the Prophet's men from the Big Cypress Swamp. Hardly were they safe in camp, when the report of rifles was heard, and a command was dispatched at once, when it was found that the pursuing party, finding the game had escaped them, fired upon a wood-cutting party of soldiers, killed one, took his musket and ammunition, and retreated. The movement in the Everglades had caused this small party of Indians to surrender. Sole-Micco was the sub-chief sent from Sarasota in April, to carry a friendly talk to Hospetarke and others, who had so suddenly decamped. His long absence had led to the belief that he was faithless, or had been killed for conveying the message. The information he communicated in reference to the Indians south, was of importance. His absence of four months enabled him to become acquainted with the measures adopted by the chiefs for protection, as well as their numbers and means of defence. Since the departure of the Indians from Sarasota in April, no means whatever remained to renew hostilities or negotiations, neither *guides* nor *runners* could be obtained. Sole-Micco, on his arrival in the midst of the Indians, who had so unexpectedly departed from Sarasota, with difficulty preserved his life. A council of chiefs had just been held, consisting of Holatter-Micco (Billy Bowlegs), Arpeika (or Sam Jones), Otulka-Thlocko (the Prophet), Hospetarke, Fuse Hadjo, Parsacke, and many other less important personages, when they agreed that the bearer of any message from the whites should be put to death. Sole-Micco was suspected; the only plea he could give to disguise his real intentions was, that he had escaped from the whites, intending to find his mother, who it was known lived in the swamp. Still incredulous, the Prophet was designated to examine the culprit, and report as to the truth of his story. He commenced with much ceremony, in arranging ten fires in a circle, offering up prayers to the Great Spirit in a muttered, plaintive tone, dancing at intervals, and displaying his roots, skins of snakes, alligators, and other, to the gaze of an astonished multitude. He blew upon the palm of the Indian's hand with a blow-pipe, and after examining the results with care, raised his hands and eyes to heaven, proclaiming the story of the Indian a lie: "He has come," said he, "with a talk from the white men!" The excitement now became general, and the fate of the Indian seemed inevitable. To flee was impossible; no asseverations on his part could contradict or controvert the incantations of the Prophet. With that impulse, the result of superstitious influences upon the ignorant, the men were appointed to carry into execution the

sentence to which all had subscribed. With earnestness he repeated his innocence, and listened to as he was by some in the crowd, who were relatives and friends, parties were arrayed, and a few resolute warriors put the authority of the Prophet at defiance. They declared that the men who dared to execute the decree, should be scalped before the sun went down. Thus was he rescued, and permitted to proceed to his mother's camp. Here he remained quietly during the months of May and June, and hearing a post was established on Pease Creek, determined to improve the first opportunity to reach it. The animosity and suspicions of the Prophet had abated; but a number of men and women were appointed to watch his movements. He, however, was determined to effect his escape with his mother and family. To accomplish it, he frequently went to the margin of the swamp, under various pretexts, but before he could get beyond it an Indian scout would be upon his trail. He undertook it, however, and the third day brought him into the camp. This was the first inroad made upon the band of Indians, consisting of Seminoles, Creeks, and Mickasukies, in the Big Cypress Swamp. Here were concentrated the desperate characters of all the tribes once inhabiting Georgia and the neighboring states, with whom the government had, from time to time, been at war for thirty years past. Sympathy with each other in the wrongs they conceived had been inflicted upon them and their ancestors, caused a concert of action, excited by revenge, and emboldened by the most wild and fanatical superstitions. The Prophet ruled with an iron hand; despotism reigned without remonstrance or reproach. The people were governed by the dictates of this vindictive chief, whose wisdom was undisputed, and whose decrees were sustained and executed by men his superiors in all respects, but who gave way to his opinions, lest he might exercise a pernicious influence upon their destinies. This Prophet recited to his listeners his exploits in the Creek war of 1836, narrated in an affecting manner the way in which he escaped from prison, when chained hand and foot, inducing them to believe that the Great Spirit came to him, in the form of an Indian, striking off his irons and opening the prison-door. He was told to flee to Florida, and enjoined to revenge the wrongs of those who had suffered in his own land.

The information communicated by Sole-Micco to Coacooche, caused some solicitude lest the vindictiveness of this band might pervade all others. He had a brother, Otulke, who he believed was in that quarter with his family. To induce him to surrender, he proposed that his younger brother, a captive in the prison-ship, should proceed to Pease Creek, thence to the swamp, with a message inviting him to accompany him to Arkansas.

An officer was dispatched with an Indian woman, who, in junction with this messenger, was to take a talk to Arpeika (Sam Jones) and Holatter-Micco (Billy Bowlegs). On the way out of port, the steamer stopped alongside of the transport, to take on board the young messenger. It was past twelve, midnight. The moon threw a gloomy shadow over the prison-ship, as the dark, naked forms of the prisoners appeared one by one on the deck of the vessel. The clanking of their irons broke the silence of the night. The bearer of the message was liberated, when Coacooche, in the presence of all, gave, in a brief and feeling manner, his last word to his brother Otulke: "Tell him this is my last word; it is the word of his brother with his warriors in chains, who will continue so until he comes. We are sick and lame; if he feels for his red brothers he must throw away his rifle, and take the word of the white men. I have been as brave a warrior as he; I have fought as long as he; I have carried in the war-dance as many scalps as he; why then should he make our hearts sorrowful, when Coacooche sends his heart to him? Ask him to come; if he says no, tell him I know his hunting-grounds and fields, and with my warriors will find him, and let him feel the chains which now make our hearts sad." A pause here ensued; all were silent; a strong feeling depressed and embarrassed the speaker, which deprived him of utterance; and to break the silence, and hide the overflowings of a proud and haughty spirit, he arose and walked the deck: "Here, take this (giving his pipe), it is my pipe; there is tobacco; and say to him I have turned my back and closed my eyes upon our land and the graves of the Seminoles. The whites are too strong; they go by land and in boats: why should our women and children suffer? I can live like a wolf, a dog; why make others suffer? The feet and hands of my warriors are chained; those who stood by us in battle. I am free, but my men are chained; soon I hope they will be free. I have no more to say; if he comes, he must come soon. Coacooche is sick at heart." The Indian woman, who sat an unobtrusive listener in the midst of the number, asked the chief if he had any thing for her to say. "No!" said he, "I never counsel with women, nor send my words by women; what I say are the words of a man, but when put upon the tongue of a woman, it is a woman's talk; women may listen to women, but my brother will not. You had better stay at home and cook; women lie and talk, you can do no good." Coacooche rose almost overcome with feeling, and with a convulsive grasp bade his brother farewell, and just as he was stepping from the side of the vessel, called him back: "Here," said he, pulling off his shirt, "take this, and tell Otulke, I send him the sweat of my body; tell him to wear it, if he is my brother."

Again he shook the messenger by the hand. The prisoners, who often had listened to their chief's words unshackled, now sought their resting-place in the dark hold of the prison-ship. Free and uncontaminated, by the will of their Creator, now incarcerated and subdued through the instrumentality of man.

Major D. L. Wilcox, to whom was intrusted the issuing of rations to those citizens who would penetrate the country, had accomplished much in quieting the fears of those whose locations were in the neighborhood of the Indian haunts. Uninterrupted scouts added materially to this end, as the Indian dared not show himself, or commit violent acts, not knowing at what moment he might be intercepted. The 3d infantry was again in the field, examining the country west of the Suwannee river, which, since the movements in June, had become a resort for small bands. Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler, commanding the 7th infantry, moved with his regiment, in detachments, from Micanopy, while the companies of the 2d dragoons, within his district, patrolled the country on the Georgia frontier. Captain T. S. Alexander and Captain William Hoffman, 6th infantry, with men in boats, *scouted* the Crystal and Homasassa rivers, and the hammocks and swamps bordering, thought to be the resort of Tiger-Tail and band. Lieutenant-Colonel B. Riley, 2d infantry, aided by detachments from the 2d dragoons, examined the country in all directions from Fort King, to find the trail of Halleck-Tustenuggee and Short Grass, who were supposed to be in that vicinity. Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, 8th infantry, occupied the country south and east from Tampa Bay, to frustrate any concert of action apprehended between the Indians south, and those in contact with settlements. Major Childs, 3d artillery, commanding at Fort Pierce, by active movements in boats, deterred the enemy in that quarter from any hostile acts.

Detachments from the Florida squadron, consisting of sailors and marines, with characteristic intelligence and zeal, perfected the operations in the Everglades.

The 1st regiment of infantry, under the command of Captain A. S. Miller, embarked at Horse Key, on the 5th of August, for New-Orleans. General orders, No. 39, posted three companies at Fort Snelling, five at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, one at Fort Atkinson, and one at Fort Winnebago. These stations were calculated to give the enfeebled invalid additional strength, which, from the nature of the disease with which the regiment had been prostrated, could never be regained in Florida.

This regiment entered Florida in March, 1838; from that period to its embarkation, it had participated, with efficiency, in all the toils incident to the service. Six commissioned officers died from the effects of the climate, and one hundred and thirty-five soldiers.

The sudden death of Second-Lieutenant J. R. H. Lancaster, on the 5th of July, 1841, was felt by his entire regiment. When standing in the stern-sheets of his boat, descending Crystal river, leaning upon his musket, in command of a detachment of men just from a successful scout, giving evidence of ability and prospects of usefulness to his country, he was struck dead by lightning. Four men near him were also prostrated, one of whom soon after died.

With the manly frankness of the soldier, he combined intelligence and the love of his profession; thus securing the confidence of his commanders and affection of his comrades.

The messenger dispatched by Coacooche from his prison to his brother, returned to the camp on Pease Creek, commanded by Captain Guynn, after an absence of ten days, accompanied by Otulke and five others. He brought a message from the chief Hospetarke, that he was coming to see Coacooche, and would be in as soon as he could. The next day an Indian boy came, with a white flag, reporting that the chief was encamped distant about one day's march south, on the trail from the Cypress Swamp, and that he had been sent to procure for them tobacco and whisky. The ensuing night another boy arrived, saying that the chief was sleeping five miles off, was old, fatigued, and very sick, and that he required a larger quantity of whisky and tobacco to give him strength to reach the camp. In this manner he, for five days, continued a communication with the camp, his young men going and coming unmolested, obtaining all they wished to eat and to drink. The old man was solicited and tempted by every art to come within the chain of sentinels, but he as artfully sent excuses, each time adding liberally to demands for corn, flour, pork, beef, whisky, and tobacco. From the best information which could be obtained from the boys, he had in company eighteen or twenty warriors.

Colonel Worth, with Coacooche, arrived at the camp at a most opportune moment. Coacooche was at liberty, striving for the liberation of his men, still in irons, on board the schooner at Tampa Bay. When he accomplished that which was demanded of him, these men were to be put on shore.

The friendly Indians in camp had declined any intercourse with Hospetarke, fearing the treacherous schemes so noted among the Indians from the Cypress Swamp. Coacooche, immediately upon his arrival, dressed himself in his official gaudy dress, and, rifle in hand, mounted his horse, which seemed to partake of the spirit of his rider, shook hands with the officers around him, and started for the camp of Hospetarke. Before sunset he returned, with the old chief and eighteen warriors. An informal council was held, congratulatory upon all sides that the white and red

man could again meet each other in friendship. It was agreed that on the day following a great council should be held.

The conduct of these Indians for the week past, and that which was observed while loitering about the camp, left no doubt but that the whole proceeding was a repetition of the schemes which they had practiced successfully two years past. The large quantity of deer-skins in their possession they sold with great avidity, more anxious to obtain powder in exchange than money. They lingered around the officers' and soldiers' tents, watching intently every movement, cautiously leaving soon after sundown, and returning by daylight. The friendly Indians in camp had been frequently intoxicated, but these men, though having as much whisky as they desired, were perfectly sober. They left behind women and children, and rifles, but brought bags and bottles to carry away liquor and food. These transactions, corroborated by Hospetarke's caution before and after arriving, gave decided evidence that before the lapse of twenty-four hours they would again be in the hammocks, enjoying their jokes, as heretofore, at the stupidity of the whites. No alternative remained but to seize them and take them to Fort Brooke. Coacooche, with his usual sagacity, saw this, and cautiously expressed his opinion, that it was the only means which could ever induce the band to leave the country.

To effect this all-important object, the great council convened on the following day, on board the steamboat, at two P. M. Hospetarke's fears had been quieted by the confidence and kindness extended to him and his companions. The old man entered the cabin of the boat with eighteen sturdy warriors, taking his seat with much cheerfulness and dignity on the right of Colonel Worth, who sat at the head of a long table, at which were also seated Sho-nock-Hadjo and Fuse Hadjo, sub-chiefs, together with the others, arranged according to rank. A company of soldiers were in their tents, who, at a preconcerted signal, were to close in upon the shore in such a manner as to intercept or put to death any who might attempt to escape. The black interpreter, well known as Gopher John, stood in the vicinity. His tall person, gaudily decked for the occasion with ribands and silver work, rose far above the group, now cheerful and merry, who were to learn from his mouth that their plans were frustrated, and that they were captives; a result they little anticipated. The officers present took positions at such points most favorable to quell an assault, secretly armed with pistols. The commander opened the subject with calmness and caution, received them as brothers, with every disposition to supply their wants and listen to their *talks*; explained to them their scattered condition, and the advantages to be derived in accepting the terms of friendship now

offered, and surrendering peaceably, and emigrating to the country assigned them in the west, and urged them to accompany him to Fort Brooke, where they should be treated kindly and have every want supplied; and that the women and children should be sent for and treated in the same manner.

To this the chief objected, explaining with much tact and skill the various causes why he and his men could not comply; but that by the *next moon* he would be in with all his band, prepared to emigrate. From his frequent conversations with his sub-chiefs in an under-tone, it was clear this was an evasion of the whole subject; no reason was assigned why this could not be done at the present as well as at any future time.

Again, the anxiety of the great father at Washington to aid and protect his red brothers, and his desire that no more blood should be shed, was forcibly expressed; communicating at the same time the means in progress to pursue the Indians, by land and in boats, and the determination that hereafter all Indians caught with a rifle in hand would be put to death. The conversation grew warmer and warmer, as the clear and eloquent tones of the interpreter reverberated through every part of the boat, imparting to both Indians and whites the excitement and interest such a scene was calculated to create. No entreaty or inducement could move the determination of Hospelarke and his followers.

Colonel Worth giving the signal, unobserved by the Indians, to the officers around, in order that they should understand and be in readiness for the crisis, again addressed the chief: "You and your followers have now come in to the white man's camp three times, have made faithful promises, and obtained all you wished for yourselves and families; none of these promises have you ever complied with. Such practices have existed long enough; it is now time they had come to an end. I have offered you peace, I have given you food and clothing, we have all treated you as friends. You have not been heretofore, nor are you now, disposed to comply with one single wish offered you. I have invited you to go to Fort Brooke; you say, No. I now say to you and the men seated here, *you shall go*, and be on the way before the sun sets. Not one of you will again leave the boat."

At the moment these last words were uttered, the shrill bugle gave the preconcerted signal, each soldier was at his post, the doors of the cabin were closed by bayonets, officers drew their swords from the scabbards, and the drum in camp beat to arms. Silence, broken only by the occasional muttering of these sons of the forest, told plainly the sensations excited among all present. When the shock had passed, several began talking loudly, ges-

ticulating in a violent manner, brandishing their knives and threatening the interpreter. This soon subsided on seeing the officers and soldiers so well prepared to punish them for any hostile act. The old chief was reproached for his stupidity in not foreseeing this result. "You are a fool," said one of the sub-chiefs; "I told you this morning the white men would catch us in a wolf-trap." To find their plans so unexpectedly frustrated, was enough to create a rebellious spirit. One after another came forward, desiring to go for his wife and children, others for mothers and sisters left in the hammock six miles distant, with their rifles and money. So many asking, none were gratified; but when the excitement had passed away, five messengers were selected, who were to proceed to the proper places and find the women and children, and be at Punta Rossa, at the mouth of the Carlosahatchee river, where a steamboat would be in readiness to take them to Fort Brooke. These messengers were led to believe that the lives of the chief and warriors hung upon their faithful execution of the mission. It was an interesting sight to see the father communicating, with feeling, the words to be delivered to his wife and children, a son asking an aged mother to join him, and lovers sending some little token of remembrance, pleading at the same time that the object of his solicitude would join him as soon as possible.

Coacooche, fully understanding what was to take place, absented himself, thus to all appearance having no participation in the capture. He appeared soon after in the cabin of the boat, affecting intoxication, with a rifle in one hand, a bottle of whiskey in the other. He expressed his surprise and indignation that these men, who by his entreaties had been induced to come in, were prisoners. He burst forth in a strain of abuse—denounced the whites, "that while he was absent enjoying his bottle, the opportunity had been improved to capture them." The effect was good, as they still looked upon him as their friend. Had it been known that he was in any way or manner connected with the transaction, his exertions, for the future, would have availed but little.

These Indians had come from the swamps and hammocks, actuated by their characteristic treachery and sagacity, for the accomplishment of objects foreign to what they professed. That which was most desired, in fact indispensable to them, was powder—and to obtain which they practised those devices which had so well succeeded for three years past. To find themselves thus frustrated; caught in their own trap, and prisoners, on their way to Tampa; compelled to plead for their lives, and the privilege of sending a request to father, mother, brother and sister; was a situation which might well cause excitement among them, and even alarm.

Hospetarke's advanced age induced Coacooche to believe that he could attach this band to his own, and thus go to Arkansas with a formidable number. In this he ultimately succeeded. Hospetarke is a Seminole, about eighty-five years of age, small in stature, much bent, and with white flowing hair. He and Arpeika (Sam Jones), who is about the same age, are the oldest Seminole and Mickasukie living. His entire band consisted of fifty-four warriors, and seventy-three women and children. He had formed an alliance with the Prophet, with whom he had had an understanding before leaving the Cypress Swamp, that in fourteen days he would return. His mind was clear and active, keeping pace with his physical energies, unusual for a man of his years. He was gratified with being captured, as his advanced age relieved him from the necessity of engaging in war, and enabled him to get rid of the influences of the Prophet. He was not a prisoner by his own voluntary act; no one could rebuke or reproach him. Among these Indians there is an elevated feeling, which leads them to spurn the association of civilized life. An Indian that succumbs, whatever may be the cause or excuse, they look upon as an enemy to his race, unworthy of fame, and destitute of those qualities which make the warrior and the man.

These Indians declared openly, after capture, that it was not their intention to emigrate or surrender; they came for powder, whisky, and bread. All that they obtained, was considered common stock, and was deposited in a hammock, six miles distant, with their rifles, in the care of the women. It was agreed that none should become intoxicated, lest at an unguarded moment they might commit themselves, and be captured. The chief was to name the time when they should, in a body, return to the Cypress Swamp. Instead of returning, as contemplated, they found themselves prisoners on board a transport at Fort Brooke.

The camp on Pease Creek was broken up, and Captain Guynn ordered to take post at Fort Deyneaud, on the head waters of the Carlosahatchee river, sixty miles from Punta Rossa, and thirty from the Big Cypress Swamp, a point where the Indians sent for could come with facility, with those whom they might induce to accompany them. Fifty-five cypress canoes were made at Camp Ogden, capable of carrying eight men each. These were for the coming operations in the Everglades.

The entire band of Coacooche having now surrendered for emigration, and he acting in good faith, the irons of those on board the transport were taken off, and they permitted to live with the remainder of the band at the post. For their security the chief pledged his life.

Hospetarke's party occupied the prison-ship, unshackled, but strongly guarded, awaiting the time when the remainder should

be at Punta Rossa, when it was designed they should proceed in the steamer to meet them.

On the 28th of August, the following reports were transmitted to the adjutant-general of the army at Washington, by the colonel commanding. These detailed the movements of the troops, which, though not signalized by captures and battles, had yet satisfied the Indians that they would be pursued the entire season. The movements and results were all of a similar character, attended by much exposure, sickness, and fatigue, terminating in the destruction of corn-fields, huts, and sheds. These operations, together with the Indians collected for emigration, gave satisfactory evidence that the months of July and August had not been passed in idleness.

Memorandum.

Report of scout in the Everglades, by Lieutenant Ketchum, 3d artillery.

Report of expedition to Tomoka river, by Lieutenant Judd, 3d artillery.

Report of boat and land expedition to Deadman's Bay, by Major Wilson, and officers under his command, 3d infantry.

Report of a combined movement on the Wacassassa river, by Captain Bonneville, 7th infantry, and Lieutenants Lamotte and Prince, 1st infantry.

Report of a scout by Lieutenant Sibley, 2d dragoons.

Report of a scout by Captain Holmes, 7th infantry.

Report of an expedition into the Everglades, under direction of Major Childs, 3d artillery.

Report of a combined expedition to the Homesassa river, under Captains Alexander and Hoffman, 6th infantry.

Report of Captain M. Burke, 3d artillery, and Lieutenant Rodgers, U. S. N., expedition into the Everglades.

Reports of scouts by officers 2d infantry, under direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Riley.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke's reports, and officers of the 8th regiment, under his command.

Reports of scouts by Captain Kerr and Captain May, 2d dragoons.

The season was now far advanced, when, from the prevalence of disease incident to the climate, aggravated by the exposure to which the troops had been subjected by land and water, a serious diminution of the effective strength of the army was anticipated.

The skill and untiring devotion of the medical director of the army, Surgeon Harney, had stayed the malignity of the yellow

fever, which had appeared at Fort Brooke, as well as disseminating vigilance and attention in every branch of his department.

During the month of July, two thousand four hundred and twenty-eight men of the army of Florida, were reported as having been taken sick. Of this number, eight hundred and fifteen had been returned to duty; thirty-one died, and eleven discharged for disability.

The report at the end of August, numbered two thousand and twenty-three, as having been taken sick within the month; eight hundred and six had been returned to duty, twenty-one died, and thirteen discharged for disability.

Connected with active operations, retrenchment was not lost sight of, as it not only cut off the drain upon the treasury of the nation, but was instrumental in breaking up the civil position of the army, which so long had been identified with the contest, and hung heavily upon the efforts to close it.

The following letter, from the colonel commanding, gives an outline of the reductions in all departments, which were executed with the skill and promptness belonging to the quarter-master's department, and by the distinguished officer on duty in Florida, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Whiting, who was at the principal depot, at Palatka, on the St. John's river.

*"Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, }
Tampa, Aug. 17th, 1845. }*

"SIR—The colonel commanding has attentively considered your letter of the 2d instant, as also the letter to which you refer, addressed by you to Brigadier-General Armistead, under date the 20th April, on the subject of retrenchment of expenses incident to the Florida service, which last letter is now for the first time brought to his notice.

"Aware of the importance and necessity of retrenchment, and anxious that the most rigid economy should be observed in the expenditures, he lost no time, on assuming the command of the army, to call for such reductions as might be demanded by a due economy, and a just regard to the interest of the service; and he finds that, by reference to his orders and instructions since issued, that most of the reductions referred to in your letter to General Armistead have already been met, while many others, not mentioned therein, have been ordered.

"Curtailment has already taken place in respect to horses, by far the heaviest item of expense, not only as to the present time, but prospectively; also in respect to express riders, buildings, vessels, &c. But there is much yet to be done on the score of retrenchment. The colonel has carefully examined your last summary of the number of citizens employed to the 30th of June,

in the quarter-master's department. Of the seven hundred and three persons thus employed, it is believed the greater part may be discharged, except those you may deem necessary at the principal depots, as Palatka, Tampa, St. Augustine, and Port Leon. At the two latter places, it is believed, great reductions in their numbers can be made; for example, at St. Augustine there are twenty-nine, inclusive of the crews of several vessels; it is not known what portion of this number composes the crews. At Port Leon there are fifty-three; it is true, there are no troops at that post to give aid, and yet the number is believed to be larger than necessary. At the petty posts, forming by far the greatest number, and most of which posts it is hoped may soon be broken up, you are desired to allow no hired mechanics, of any sort; and for the current service of those posts, teamsters, drivers, &c., must be detailed from the line. It would, perhaps, be injudicious at the present moment, to discharge many of the latter class of persons connected with the large trains on principal routes of supply.

"Your attention is particularly asked, to the almost universal employment of clerks, either in one form or another, and generally as advised, at inordinate daily pay. A prompt and rigid reduction in this respect, is demanded by the best interests of the service. In the above remarks, the principal depots are not referred to, where, it is believed, all due economy is observed.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) S. COOPER, *Assistant-Adjutant-General.*
 Lieut. Col. H. WHITING, }
 Deputy Qr. M. General, *Palatka.* }

"Palatka, E. F., }
August 23d, 1841. }

"SIR—I have received your letter of the 17th, relative to retrenchment, &c. The letter I addressed to General Armistead on this subject, I did not bring up again to his successor in command, because his order, in assuming it, seemed to render such a step unnecessary. General Armistead's reply to my letter, directed all things to be left as they were, and Colonel Worth's order implied that no immediate changes should be made, else I should, some time since, have discharged all the citizen mechanics, laborers, ostlers, &c., at all the posts excepting the principal depots. Feeling fully authorized now to act in this respect, I shall take the necessary steps accordingly. This will effect some reduction, though the mechanics now employed are principally at the depots, where a few, such as smiths, wheelwrights, ship-carpenters, and ordinary carpenters, are indispensable. I would not propose that any teamsters be obtained by detail for the principal trains. It is of importance that the drivers should not often be changed. Unskilfulness may often cause serious damage to pub-

lic property. Teams attached to small posts, where not much is done, and what is done is under the eye of an officer, are an exception. And ostlers should be supplied at such posts in the same way, that is, by detail.

"In explanation of the report of the 9th August, to which allusion is made in your letter, at *Fort King*, for instance, the number of persons reported are nearly all teamsters or express riders, mostly of the former. The number now there is much less than it was at the time that report was made. There is no mechanic there now, excepting a smith, named Duffie. Of the five persons at *Picolata*, two were teamsters, one a cartman, one a clerk, and one a laborer. They are all now discharged, and replaced from the line, except the latter, who has been at the general hospital, to assist in its establishment. He has been recalled to be discharged. *Fort Holmes* is broken up. At *Fort Mellon*, three of the four persons are teamsters, and a cartman. The latter will be discharged. At *Wacahoota*, two teamsters and one ostler were hired by the order of the commanding officer. They will now be discharged. *Camp Barbun*—the two persons are teamsters. *Micanopy*—mostly teamsters, one smith, and one wheelwright. All will now be discharged, excepting the teamsters. Captain Waite's attention was early called to St. Augustine, and he reported that he had reduced the number of persons as low as the service would admit. The number, twenty-nine, does not embrace the crews of the two small vessels employed, which amount to twelve or thirteen. He has one carpenter, one smith, one saddler, and the rest are teamsters, ostlers, laborers, boatmen, &c. *Traders' Hill*—there are sixteen teams there, one wheelwright, one saddler, one smith, and a principal teamster. And there are several laborers. These are all necessary there. *Fort Pleasant*—one teamster. *Fort Russell* has now only three teamsters, one express-rider, one ostler, and one man employed as a clerk, at \$20 per month. *Fort Harrison*—all teamsters, excepting a guide. *Key Biscayne* has at present six wood cutters. (These supply the steamboats with fuel, and their expense is, no doubt, reimbursed.) One person is a pilot, one (*Martin Burke*) in charge of Fort Dallas quarter-master's property, one teamster, one guide, and one laborer. The latter, and the person in charge of the public property, I shall have discharged. *Fort Lauderdale*—a boat carpenter, probably temporarily employed. *Fort Pierce* has a heavy report of persons, but it is so situated, that I have contented myself with having early called the attention of Captain Waite to see whether a reduction could be made. There are three teamsters there, one smith, one ship-carpenter, four oarsmen, one pilot, and one interpreter. *New Smyrna*—the three persons there act in the double capacity of pilots and guides.

Wacasassa—one person in charge of public property, and one ostler, and one laborer and ostler. These will be discharged.
Fort Gamble—one teamster.

“With respect to the principal depots, it is best that they should not depend on details from the line for their mechanics and laborers. Each of the officers in charge of them has been particularly instructed to reduce the number of persons employed to the lowest possible limit, they being responsible that their force should be equal to the wants of the service, which are very pressing at Palatka, pressing at Tampa and Cedar Keys, and requiring a state of constant preparedness at St. Augustine, Port Leon, and Fort Fanning. At these six depots, nearly five hundred and fifty of the persons employed are reported. Deducting the teamsters, the smaller posts embrace but a small part of the seven hundred and three aggregate.

“There is probably a misapprehension with respect to the clerks employed. This place, Tampa, Cedar Keys, St. Augustine, Port Leon, and Fort Fanning, have them employed at the rate of \$75 per month; a large price, but procuring, in all instances, most valuable and necessary services. Fort King is allowed one at \$50. Micanopy, at \$40, (which will now be reduced,) and Traders’ Hill, at \$45. At some of the other posts, where assistant commissaries of subsistence have been, and are acting as assistant quarter-masters, \$20 per month have been allowed, to be added to the compensation allowed by the commissary’s department. The latter posts are now Fort Mellon, Picolata, and Fort Russell, to which others may be added hereafter.

“The foregoing statement will show that the principal expenditures are now connected with the main depots, which have been reduced, in that respect, much below their former standard. While operations are upon their present footing, much more reduction cannot well be made. Great responsibility rests upon these main depots. They have to be prepared for emergencies; as it is my aim that none such shall arise that cannot be met with promptitude. As I have before remarked, no great retrenchment can now further be made, while the present quantity of forage is issued, or until operations considerably change their character. Full five-eighths of our means of transportation, whether by land or water, are connected with this article of supply. I wish this mass of forage had always been consumed with as much advantage to the cause before us as it is at this moment.

“Very respectfully, I am sir, your ob’t serv’t,

(Signed)

HENRY WHITING,
Dep. Qr. M. General, army of Fla.”

To Major S. COOPER, A. A. General }
 and Chf. Staff, H. Q. army of F., Tampa. }

With the surrender of Indians in Florida, and their embarkation for Arkansas, an important question arose in relation to negroes in their possession.

Many of these negroes had escaped, others were captured, from the citizens of the Territory, and the state of Georgia. Years had elapsed, allowing sufficient time for them to have grown from youth to manhood, imbibing the habits of their captors; in many instances they had intermarried, and become sons-in-law of their masters. These habits could not be subdued, nor these ties broken, without a struggle. The Indian surrendered, confident that his property would be as much respected as his life. Indeed, so long a time had elapsed, that possession had banished from the Indian's mind all probability of a reclamation of the slave. It was folly to turn the negro, thus imbued, and with such ties, upon his white master. The indolence and waywardness of the native had become a part of his nature. The independence and freedom so long enjoyed, unchecked, had unfitted him for any usefulness to the claimant. To have deprived the Indians of this property, on surrendering, would have greatly embarrassed the favorable results anticipated. True policy dictated otherwise. The negro, returned to his original owner, might have remained a few days, when he again would have fled to the swamps, more vindictive than ever; while his Indian master, between whom there was cherished a mutual affection, had embarked for Arkansas, dissatisfied and deeply wronged. These negroes had learned to speak the Indian language, which, together with a knowledge of English, and intimacy with the habits of whites, soon gave them an ascendancy, when the slave becomes the master. The negroes, from the commencement of the Florida war, have, for their numbers, been the most formidable foe, more blood-thirsty, active, and revengeful, than the Indian. To surrender or to be captured, was to them slavery and punishment; while victory gave them plunder, and added confidence to the already excited feelings of their masters. The lives of citizens, and their property, demanded that they should be sent far beyond the country with which they were familiar, and with which were associated many incidents calculated to foster a hostile feeling. The swamps and hammocks of Florida could, for years, be made safe retreats from bondage, where, without labor or expense, they might defy the efforts of armed men. It would require blood and money to besiege them, and when forced out, they could remove unseen to other strong-holds, which nature has so abundantly provided. Ten resolute negroes, with a knowledge of the country, are sufficient to desolate the frontier, from one extent to the other.

To obviate all difficulty, the claimant of the negro in posses-

sion of the Indian, was, upon identifying and proving property, paid a fair equivalent, determined upon by a board of officers.

Florida, from its discovery, has been the battle ground of carnage and discord. Few national questions have ever agitated its population, but struggles for ascendancy, or the mere gratification of hostile feelings, from the time of De Soto's expedition in pursuit of gold, down to the policy adopted towards the Indian at the present time, have caused the shedding of more blood, and spread more extended poverty and woe over this devoted land, than in any other portion of the United States.

Pedro Melendes de Avies, who founded its oldest town, St. Augustine, on the 8th of September, 1565—indeed, the most ancient town in the United States—distinguished its settlement by the murder of seven hundred Huguenots, wrecked upon the coast. That bigotry, which served to extend what he conceived to be his holy religion, caused him to murder, in cold blood, those who relied upon his humanity. Alternately the country has passed from the possession of the French to the Spaniards, from them to the English, and from the English to the Spanish again, and finally from the latter, to the American government; while the tribes of Indians in the interior, instigated by reckless whites of all nations, have struggled for ascendancy, or combined to drive out intruders. Its position, in a national point of view, should be regarded. It may yet be the strong-hold of a powerful foe, who might increase his strength, by inducing the blacks from neighboring states, to join his standard.

Twenty-four hours' sail for a steamer, can transport from the island of New Providence, W. I., to the coast of Florida, a black force, well calculated to perfect the work. This done, backed by the will and ability of a powerful nation, may yet make Florida the great field upon which is to be fought the battle of freedom; the settlement of a question upon which hangs the destiny of our country. Look at it as we may, the question is national and American; and those who cherish our prosperity, and the memory of those who bequeathed us our liberties, cannot shelter themselves on this question under the plea of philanthropy—no! the question must be met by Americans, whether from the north or the south, in the forum or in the field.

CHAPTER VII.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1841.

The state of affairs.—The contest drawing to a close.—The arrival at Fort Brooke of an emissary from Tiger-Tail and his brother Nethlockemathlar, desiring peace and friendship.—Capture of Indians belonging to the band of Halleck-Tustenuggee.—The murder of his sister, who desired to surrender.—He crosses the river St. John's.—Negotiations opened with Pascoffer, a Creek chief, on the Ocklockonne river, through two white men.—Lieutenant Anderson, 2d infantry, surprises an Indian camp and captures the women and children.—Communication had with Arpeika or Sam Jones in the Big Cypress Swamp.—Efforts made to obtain an interview with Halleck-Tustenuggee through friendly Indians.—Partial suspension of military operations.—Negotiations in progress through Coacooche and the old chief from Arkansas, Holartooche.—Coacooche, with six warriors, proceeds to the Annntiliga hammock.—Interview on the margin of the hammock between Tiger-Tail with his band and Coacooche, at night.—Promise of Tiger-Tail to assemble his band.—Wishes to see Alligator before surrendering.—Arrival of the remainder of Hospetarke's band, and release from the prison-ship.—Escape of Sampson, a negro interpreter, from the Big Cypress Swamp.—His narrative.—Harney's massacre on the Carlosatchee.—The government and councils of the Indians within the swamp.—Authority of the Prophet, Sam Jones, and Billy Bowlegs.—Murder of Mrs. Daniels, Harroll, and Jennings, by the Indians at Martin's Point.—Indians in camp at Fort Brooke alarmed.—Critical state of affairs.—Coacooche, with nine warriors, proceeds again to obtain an interview with Tiger-Tail.—Friendly Indians dispatched to all quarters, giving notice that negotiations would end in a few days.—The chiefs attribute the murders to young warriors.—The return of Coacooche.—Brings favorable reports from Tiger-Tail.—Coacooche expresses his anxiety that his band should embark for Arkansas.—Hospetarke concurs.—Preparations at Fort Brooke to prevent the escape of Indians.—The day of embarkation determined upon.—Captain W. Seawell, 7th infantry, ordered to conduct the Indians to Arkansas.—The feeling manifested by the women on their departure from Florida.—The Mickasukie tribe, character, and feelings.—Coacooche's farewell to Colonel Worth and his staff.—His conduct and appearance on the occasion, and his *last talk* to the officers present and to his band.—The birth, life, and character of Coacooche, and the vicissitudes he had encountered.—His peculiarities, and participation in the attack upon Fort Mellon, and in the battle of Okechohee.—His capture, imprisonment at St. Augustine, Florida, and escape.—His dreams and religious opinions.—The origin of the white men; the first ever seen in Florida.—The prevalent feeling in Arkansas among the Indians, demanding precaution and vigilance on the part of the federal government.—Arrival of Alligator from Arkansas.—He proceeds to the camp of Tiger-Tail and Nethlockemathlar, and returns with the latter chief.—Arrival of Tiger-Tail and his band at Fort Brooke.—Arrival of six companies of the 4th infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Garland, U. S. A.—Lieutenant-Colonel Garland dispatched on special duty to subdue the Creeks west of the Suwannee river.—Five companies 2d dragoons ordered out of Florida.—3d artillery retained.—Contemplated movements in the Big Cypress Swamp and Everglades.—Depots established at Punta Rossa.—Violent gale on the coast and its disastrous effects.—It alarms the Indians and deters them from surrendering.—Troops in readiness to take the field.—Report of Lieutenant J. T. McLaughlin, U. S. N., commanding the Florida squadron, and the report of Captain Burke, 3d artillery, of their expeditions in the Everglades.—General character and results of the operations during the months of September and October.—Sick report of the army.

THOUGH the effective strength of the army operating in Florida had become materially reduced by the number reported unfit for duty on the last of August, yet in the results of its operations there was enough to compensate those who were prostrated by disease, as well as others who were liable to the same misfortune. The effective character of the operations, "with the sword in one hand and the olive-branch in the other," had given evidence that the contest was approaching a close, when officers and men would be relieved from a service without distinction or reward. The enemy were now deprived of their crops and planting-ground. Their retreats had unceremoniously been broken in upon by the troops, by whom they were hunted night and day, without regard to the effects of the climate or season.

The following extract of a communication from the colonel

commanding to the adjutant-general of the army, dated August 31st, indicates the state of affairs:

"SIR—In reply, I have to add, that on the arrival of the recruits, and without reference to the 4th and 5th regiments under orders, the 3d artillery can be dispensed with. I am strong in the belief of having it in my power within the coming month to say the same of the 4th and 5th regiments, in season, if such be the pleasure of the commanding general, to countenance or stay the movement, *en route*, and also report as disposable the 2d dragoons."

The Indians, now finding themselves so closely and successfully pursued, renewed their efforts to obtain quiet and subsistence by the proffers of peace. An embassy arrived from Thlocklo-Tustenuggee or Tiger-Tail and his brother Nethlockemathlar, bearing a talk to the commander of the army, then at Fort Brooke. They expressed their desire for peace, and were anxious "once more to take the hand of the white man in friendship." A party of Indians had been captured, belonging to the band of Halleck-Tustenugge, who from dissatisfaction had left him. He had murdered his sister for expressing her anxiety to surrender, cutting her throat, and leaving her body to be destroyed by wolves. Having crossed the St. John's, with about thirty followers, he declared his determination to put to death any one, male or female, who proposed submission or emigration. A party of fifteen Indians surrendered, belonging to the various bands; among these were found influential men. Their chiefs, they said, were opposed to coming in, hiding themselves in the swamps, and leaving the women and children, and a few men to protect them. In the western district, comprehending the Ocklockonne river, negotiations had been opened with the Creek chief Pascoffer, through the agency of two white men, who for a long time had been suspected of holding intercourse with him. The Creeks on the Esteen Hatchee, west of the Suwannee river, under Halpatter-Tustenuggee, held daily intercourse with Tiger-Tail and Octiarche, with whom they had been counselling in reference to sending an emissary for peace. Lieutenant-Colonel Riley, 2d infantry, commanding at Fort King, was in daily intercourse with those who had ventured in, to inquire if others in the hammocks would be received with kindness.

Lieutenant J. W. Anderson, 2d infantry, by a series of energetic and well-directed scouts, captured a sub-chief, Aleck-Hadjo, who conducted him to the neighborhood of a camp of Indians on the St. John's river. During the day, Lieutenant Anderson and his men watched the movements of two canoes containing In

dians, busily engaged in fishing, keeping as much as possible within the high grass bordering Lake George. They approached almost within musket range, then paddled back; in this manner annoying the command until dark. The same night the detachment crossed the river, and crept upon a camp of two wigwams, almost surrounded by a dense cypress swamp. Here the soldiers lay with intense anxiety, within sight of the Indians' fires, awaiting the approach of day. Just at dawn, a man and a boy with a child passed within a short distance of the soldiers. An old man shouted to them from the camp to "look out, while fishing, for the white men's boats." Lieutenant Anderson, finding it, as daylight approached, impossible to surround the village, made a vigorous assault, capturing five rifles, six squaws, and three children. The excessive privations of this detachment would have been better rewarded by the capture of the men, but the proximity of the dense swamp enabled them to escape.

From Fort Deneaud on the Carloshatchee river, communication was had with the Indians in the Big Cypress Swamp, through the exertions of Tustenock Hadjo, an important sub-chief belonging to the band of Sam Jones, who, though unwilling to come in himself, was anxious to obtain subsistence.

Though Halleck-Tustenuggee was reported to be active and revengeful, hopes were entertained, that through friendly messengers he might be induced to risk himself again within a military post. Aleck Hadjo, accompanied by Cochus-Micco, San-e-mathlar, and Foces Micco, were sent to the St. John's to endeavor to open an interview with him.

The movements of the army in this state of things necessarily assumed more of a defensive than an offensive character. The enemy was closely watched, the readiness and promptness for duty unabated, and the patrols upon the highways were as constant and vigilant as ever. Lieutenant-Colonel Riley was directed to partially discontinue his scouts, but to keep a vigilant observation over the St. John's and Ocklawaha rivers, and the scrub extending to the Wahoo Swamp, known to be the favorite resort of Halleck-Tustenuggee. Three companies of the 2d dragoons, patrolled the country in the vicinity of Orange Lake and Micanopy. In the execution of these operations, judgment and discretion were required, lest the appearance of *scouts* might intimidate the friendly Indians.

The negotiations now in progress were seconded by Coacooche and other friendly chiefs, who were endeavoring to obtain as many to join their bands as possible, before embarking for the west. Holar-tooche, the principal of the Arkansas delegation, gave to the exertions of Coacooche his concurrence and support. He was a Seminole by birth, and about sixty years old. At the

commencement of the war he was an active and vigorous leader, and acknowledged to be a bold and intrepid hunter. His calm and judicious counsels, his anxiety for the improvement of his race, and his unwavering fidelity to the whites, insured him respect and the kindest feelings. In his youth he was the companion of Philip, Coacooche's father, which now enabled him to exercise a beneficial influence.

The solicitations of Tiger-Tail and of his brother Nethlock-emathlar for *a talk* being acquiesced in, Coacooche, with six chosen warriors, was dispatched on the 6th of September to Annuttliga Hammock, to obtain an interview with these chiefs. Whether this anxiety for peace was to entrap those actively engaged in urging emigration, was yet to be determined. Coacooche received his instructions from the colonel commanding, as also *a talk* from the chief Holar-tooche, enjoining upon him the necessity of watching closely the conduct of Tiger-Tail, who so often had proved himself unworthy the confidence of Indians or whites. To these Indians Coacooche was well known. After a ride of forty miles, he approached the hammock by moonlight. Securing his horses, he determined to await the dawn of day. While thus waiting anxiously, he heard a noise not far distant, and apprehending these Indians might have some design upon him, he turned towards the hammock: "Come out," said he, "like men; not creep upon me like a wolf! I am an Indian! I am Coacooche!" Immediately four Indians arose from the grass, within a short distance. In this manner, each party protected by pine-trees, a conversation was held explanatory of their visit. "Why have you come with white men's horses, if you are Indians and friends?" said Tiger-Tail. "I have the white men's horses, but I have no white men," answered Coacooche; "I came to talk with you, as you desired; I came to make peace; but if you creep upon me like a dog, and want to fight, I have men enough who will fight as long as any of you?" His firmness and explanation induced the Indians, about thirty in number, to approach, headed by Tiger-Tail. Friendly salutations passed between them; they smoked and talked until daylight. Coacooche explained to them the necessity of emigration, and the general feeling manifested by the various bands, to surrender. This had caused dissatisfaction, and a distrust of each other; and that the troops, by his request, had for a short time desisted from pursuing, in the hope that the Indians would take his words, and follow him to Arkansas. His example, and the fact that his band was encamped at Fort Brooke, added much to the force of his reasoning, and impressed the listeners with the truth of what he said. Before parting, Tiger-Tail and his brother promised to collect their band, but declined going in themselves, as it would

be necessary for them to hold a council with others upon the subject. They expressed an earnest desire to see Alligator, a distinguished Seminole chief, who emigrated in 1839; as from him, they felt satisfied, a correct opinion of the country which was to be their future home could be obtained. Rations were asked to sustain the women and children.

Coacooche returned on the 4th, elated with his success, as he felt satisfied they would come in; but the movement would be attended with much delay. The chief Nethlockemathlar could be relied upon; but Tiger-Tail was admitted by his own band to be unworthy of confidence. An officer was dispatched to Fort Gibson, Arkansas, for Alligator. It was thought his opinion would have a salutary influence upon many others.

Rations were refused until the band was encamped at Fort Brooke; then the necessary subsistence would be issued.

By the fulling of the moon, Hospetarke intimated that the time was approaching when the remainder of his band might be expected at Punta Rossa, at which point a camp had been established, commanded by Captain H. McKavit, 8th infantry. A steamer was dispatched, having on board the Indians captured at Camp Ogden, and who expected to meet their wives and children to whom they sent, on the day of their capture, earnest messages. In this they were not disappointed; about seventy Indians awaited their arrival. As the boat approached the shore, three long, loud, and shrill yells expressed their mutual gratification. All the Indians were released from the prison-ship, and Hospetarke had around him his entire band, in camp, at Fort Brooke, having shaken off the influences of the Prophet. Night after night, sacrifices were made to the Great Spirit, by songs and dances, to avert the designs this necromancer (though two hundred miles distant) might have upon their fate.

The escape of negro Sampson, interpreter, after an absence of two years in the Big Cypress Swamp, afforded another opportunity of becoming acquainted with this strong-hold of the enemy. He several times had attempted to escape, but the distance to a military post was such, that his efforts were ineffectual. Hearing a camp was established on the Carlohatchee river, he improved the first opportunity to reach it. Under the pretext of watching the white men, he was allowed to go to the margin of the swamp; and on his way stole a pony, and rode forty-eight hours, in hopes of reaching Punta Rossa. Worn down by constant apprehension lest the Indians might be upon his trail, his pony exhausted, he at length discovered a party of soldiers on the opposite side of the river, who, upon being hailed in a most earnest manner, immediately came to his relief. His narrative, though simple and minute, is interesting. The informa-

tion he communicated was of importance, as it afterwards was the means of penetrating the swamp, and ultimately breaking up the league so resolutely adhered to under the influences of the Prophet.

Sampson says, "I belonged to Colonel Gad Humphreys, and was captured by the Indians at Micanopy in the year 1837. I lived with Oseola, who was my friend. He was a good Indian, and constantly urged the war-parties to spare women and children. After he was taken prisoner, I surrendered at Fort Mellon. I then was an interpreter for General Jesup, who commanded the army. In May, 1839, I was at Fort King, when the treaty was made by General Macomb. In the December following, supposing peace was permanently made, I accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, 2d dragoons, to the Carlohatchee river. He went there for the purpose of establishing an Indian trading-house. He had with him twenty-seven dragoons, and Sandy, an old negro interpreter. Mr. Dalham and Mr. Morgan, were also along with Indian goods. Three more white men were with us; one was a clerk (an Englishman); the other, a carpenter; the third, the captain of the sloop. The trading-house was established about half a mile from the dragoon encampment. I slept in the store, Mr. Dalham and Mr. Morgan were outside; one in a bunk, the other in a hammock. On the night of the attack (the third night after our arrival), we were about crossing the river to see an Indian dance, when the young Indians told us not to go, as the old men were all drunk. Just at the break of day, on the following morning, I heard the yell of Indians, and discharge of rifles; and as I ran out, I found they were all around us. Mr. Dalham lay dead under his hammock. Mr. Morgan was dying, but continued to talk some minutes, when an Indian, placing a rifle close to him, fired; still he talked, when the Indian beat his brains out with the butt of his rifle. As I ran for the river, several rifles were discharged at me; a ball struck my leg, which threw me down, when the Indians brought me back to the store. They took Sandy, the carpenter; the clerk, and the captain of the sloop, prisoners. The yelling and discharge of rifles continued more than an hour. When it had become quiet, I saw Holatter Micco or Billy Bowlegs approaching with Sergeant Simmons, whose life through his influence had been spared, and whom he protected three months; when, by a decree of the council, Sam Jones and the Prophet, he was put to death in the most cruel manner. The carpenter, and the negro interpreter, Sandy, were allowed to live four days. They then tied them to a pine tree, and inserted in their flesh slivers of light wood, setting them on fire, and at the same time placing torches at their feet. In this way it was five or six hours before they died. The fate

of the clerk was never known. He accompanied a hunting party for bear, and while in the swamp, separated from the main body. Whether he joined the whites, or died in the swamp from hunger and fatigue, was never known. His wonderful tricks with cards, gave him authority among the Indians, and induced them to believe him a second prophet. The captain of the sloop made his escape. From conversations which I heard on the way to the Cypress Swamp, it appeared that the Indians designed killing Colonel Harney. Sho-nock-Hadjo, a sub-chief, said, that the day before the massacre, he counted every man in the camp, and took the precaution to see where and in what manner they slept at night. The camp and trading-house were attacked at the same moment. Hospetarke led the party attacking the store; Chekika, a Spanish Indian, the one upon the camp. The number of warriors who participated, was one hundred and sixty. One keg of powder was obtained, a large quantity of goods, and fifteen hundred dollars in specie. The rifles belonging to the soldiers being of Colt's construction, were useless; and they left them on the ground, after taking off the locks. The Indians crossed to the south bank of the river with their booty, where they continued intoxicated three days. No division of the plunder was made. The most active and daring, boasted of the largest quantity. The specie fell into the hands of one man. The powder was taken possession of by the chiefs. On the third day after the conflict, a soldier gave himself up exhausted from hunger, and his feet badly cut by oyster shells. He was taken to the swamp, and for some months was required to do the humble offices of a squaw. The Prophet's mandates caused his death. He was sent a short distance for wood, when the squaws fell upon him, and beat out his brains with pine knots. Chekika came around the coast in canoes, and on the fourth day returned, entering the Everglades by the Malco river. As we were returning to the swamp, it was proposed to burn me in the same manner they had Sandy; but through the interposition of Holatter Micco or Billy Bowlegs, my life was spared. Three times the proposition was made while I was a prisoner. Once the Prophet sent the order to my master. For two years, I was watched constantly. I feared the whites would never come near enough for me to effect my escape. In April, 1841, a great council was held, to prevent intercourse with the white men. A law was passed, that should any Indian, male or female, be found in communication with a white man, they should be put to death. Plans were concerted to convey information in the most rapid manner. The canoes seen in the Everglades, had determined them to keep within the swamp. It was understood in council, that being so reduced in numbers, and in so confined a space,

they must now ambush the enemy, fire, and then run. The powder was deposited with the chiefs. In all they had five kegs; four of which were obtained at Indian Key when it was attacked by Chekika, and the residents murdered. When going upon a *war-party*, each man drew a powder-horn full; but for the purpose of hunting, it was purchased—giving a hog for five charges. In the centre of the swamp, is the council-ground. South of this, within ten miles, is the village of Sam Jones. Otulke Thlocko (the Prophet) lives within two miles of him. Hospetarke's town was near the Everglades, twenty miles from the council-house. Near him, Passacka, his sub-chief, resided. *Trails* or foot-paths communicated with all these places. No *trail* whatever is visible outside the swamp, as such would guide their pursuers. Within the swamp are many pine-islands, upon which the villages are located. They are susceptible of cultivation; and between them is a cypress swamp, the water from two to three feet deep. The Indians rely principally upon their crops, which, though small, add much to their comfort. Corn, pumpkins, beans, peas, and mellons are raised. When these fail, roots, coonta, berries, wild potatoes, and cabbage palmetto, afford subsistence. The scarcity of powder deprives them partially of game; though bears and turkeys are frequently killed with arrows. Discharging a rifle was forbidden, as in a country so flat and wet the reverberation is heard at a great distance. Fish and oysters on the coast, can be obtained in abundance; but there they apprehend discovery. A few ponies, cattle, hogs, and chickens are owned by the chiefs. The dry goods obtained at the massacre, clothes them as much as is necessary. The specie was sold and manufactured into silver ornaments. No community of feeling exists, other than that which is necessary for mutual safety. Dissatisfaction has been often expressed by sub-chiefs; but no one had been bold enough to propose emigration or attempt to escape, except Solo Micco, who came into Camp Ogden, on Pease Creek. After his escape, scouts were sent out in all directions, and the decrees of the council were enforced. If any were suspected, the Prophet visited them; and by various dances, gestures, songs, &c., together with his blow-pipe, proclaimed their fate. Two Indians (a man and woman with a child) were by his means immediately put to death. They were found following the family of Solo Micco. The Prophet, they believed, could make known the approach of troops, find game, and control the seasons, heal the sick, or inflict disease upon any one—even death. Arpeika or Sam Jones is regarded as a medicine-man or doctor. His advanced age (regarding such persons with reverence as the Indians do) attaches to his advice and opinions much importance. At the commence-

ment of the war, he planned attacks, fired the first gun, then retired to take care of the wounded. By certain medicines, and prayers offered to the Great Spirit, he infused into the young warriors a resolute daring. He instigated the attack upon Fort Mellon—fired the first rifle, and left Coacooche to fight the battle. The active *war-chiefs* in the Big Cypress Swamp, were Holatter Micco or Billy Bowlegs, Parsacke, Sho-nock-Hadjo, and Chitto-Tustenuggee. They, together with the young sub-chiefs, headed the scouts, and executed with fidelity the mandates of the council, or the wishes of Sam Jones or the Prophet. The hanging of several Indians in the Everglades by the 2d dragoons, and 3d artillery, in December, 1840, fired the indignation of these chiefs. They declared eternal hostility and cruelty to the whites. 'We have given them heretofore,' said Jones, 'when prisoners, a decent death, and shot them instead of hanging them like a dog.' Sam Jones is a skillful navigator of the Everglades, knows all the secret passages, and cultivates fields in the most inaccessible and remote places. If the Indians are driven from the swamp, they must suffer; and if besieged, their supplies will soon be exhausted."

The simplicity of this narrative gives credence to it. Its truth was in many respects confirmed by the subsequent movements of troops, which resulted in effectually driving the bands out of the swamp and the capture of many Indians. With the efficient means at hand, in the way of guides and friendly Indians, from whom information of importance was obtained, there were incidents occurring calculated to embarrass the commander, and discourage the expectations of the army. The murder of three citizens, Messrs. Daniels, Harroll, and Jennings, on the most frequented road in Florida, between the posts of Micanopy and Wakahoota, eight miles apart, was one of those incidents, which, however lamentable, no human foresight could prevent. They were on horseback, and when opposite Martin's Point, four miles from Micanopy, were fired upon from a strip of the hammock intersecting the road. Their bodies were most brutally mangled, entirely stripped of clothing, and so disfigured by blows and gashes with knives and hatchets, as to prevent their being recognized by friends. Soldiers were upon the ground immediately after the report of the rifles. Such occurrences caused the Indians in camp at Fort Brooke to fear the vengeance of those of their own color, and created apprehensions that the commander of the army might summarily punish them for the infamous conduct of their friends and relatives. The chiefs daily gave assurances that such atrocious acts were committed by reckless young men, having no regard to authority, and that they would seek the different bands, and cause such Indians to be severely punished. So open a violation of the

truce granted to certain districts of country, by the solicitation of those promising to surrender, rendered it necessary that vigorous and active scouts should again be commenced, to punish the aggressors. A large number of friendly Indians, endeavoring to find the most vindictive bands, were still in the woods; scouting parties would jeopardize their lives, as the movement of troops did not fulfill the assurances they had given their friends. With these contending influences, the contest was to be prosecuted. A relaxation of military efforts, under such gross provocation, was calculated to lead the enemy to suppose that the troops were exhausted or intimidated. Vigorous measures at this period would cause them to doubt the veracity of the commander of the army, as well as the friendly messengers.

Coacooche was dispatched, with nine warriors, to obtain another interview with Tiger-Tail and his brother Nethlockemathlar, and represent the necessity of the adoption of effectual measures to restrain the reckless and obstinate young men supposed to be the aggressors along the frontier. Halleck Hadjo, an influential sub-chief, with three Indians, was sent to find those who were hovering in small numbers upon the most travelled routes, and to assure the head-men, that if they were not compelled to desist at once, further negotiation would be abandoned. These men were to proceed to the Wahoo Swamp, thence to Fort King, examining on the route the intermediate swamps and hammocks, and, if possible, find the location of Halleck-Tustenuggee. Those to whom the older Indians attributed the recent violent acts, were young men, who had grown from boyhood to manhood since the commencement of the war. Knowing no restraint, active and vindictive, they looked upon a white man as fair game, disregarding the advice and authority of those whose age entitled them to interpose and to exercise control. The legitimate chiefs of the various tribes were dead or had emigrated, thus breaking up all community of feeling in the nation, and leaving the restless spirits to indulge those hostile inclinations engendered in childhood, and cherished and continued unabated to the present time. The seed had been planted in youth, and the tree budded and bloomed in manhood.

Coacooche returned after an absence of four days. He met Tiger-Tail and his brother in the Annutiliga Hammock, with forty warriors, and a large number of women and children. They were awaiting anxiously the arrival of Alligator, expected from Arkansas, when the band would proceed to Fort Brooke.

Coacooche now became anxious that the Indians within his control, encamped at Fort Brooke, should embark for Arkansas as soon as practicable. Knowing the restless habits of his people, he was apprehensive that some unfortunate collision might

occur between the friendly and hostile Indians, as it was believed many of them had been in the vicinity of the camp, in hopes of committing some violent act upon those who had been guides to detachments of troops in finding their hiding-places, and thus compelling them to surrender.

He had exhausted the various amusements in the way of ball-plays, dances, and games, to content the Indians while he himself was usefully employed. The old chief Hospetarke was of the same opinion, more particularly as his health was declining, he firmly believing, that so long as he remained in Florida, he would suffer from the pernicious influences of the Prophet, though two hundred miles distant. Sickness prevailed in both bands, caused by the indolence to which they were subjected, and the absence of that free and unrestrained habit belonging to the savage life. Though confidence was placed in these bands about to embark, vigilance was enjoined upon both officers and men. To what extent the influences of hostile Indians had been extended among them could not be determined. It was feared that when the day was made known for them to leave the soil, many might be induced to revolt. Had the attempt been made, an indiscriminate slaughter would have ensued. A guard of two hundred men was daily on duty. The camp was illuminated by beacon-lights, encircling a space two miles square, so that in the darkest night an individual could be discovered in the remotest part.

The sooner so large a number could be away from temptation the better, as their movements are generally governed by a momentary impulse, without reflection or reason. The 11th day of October was determined upon for the embarkation. The brig *Saratoga*, then in port, three hundred and fifty tons burden, was chartered; as also the steamer *James Adams*. Captain W. Seawell, 7th U. S. infantry, an officer of experience and merit, was designated to conduct the party to New-Orleans Barracks, La., thence to Fort Gibson, Arkansas, from which place it is forty miles to the country assigned the Seminoles. The camp was a scene of confusion for three days previous to their departure. The pestle was wielded by young and old, little and big, cracking corn for the journey; the old women and young children were engaged in laying in a store of pine-knots, as they had heard that the country in which they were to live was destitute of wood. But few had any conception where they were going, indeed many doubted if they ever reached land again. Had not Coacooche returned from New-Orleans, and recounted what he had seen, how long he was going and returning, the fabulous story so long prevalent would have been generally believed, *that they were to be put on board of vessels, and when at sea, beyond the sight of*

land, cast overboard. The assurances of Coacooche, though he was once a believer, quieted all fear, and satisfied the most intelligent that they were destined to a better fate. Every comfort was supplied and every wish gratified, that tended to soothe the sadness so manifest in bidding an adieu to the land of their birth, and for which they had manfully contended for such a length of time. The hammocks, swamps, rivers, and ponds, were as much endeared to them from early association, as the familiar spots around a father's home. The ashes of their kindred mingled with the soil, and as they turned from it for the last time, to embark, the women prostrated themselves and kissed the earth, muttering imprecations upon the heads of those who were instrumental in tearing them from it. Degraded and treacherous as they are, the most stoical cannot but be moved in witnessing scenes like these, particularly those whose duty has made them the active agents in creating them. Romance and fable have thrown around the race a degree of interest and sympathy calculated to palliate, in a measure, their barbarous mode of warfare, and the cruelty which has marked them from the first settlement of the country. Like all nations degraded by ignorance and vice, and under the dominion of another, they have been wronged; but in the midst of this, much generosity, kindness, and forbearance, have been lavished upon them by individuals, civil and military, and by the general government. Their fate, so inevitable, awakens in the mind of the philanthropist a generous sympathy, in spite of their atrocious acts, which have carried sorrow and distress into many a dwelling in the land, and marked their footsteps with desolation and blood.

Coacooche was on board with his entire band on the day appointed, excepting seven men he had left behind to be used in negotiations. Hospetarke was with him, leaving ten to be employed in the contemplated campaign in the Big Cypress Swamp. The number embarked in both vessels was two hundred and eleven; eighty-two of the number were warriors. Adding the seventeen men, with their women and children, left in camp, and the fifteen deaths which had occurred, both these bands comprised two hundred and ninety souls. Eighteen negroes belonging to these Indians, and others, whose masters were in Arkansas, accompanied them. Coacooche was, with becoming ceremonies, announced as chief of both bands. Fourteen Mickasukie Indians were sent at the same time. This tribe, though small, have always been the most resolute and vindictive in Florida, perfectly regardless of all laws, or the opinions and advice of chiefs. They were the legitimate occupants of the soil, and looked upon others as interlopers, and cherished the same vindictiveness towards their own color as they practiced towards

the whites. In camp, they obstinately refused rations when issued with the Seminoles, or with any other band. Ferdinand de Soto, when passing through Florida with his army of thirteen hundred men, in June, 1539, encountered the Mickasukie tribe of Indians on the Suwannee river. A desperate conflict ensued, that caused him the loss of many men, and for a time made it doubtful whether he would effect a crossing. Subsequently, they resisted the encroachments of the Seminoles and Tallahasseees, but finding it ineffectual, united with them to expel the whites. Now reduced to a few, and insulted by those tribes against whom, when strong, they waged a bloody warfare, they, at length, dissatisfied and defeated, sought the first opportunity to surrender. Halleck-Tustenuggee was the only man of character among them, but his tyranny and cruelties caused numbers to denounce and discard his authority.

On the morning of departure, Colonel Worth, with his staff, accompanied by several officers, paid these emigrants a last visit. Not a murmur arose from the crowd of men, women and children, assembled on the deck of the transports. They gazed intently, and in silence, on the broad expanse of water stretched out before them; still doubting whether it was to engulf them, or bear them safely to their destination. The deck of the vessel was now substituted for the green turf of their native land. The chiefs stood upon the quarter deck, with their sub-chiefs around them. Hospetarke, from his age and the excitement under which he was laboring, was unfitted for communication with any one. His head rested upon both hands, apparently absorbed in deep thought. From an elevation, Coacooche seemed bidding farewell to his country. He said, in reply to a question, "I am looking at the last pine tree on my land." He was cheerful, evidently determined to bear up against the sadness so prevalent, and the sobs and tears of the women and children. The fixed and iron countenances of his warriors, unmoved by the impulse within, but which was manifest by the silence which disguised it, appealed with more force to their faithful leader than sighs or tears. The colonel bade him and his followers farewell, confiding them to the care and direction of Captain Seawell, who responded by assuring them that their journey should be safe and speedy, with every comfort for their happiness. The chief expressed his thanks for the consideration extended to him and his band, under all circumstances, and said, "that as he was now leaving Florida for ever, he could say that he had never done any thing to disgrace it. It was my home," said he, "I loved it; and to leave it now, is like burying my wife and child. I have thrown away my rifle; have taken the hand of the white man, and now say to him, take care of me." His manner was calm and subdued, exhibiting that for-

titude and manliness which had enabled him, on former occasions, to hide from those around him, the intensity of his feelings. He gave a cordial grasp of the hand to the colonel commanding, as he passed over the side, as also to the officers following, and as the boat receded, he was seen standing upon the stern-sheets of the vessel, engaged in a loud talk to the Great Spirit. Thus was Florida relieved of the most formidable Indian chieftain, and the most desperate band, that ever sought shelter in her hammocks and swamps.

The vicissitudes of fortune to which this chief had been subjected within the past eight months, seldom falls to the lot of any man, civilized or uncivilized. In March, he came in at Fort Cummings, to talk with Colonel Worth, disregarding and disdain-ing the power of the white men. In May following he was a captive, and taken to New-Orleans. In June, he was brought back to Florida, and arrived at Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, on the 1st of July, in irons. In August, he was at liberty, with his entire band around him, and actively engaged through this month and September, until the 12th of October, the day of sailing, in inducing the hostiles to surrender, and follow him to the far west.

Like Columbus, launching his bark to discover a new land, with fidelity to his God, so these emigrants set sail, upon what, to them, was a boundless sea, for a country they knew not where, trusting in the guardianship of the Great Spirit, and the intelligence of the white man.

From the conspicuous part which this Indian chief has borne in the events in Florida, a brief narrative of his life may not be uninteresting. The following details, though somewhat vague from the want of dates, yet were gathered from his own lips.

Coacooche's (or Wild Cat's) father was a Seminole chief, known as King Philip, a man highly respected for character and intelligence. He was captured by General Hernandez, died on his way to Arkansas, in August, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and was buried on the west bank of the Mississippi river, a short distance below Baton Rouge. Coacooche is about thirty-two years of age, five feet eight inches in height, well proportioned, with limbs of the most perfect symmetry. His eye is dark, full, and expressive, and his countenance extremely youthful and pleasing. His voice is clear and soft, speech fluent, and his gestures rapid and violent. With a mind active and ingenuous, clear and comprehensive, he carried into all his measures, spirit and influence; governing his band in a firm, but politic manner. His life, having been eventful and romantic, he was enabled, aided by his fluency of speech and vivid imagination, to amuse the females in camp with his dreams and remarkable adventures, giving to them the coloring necessary to impress upon the listeners his own im-

portance and the truth of his narrative. At the commencement of the contest in Florida, he resided near the Ahapopka lake, the place of his birth; but finding the country too open for safety, he crossed the St. John's river, and occupied the swamps and hammocks extending from Fort Mellon to the Atlantic coast; thence south to Fort Pierce; thence west to Lake Okechobee. His band at this time comprised two hundred and fifty souls. Deaths and emigration reduced it materially. Eighty fighting men now constituted his war party. At the battle of Fort Mellon, on the morning of the 8th of February, 1837, he commanded two hundred warriors. The attack was made just at the break of day. His men were disappointed in the strength of the command, as it had been reported by the scouts, the day before, to be weak. This being the case, it was determined to carry the place by assault; but on approaching, they found the post protected by an extensive breastwork. A detachment of artillery fortunately arrived the afternoon previous, unknown to the Indians. Coacooche says, they kept up a continued stream of fire. One of his sub-chiefs boasted that he had killed an officer. Creeping upon his hands and knees near to the breastwork, he lay behind a tree, and as the officer passed a gap in the work, shouting to his men, he fired, and saw him fall. At the break of day, he withdrew his men, and retired to the Ocklawaha river. He had three men killed, and two wounded. He was also present, with his war party, at the battle of Okechobee, on the 25th of December, 1837. He was posted on the left of the Indian line, with eighty-two men. They stood their ground with firmness, he says, until the soldiers rushed upon them, shouting and yelling, when his men gave way, not having time to reload. Alligator and Sam Jones were in their centre, and the Prophet on the extreme right. But these bands, from cowardice, soon retreated, in parties of five and ten. He estimates the entire Indian force present, to have been four hundred and eighty men. Thirteen Indians were killed, and nineteen wounded. Coacooche was detained a prisoner at St. Augustine, in Florida, in October, 1837, and confined in the old Spanish fort, called Fort St. Marco, or Marks, now known as Fort Marion, the most ancient military work in the United States. Its gray walls; its casemates and dungeons; and the chapel within the fort, in which can be traced remains of Spanish superstition, together with the arms of old Spain surmounting the principal entrance, give to the work, as well as to the town of St. Augustine, a high degree of interest. Here Coacooche was imprisoned, with his friend, Talmus Hadjo. He says, to give his own narrative, "we had been growing sickly from day to day, and we resolved to make our escape, or die in the attempt. We were in a small room, eighteen or twenty feet square. All the light admit-

ted, 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 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 head-foremost, 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 Tomoka 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. When I came in to St. Augustine, to see my father, I took the word of friends; they said I should return, but they cheated me. When I was taken prisoner, my band was inclined to leave the country, but upon my return, they said, let us all die in Florida. This caused great suffering among our women and children. I was in hopes I should be killed in battle, but a bullet would never touch me. I had rather be killed by a white man in Florida, than die in Arkansas. The whites are too strong for us; they make powder, we cannot. I could live like a wolf, but our women and children suffered when driven from swamp to swamp. My father, King Philip, told me I was made of the sands of Florida, and that when I was placed in the ground, the Seminoles would dance and sing around my grave. The old Indians have told me, that the white men first came from the foam of the ocean, thrown up upon the beach. After laying for a time, subjected to the heat of the sun, they assumed the human form, and walked forth into the interior of the country. The first white man, my father told me, that was seen in Florida, was a Spaniard. His tracks were found on the shore of Lake Okechobee. The print of his shoe, and the length of his stride, attracted the attention of an Indian hunting party, who followed his *trail* two days. On the night of the second day, they came upon him while asleep. He arose, much alarmed, and extended to them his hand, which they received, and treated him with kindness. They endeavored to ascertain from whence he came, and from what he said, concluded he came out of the ocean. He had a gun, the first the Indians had ever seen, which he discharged, showing the effect of shot and ball. They took him to their camp, and after resting

two days, he went towards the setting sun ; no more was seen of him ; but it was said the Mickasukies put him to death."

The existence of a Great Spirit Coacooche acknowledges, and honors most devoutly by festivals, dances, games, and medicines. To him he believes himself accountable for his acts. If these are improper, he is punished by bad luck in hunting, sickness and death among relatives and friends. "The day and manner of my death," says he, "is *given out*, so that whatever I may encounter I fear nothing. If death is to come, I will die like a man ; if not, I shall go safely through. In going from Florida, I leave behind me the spirits of the Seminoles, with which I have had many interviews. Their spirits have taken care of me all my life. And the spirit of my twin-sister I leave behind. She died many years ago. When I am laid in the earth, I shall go to and live with her. She died suddenly. I was out on a bear-hunt, and when seated by my camp-fire alone, I heard a strange noise—it was something like a voice, which told me to go to her. The camp was some distance, but I took my rifle and started. The night was dark and gloomy ; the wolves howled about me as I went from hammock to hammock ; sounds came often to my ear—I thought she was speaking to me. At day-light I reached her camp—she was dead. When hunting some time after with my brother Otulke, I sat alone beside a large oak. In the moss hanging over me, I heard strange sounds ; I tried to sleep, but could not. I felt myself moving, and thought I went far above to a new country, where all was bright and happy. I saw clear water-ponds, rivers, and prairies, on which the sun never sets. All was green ; the grass grew high, and the deer stood in the midst of it, looking at me. I then saw a small white cloud approaching ; and when just before me, out of it came my twin-sister, dressed in white, and covered with bright silver ornaments. Her long black hair, which I had often braided, hung down her back. She clasped me around the neck, and said : 'Coacooche ! Coacooche !' I shook with fear, I knew her voice, but could not speak. With one hand, she gave me a string of white beads ; in the other, she held a cup sparkling with pure water, which she said came from the spring of the Great Spirit : and if I would drink from it, I should return and live with her for ever. As I drank, she sang the peace song of the Seminoles, and danced around me. She had silver bells on her feet, which made a loud noise. Taking from her bosom something, I do not know what ; she laid it before me, when a bright blaze streamed far above us. She then took me by the hand, and said : 'All is peace here.' I wanted to ask for others, but she shook her head, waved her hand, stepped into the cloud, and was gone. The fire she had made, had gone out—all was silent. I was sorry

that I could not have said more to her. I felt myself sinking until I came to the earth, when I met my brother Otulke. He had been seeking me, and was alarmed at my absence, having found my rifle where he last saw me asleep. I told him where I had been, and showed him the beads. These beads were stolen from me, when in prison at St. Augustine. At certain periods of the moon, when I had these beads, I could see the spirit of my sister. I may be buried in the earth, or sunk in the water, but I shall go to her, and live with her. Game is abundant there; and there the white man is never seen."

These stories, though simple and improbable, delineate the peculiar characteristics of Coacooche's mind. Restless in his habits, cheerful and gay, he was in the habit of fabricating tales to please the Indian women, to whose comfort and relief in all things he contributed with a willing heart and hand—a consideration and generosity not often characteristic of the Indian. A good judge of human nature, he exercised control by shrewdly appealing to the pride of his men, whom he stimulated as became warriors belonging to *his band*. Colonel Worth obtained his confidence and respect, by exciting his ambition and adding to his power; and making him believe that his honor, promises, and opinions were never for a moment doubted. This gratified his vanity, which, together with the maintenance of unwavering firmness in minute details, as well as in important matters, secured his influence, and led him to believe that he would be always treated with justness and kindness.

Though put in irons, he became satisfied it was because he was a great and dangerous chieftain. The fulfillment of the promise made him by the colonel commanding, that when his band arrived he should meet them unshackled, divested his condition of that ignominy, which, in the estimation of Indians, belongs to shackles or confinement—he believed himself a greater man than ever. His example and boldness, and the use made of him, was the turning-point of the contest in Florida.

Intemperance brutalizes the Indian, as well as the white man; and whenever they come in contact, the former sinks to ruin and death—while the latter prospers upon ill-gotten lands, spreading far and wide the evanescent spirit of speculation. Coacooche was not without this vice, which at times disabled him from complying with his promises. In the country in which his lot is cast, his voice will be heard and his influence felt, however much enfeebled he may become by the associations incident to the corrupting contact of civilization, of which the Indians imbibe the vices, without adopting the virtues. Should his native talent have full scope, uncorrupted, he combines qualities, in an eminent degree calculated to unite the various interests and bands

congregated in Arkansas. These, if acting in concert, could now bring into the field 62,000 rifles.

The first bands of Indians located in Arkansas, or immediately upon its western border, went from necessity—satisfied of the impossibility of living near the white settlements, without collision and bloodshed: others followed their relatives and friends, after obstinately resisting as long as in their power, and when reduced to beggary and disgraced by the most brutal intemperance. The last sent there, have been subdued and transported by the strong arm of the general government. With that never dying spirit of revenge, aggravated by their being forcibly transferred to a country uncongenial to their constitutions—can it be expected that they will quietly settle down into the monotonous routine of agricultural life? These feelings were soothed by every degree of kindness, and every argument was used to reconcile them to the measure; but the restlessness of their habits, and the absence of those comforts so numerous in the country which they had tenaciously clung to, will render it necessary for the government of the United States to use every precaution to check the malignant and hostile feeling prevalent among them—and unceasingly cherished by chiefs and warriors, both among the Creeks and Seminoles.

The chief Halpatter-Tustenuggee (Alligator) arrived at Fort Brooke, from Arkansas, on the 14th of October, bringing with him Wax-e-mathlar, Cho-e-ho-lar, Kle-Hadjo, Cotzar-Tustenuggee, Holatter-Fixico, and Negro Jim, interpreter. These men had come in hopes of inducing their relatives, still in the woods, to return with them. Alligator had been the most daring and resolute chief in instigating the first blows struck at the whites, at the commencement of the contest. He led the attack, and fired the first rifle after Micanopy, upon the command of Major Dade. At Okechobee he was the most prominent chief, and the cause of the Indians making a stand to meet the troops. From his well-known character, the hostile Indians believed he would tell them the truth in relation to the country allotted them. The next day after his arrival, he left, with a party, for Annutiliga Hammock, to meet Tiger-Tail and his brother Nethlockemathlar. In this he succeeded, and returned with the latter chief. The following day the colonel commanding explained to him the necessity of bringing his band at once to Fort Brooke, and the determination to harass them, in the event of their refusing, with troops, night and day, through all seasons of the year. The chief spoke feelingly of the distressed condition of his women and children, and of his own desire that peace should be restored, and said that he would come in with his band so soon as they could be assembled. He returned after remaining in camp four days,

taking with him several friendly Indians. The arrival in the harbor of six companies of the 4th infantry, in command of Lieutenant-Colonel J. Garland, was most opportune. The Indians saw that the troops, instead of diminishing in numbers, were coming into the country; thus corroborating what had been told them, *that the war would be interminable*. Tiger-Tail came in a few days after, expressing much gratitude that he had been invited in as a friend, and stated that his band were on the march for the post. He volunteered to accompany Alligator into the interior, in search of Halleck-Tustenuggee. The commander at Fort King had reported the arrival there of a young Indian, the brother of Halleck-Tustenuggee. This was supposed to be another scheme of his to obtain supplies. The Indians from Fort Brooke were dispatched with friendly *talks* to the enemy, at the same time bearing instructions to the commander at that post to seize Halleck-Tustenuggee, and hold him fast, should he come within his reach. Thirty Indians surrendered through the instrumentality of these men, mostly stragglers from Halleck's band, who expressed dissatisfaction with his conduct. They professed the most profound ignorance of his hiding-place. Even his brother declared he had not seen him for some months. These chiefs, with other Indians, examined the country west of the St. John's river, and satisfied themselves that Halleck-Tustenuggee must have crossed and secreted himself in the swamps bordering the Atlantic coast. Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, 4th infantry, was ordered on special duty, accompanied by friendly Indians, to communicate, if possible, with the hostiles around Tallahassee, thence to proceed east to the Esteen Hatchee and Suwannee rivers, and endeavor to break up, by any step he thought expedient, the hiding-places of Halpatter-Tustenuggee, Cotzar-fixico-chopco or Mad Tiger, and Octiarche, head-men of the Creeks. He was invested with unqualified authority to take into the field such a force from the surrounding posts as he deemed essential to effect his object, and either to offer peace, or compel the enemy to negotiate by the most summary measures.

Affairs now presenting a favorable aspect, Colonel Worth did not avail himself of the privilege granted him of retaining all the companies of the second dragoons, but, in compliance with instructions from Washington, issued orders, on the 17th of October, for five companies of the regiment to take up the line of march. The companies designated by Colonel Twiggs, commanding the regiment, were companies A, D, E, F, and G, leaving five still on duty within the territory. Most of these companies were stationed on the Georgia frontier. Their route was *via* Tallahassee, Mount Vernon Arsenal, to Baton Rouge on the Mississippi river, thence to Fort Jesup, Louisiana, and Fort Tow-

son, Arkansas. Detachments of the 2d and 7th infantry relieved the dragoons at the several stations on the frontier. Officers of long experience in Florida were placed in command, well qualified for the delicate and responsible duty they had to execute. The five remaining companies of the 2d dragoons, under efficient officers, gave ample security to the settlements. It was determined to dispense with the further services of the 3d regiment of artillery; but the long experience and arduous service to which the officers and men had been subjected in the south, peculiarly fitted them for the contemplated campaign in the Big Cypress Swamp and the Everglades. The messengers sent to this quarter had not returned, which confirmed the apprehensions that the Prophet had detained them, and most probably had caused their death. A campaign in that section of country was inevitable; all friendly efforts had signally failed. The violent gale experienced at Fort Dulany, on the night of the 19th of October, caused much loss and suffering to the four companies of the 8th infantry stationed there, in command of Captain H. McKavitt. This place had been selected as the principal depot for the contemplated operations in the south. The gale commenced about eleven o'clock at night, and continued with violence until five in the morning. The tents, hospital, and storehouses, were washed away, as also the clothing and provisions of the officers and men; and the soldiers and officers were driven by the sea to trees, and to a spot of ground not more than two hundred yards square. The wind abated with the tide. Two soldiers were drowned. The steamer *Isis* was high and dry in the middle of the camp. This point was considered an advantageous position, it being adjacent to the strong-hold of the enemy, and healthy at all seasons. The spot bore no evidences of former floods, nor was it within the recollection of coasters and fishermen, who had frequented it for thirty years, of its having ever been overflowed. The tornadoes upon this coast destroy all before them. The highest points of land are insecure, should the gale chance to set in that quarter. The waters of the Gulf of Mexico seem to be pent within a narrow compass, and carried onward with fearful rapidity. The depot of the army at Cedar Key was prostrated in October, 1842; Port Leon in October, 1843; and Key West threatened with destruction on the 19th of September, 1844. The gale and the destruction of the post of Punta Rossa alarmed the Indians, and deterred many who were at that time on the way from surrendering. The friendly Indians at Fort Brooke were industriously engaged in finding their friends. The band of Tiger-Tail and Nethlockemathlar were coming daily, in small parties, manifesting a disposition to comply with the judicious advice of the latter chief. Tiger-Tail was still crafty, and could not be trust-

ed; yet, by kindness and continued watchfulness, he effected much good. He looked upon his brother with jealousy and distrust. The occasional scouts hastened the movements of these Indians, as they saw plainly, that though peace was granted, the troops were not idle spectators, but were prepared to take the field the moment negotiation was abandoned.

The expedition of Captain M. Burke, with one hundred men of the 3d artillery, unusual at this season, caused much apprehension in the Big Cypress Swamp. He crossed the Everglades to the western coast to Punta Rossa, thence up the Carlosahatchee river, and entered Lake Okechobee by Fish-eating Creek; thence proceeded to the west side, communicating with Forts Pierce and Jupiter, and came out at his starting-point, Fort Dallas. Not an Indian was seen, though a large number of Indian huts and corn-fields were destroyed. Himself, his officers and men, distinguished themselves by the fortitude they manifested in overcoming the obstacles so numerous at this unseasonable season of the year.

Lieutenant J. T. McLaughlin, commanding the Florida squadron, was desired by the colonel commanding to co-operate with Captain Burke, and extend his operations as far as Lake Okechobee. In this he most cordially acquiesced, with that promptness and intelligence which distinguished his conduct while in this service, as well as that of the officers of his command. His report to the secretary of the navy gives his movements in detail, as well as the report of Captain Burke to the commander of his regiment.

"Florida Expedition, Flirt, at Indian Key, }
Nov. 25th, 1841.

"SIR—I have the honor to advise you that we reached here last night from the scout I informed you we were about to make from the Carlosahatchee on the 2d instant, the incidents of which I beg leave to report.

On the 3d instant, the detachment, consisting of one hundred and fifty seamen and marines, and two companies of artillery sixty strong, under the command of Lieutenant Ketchum, ascended the Carlosahatchee river, and passed thence into the Everglades through Lake Thompson. On the 8th, emerging from a cane-brake, through which we had been two days breaking a path, we struck upon a fresh trail, which carried us to a landing in the pine-barrens, between Lakes Thompson and Okechobee, in latitude $26^{\circ} 45'$ N., longitude $81^{\circ} 10'$ W. Here we found a canoe, and a few miles to the eastward of it, a large boat, which had been taken on the Carlosahatchee at the massacre of Colonel Harney's command. Fresh horse-trails were found, and fires burning, but the foe had gone. The Indians with me re-

cognized the people as the band of Lew-fall-micco, and estimated the whole number of those who had been at the camp at fifty. They supposed them to be anxious to come in, and Alec-Yohola and Ahha-Tustenuggee were sent to communicate with them with this view, and directed to return, or send a runner from them with intelligence of their movements that evening, both of which they failed to do, neither sending nor coming back themselves. After waiting for them four days, with the continued hope of their return, we finally prosecuted our route to the eastward, on the 12th instant. The whole country here abounds in signs of the recent presence of Indians. Following a large trail, it carried us near the Okechobee, which we entered on the evening of the 13th instant, in latitude $26^{\circ} 58' N.$, longitude $81^{\circ} 03' W.$, having crossed that morning a beautiful lake, hitherto unknown to us, called by the Indians Haik-Pachee. This lake is about six miles in length and four in breadth, and is situated (its centre) in latitude $26^{\circ} 46' N.$, longitude $81^{\circ} 00' W.$ Following the south shore of the Okechobee, we re-entered the Everglades through the Cypress, on the 16th instant, in latitude $26^{\circ} 52' N.$, longitude $80^{\circ} 32' W.$, having been prevented from continuing our course around the lake by a very heavy wind and sea, in which several of the canoes had already swamped. We did not reach the source of the Loo-cha-hatchee until the 19th instant, when it would have been impossible to descend that river to Jupiter, and return here in time for the intended co-operation with Colonel Worth on the 25th instant. We accordingly hurried through, and reached here last night, by way of Snake Creek, Rio Ratones, and Key Biscayne. A chart of this scout will be transmitted to you as soon as it can be prepared.

If our labors have not been rewarded with the capture of any of the enemy, they have at least gained us information of an extensive country which had never heretofore been explored, and exhibited an imposing force in the heart of a country hitherto deemed impenetrable; the tendency of which will be to strengthen the wavering and doubtful in their inclinations to submit.

Respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be,

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR, Secretary of }
the Navy, Washington City. }

(Signed) JOHN McLAUGHLIN,
Lieut. Com. Expedition."

" Punta Rossa, November 3d, 1841.

"SIR—In obedience to instructions from the head-quarters of the army of Florida, I left Fort Dallas on the 9th ultimo with sixty-two men, two officers, and two guides, to form a junction and to co-operate with the naval forces under Captain McLaughlin.

"I arrived at Chikikos island on the evening of the 11th, and was joined by the naval forces at that place. On the 13th

ultimo, the united forces, about two hundred and sixty strong, proceeded *en route* to the lower landing, at which place we arrived on the 14th. Owing to some equivocation or misunderstanding with the Spanish Indian guide, it was deemed best to return towards the Gulf coast, among the Mangrove islands lying between Shark river and a point well up in the Everglades, supposed to bear about northeast of Fort Harrold about thirty miles: the route pursued could alone be ascertained by the guide. After traversing many broad lagoons or lakes, and apparent rivers, which had the semblance, or were, perhaps, arms of the Gulf, the command entered an impenetrable (until you were into it) ravine, which took about three-quarters of a day to traverse. We cleared every difficulty, and arrived in a broad Everglade about twelve o'clock during the storm of the 19th ultimo. The naval force was in advance, and discovered a canoe with two men in it: a large force was immediately pushed after them; but the Indians left their canoe, and were pursued to a cabbage hammock and pumpkin field—their whole number, from six to twelve, having barely time to make their escape. Upon the arrival of the army force, I immediately ordered a pursuit of trails, but the only result was the capture of a hastily abandoned canoe. Every point of the country within striking distance was penetrated, and the command returned to their camp after dark the same day. The next day the united forces, with three days' rations, moved into the pine woods, with a view to discover more extensive settlements and more permanent locations of the Indians. The country was covered with water, and a few trails were discovered of the party pursued the day previous, which appeared to be seeking safety towards the Big Cypress. The command took a back trail, which brought them to another abandoned canoe; and at the expiration of one and a half days, they returned to their former camps. It was now decided to fall down to the Gulf, coast along its shores to the Carloosahatchee, and proceed to Bowleg's town by the head of that river. We arrived at Punta Rossa on the 28th ultimo, and encamped opposite on Synabel Island, where our arrival was communicated to the commander of the Florida army. On the 2d instant I gave the necessary orders, under renewed instructions from head-quarters, for the expedition to return to the Atlantic side, by the way of the Carloosahatchee and Lacha-Hutchee: and being taken very ill, turned over the command to the ranking officer, Lieutenant Ketchum.

"I have to report the death of one man, a private of my command, at this post.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

MAJOR THOMAS CHILDS, }
Com. South Atlantic Dist. Fort Pierce. }

M. BURKE,
Captain, 3d artillery, U. S. Army."

The operations of the army were not so extended and active during the months of September and October as in the preceding months. Scouts were made with small detachments, by officers who were directed to negotiate with the enemy, or punish them, if thought convenient or expedient. The detached camps and occasional scouts were calculated to watch the movements of the Indians, but were not far enough extended to interrupt those who were the bearers of messages from the commander of the army and the friendly chiefs.

The strength of the army present on the last of September was 3911 rank and file, and 182 commissioned officers: 1811 men were reported "taken sick," during the month; 1793 out of the total number of sick of the army were returned to duty, 26 died, 13 discharged, and 14 sent to general hospital. At the expiration of the month of October the army numbered, *present*, 4659, rank and file and 202 commissioned officers.

Of this force 1878 were reported "taken sick" during the month; 1794 men of the total sick of the army were restored to duty during the month; 32 died; 13 invalids discharged, and 68 sent to the general hospital.

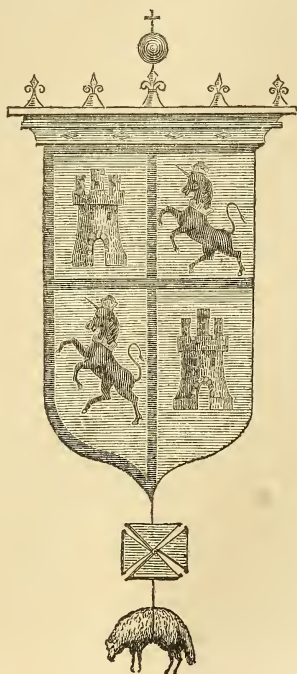


Castle of St. Mark, now called Fort Marion, St. Augustine.

CHAPTER VIII.

Extracts translated from the Manuscript of the Commandant of St. Augustine, East Florida, Manuel de Montiano, deposited in the public archives at St. Augustine, describing the bombardment of the fort in 1740, by General Oglethorpe.

CASTLE MARCO, or St. Marks, now called Fort Marion, at St. Augustine, East Florida, is the oldest fort in the United States, and is in a remarkable state of preservation. Its gray moss-grown walls, turrets, and battlements, together with the Catholic chapel inside, give to the work a high degree of romance and interest. Soon after the cession of the Floridas to the United States, in 1821, a dungeon was accidentally discovered, fourteen feet square, immediately under the high turret represented in the view. Human bones were found within, and other evidences of cruel imprisonment. It being some fourteen feet under ground, and the long, dark avenues leading to it, have induced many to believe it to be a remnant of the Inquisition, and that the punishment was a lingering death. Over the principal entrance of the fort, crossing the ditch by a draw-bridge, is the coat of arms of Spain, of which the following is a fac-simile :—



Beneath the coat of arms is the following inscription, now quite imperfect from exposure and age, many of the letters defaced, and others entirely gone.

RENANDOEN ESPANAEL SEN^R
 DON FERNANDO SEXTO. YSI
 NDO GOV^{OR} Y CAP^N GENDEFS
 C^N AVCDELAF
 YSVSPROV. ELMAIRSCAL DE
 CAMPOD^N ALONSO FRNZDE
 REDIASECONCLVIOESTECs -
 TOEOLAN OE 1756 DIRIENDO
 LASROBRELCAFYNIERO
 D^N PEDRO DE BROZAS Y GARAY

Translation.

Don Ferdinand the sixth being King of Spain, and the Field Marshal Don Alonzo Fernando Hereda being Governor and Captain General of this place, St. Augustine of Florida, and its province. This fort was finished in the year 1756. The works were directed by the Captain engineer Don Pedro de Brazas y Garay.

The work is a regular polygon of four equal curtains, and four equal bastions, surrounded by a ditch forty feet wide. Its situation is upon low ground, just at high-water mark. In 1737, the Spanish commandant of St. Augustine, Governor Montiano, completed the western curtain and the southwestern bastion. Then there were no outworks; merely the naked walls. Inside, there were a few temporary old buildings, and the ascents to the bastions were almost useless. With the labor of one hundred and sixty-eight convicts from Mexico, and some fifteen exiles, the commandant finished six casemates; there are now eighteen. At that period there was no outwork or glacis. In August, 1737, he was industriously engaged in putting the place in a proper state of defence, and finished the covered way. Two eighteen-pound shot-holes can now be seen, low down on the eastern curtain, thrown from the battery planted by General Oglethorpe, on Anastasia island, about a mile and a half distant, on the coast, a mile from the bar. The fort, for many years, has been used as a prison by the civil and military authorities.

The casemate in which Coacooche or Wild Cat was confined, and the embrasure through which he and his companion effected their escape, attract many visitors. The supposed traces of the Inquisition; the dungeon in which it is believed fellow beings lingered without a ray of light or hope, causes much interest and speculation regarding the characters, habits, and laws, of the former inhabitants of this ancient town. The correspondence of the commandant, written in the years 1737-8-9-40 and 41, now

to be seen in the public archives at St. Augustine, in the Spanish language, abound with interest.

The subjoined letters have been translated, as bearing particularly upon the besiegement of the fort by General Oglethorpe, in 1740, with a naval force from Georgia and South Carolina.

Connected with this subject, an English writer, in the year 1762, in giving "*an account of the Spanish settlements in America*," says: "That the only towns or places of strength which the Spaniards are possessed of in Florida, are St. Augustine and St. Mattheo. As to the former, it is situated in north latitude, 29 deg. 48 min., about eighty leagues from the mouth of the Gulf of Florida, or channel of Bahama, thirty south of the river Alatomacha, and forty-seven from the town of Savannah, in Georgia. It is built along the shore at the bottom of a hill shaded with trees, in the form of an oblong square, and is divided into four streets, cutting each other at right angles. About a mile north from the town stands the castle, called St. John's (now Fort Marion), built of soft stone, with four bastions; it has a curtain of sixty yards long, a parapet of nine feet thick, and a rampart twenty feet high. The fort is mounted with fifty pieces of cannon, sixteen of which are brass, and some of them twenty-four pounders. The harbor is formed by an island, and a long point of land, divided from the continent by a river. The island, which is called Eustatia (Anastatia), is long and narrow; the northern part of it is due east from the castle, and extends about ten miles south along the coast, leaving a channel betwixt it and the main land, which at the southern extremity of the island is not over a mile over, but not so much at the northern. It is necessary to observe, that the sea on this coast is so shallow, that no ships of great force can come within three leagues either of the town or castle. In the year 1586, this place was taken by Sir Francis Drake, when the Spaniards fled, and left him fourteen brass cannon, besides a chest of 2000 pounds, and other booty. In 1665, it was again taken and plundered by Captain Davis, at the head of the buccaneers. In the year 1702, the people of Carolina formed a design of conquering what the Spaniards still held in Florida, and actually undertook it, under the command of Colonel Moor, their governor. He ruined the villages and farms in the open country, and besieged the town of St. Augustine for three months; but on the approach of some Spanish vessels to its relief, he raised the siege with precipitation, and marched back to Charleston, three hundred miles, by land. The last siege of this place was by General Oglethorpe, in 1740, when he marched to it with a considerable body of English forces, and a much larger of Indians, and took some advanced posts; but the Spanish governor (Montiano), it seems, was a man of great experience, and having early intelli-

gence of the visit intended him, had increased his forces to a thousand men. The English seem to have taken possession of too many places, some of which were probably abandoned to them with that view. This afforded the Spanish officer an opportunity of cutting off about one hundred and thirty men, who were posted in the negro fort, under the command of Colonel Palmer. This disaster, together with the apparent impossibility of doing any great execution by the batteries which had been raised on the island of Eustatia, being at too great a distance, occasioned the raising of the siege toward the latter end of June, and thereby put an end to the high expectations which had been raised from this undertaking, which, if it had succeeded, must have been attended with very great advantages to the British nation. The only place in this peninsula of any consequence to the Spaniards, next to St. Augustine, is St. Mattheo, about fifteen leagues to the north. This is the frontier town of Florida, next to Georgia. It was besieged by the English when we were last at war with the Spaniards, but with little advantage.

"St. Augustine, in time of war, is a nest of privateers, which, if not destroyed, will greatly distress our North American and Jamaica trade. Although our attempt upon it in the year 1740, with an irregular body of militia, failed, yet it would soon have fallen by a regular force, well conducted; for the town is small, and the fort not able to resist the usual force employed in a siege. If this place was taken, all Florida would fall with it, which would be of great service to our trade, not only by depriving the Spaniards of a port, from whence they might annoy us on this side, but, on the contrary, enable us to distress them, by cruising on their homeward bound ships coming from the Gulf of Florida and the Streights of Bahama. And if we were to add to it the conquest of Louisiana, (which every one reckons to be in our power,) and the war ending prosperously, we might then make the Mississippi our western boundary, and the Gulfs of Florida and Mexico our southern. This would effectually settle our confines in North America, and put a final period to future disputes, both with France and Spain, in this respect; this would entirely subject the Indians to us, and put a perpetual stop to the horrid ravages they formerly committed upon our planters, through the instigation of the French and Spaniards.

"The Spaniards have almost always lived in a state of war with the Indians, so that they have constantly represented them in the blackest colors; though such of our countrymen as have any thing to do with them, affirm that they are not so bad, except as to their subtlety and propensity to fraud, of which they have more than any other natives of America."

"MY DEAR SIR—The news which I have, makes it necessary for me to dispatch Pedro de Alcantara, with his schooner, and solicit the favor of your Lordship, in order that, being informed of it, and of what is necessary here, which no doubt has been referred to your Lordship by Don Manuel de Justis, you may be pleased to make such dispositions as may be proper for this place, to put it in a state of defence against the premeditated intentions of the English, to make themselves masters of the city and its provinces, since Milord Oglethorpe, a member of Parliament, has exhibited in Parliament, to the King of Great Britain, that assuredly in so doing, this place, Apalache, and the provinces, would be of more utility and convenience to that Kingdom, than all the Colonies that they hold in America, the dominion of which, would secure that none of our vessels could pass the channel, and consequently that we could not enjoy the treasures, which are produced by Peru and New-Spain, *without their consent.*

"This proposition having been favorably heard, the General Command by sea and land of all the Colonies, Island of Jamaica, and all the other Islands which they possess in America, has been given to him; appropriating at the same time \$125,000 for fortifications, and four hundred and eighty men of the regular troops for the operations against these provinces, although Parliament was opposed to making a rupture during the peace.

"This intelligence, combined with what has just been brought me by the Chief (Cacique) Sacafaca, of the town of Charlicarliche, who came expressly and voluntarily from those remote provinces (who left the same news at Apalache), to advise me, that the Indians in English interest descend in small bands to maraud those coasts; and that their Chiefs have an order from the English to meet in Council, to treat of various affairs, leaves it inferable that they do not lose sight of what they formerly intended—and now they will attempt with greater confidence from the activity of Milord Oglethorpe which has been stimulated by the Peers of the Realm, with the sole view of acquiring glory in these conquests; and it is not to be doubted, that they will effect it by the greatest efforts on sea and land. To our misfortune, with the least effort, they will obtain their end, for we have not here wherewith to resist a moderate land force, and much less by sea; since taking the mouth of the bar with one or two ships (frigates) would leave us entirely without communication on that side, besides denying us provisions which are now supplied by them, of which they are not ignorant. Neither are they ignorant of the deplorable state of this place, or of the small number of troops which I have to oppose them. Therefore I hope, that your Lordship giving attention to these representations, and con-

sidering that this city and its preservation is of the greatest importance to the security of all America, will be pleased to give the most prompt orders, which I leave to the discretion and means of your Lordship, who possessing a knowledge of the profession, acquired by your long and marked services, will readily come to an understanding of what is here wanted, which to explain in detail is every thing.

“Furthermore, your Lordship knows that the fort of this place (its only defence) has no casemates for the shelter of the men, nor the necessary elevation to the counterscarp, nor covert ways, nor ravelins to the curtains, nor other exterior works that could give time for a long defence, but it is thus naked outside, as without soul (*sin alma*) within; for there are no cannon that could be fired for twenty-four hours—and though there were, we want artillery-men to manage them.

“I have ordered 4000 stakes to be cut, with the intention of forming a covert-way, although I know it will be an imperfect work, as not having the elevation corresponding to the counterscarp, but as to give that, would require a long and expensive work in consequence of the quantity of earth requisite; I will apply myself to making the repairs most required, and of least cost, for I have no funds but the little coined silver which was sequestered from Don Francisco del Moral; and although I desire to run a wall from the Fort to the Cribo (bastion on the St. Sebastian), and to raise there a bastion to oppose an attack which might be made on the Fort from that side, I find all this impossible for the want of funds, as well as of all descriptions of operatives, convicts, and slaves, to assist. When your Lordship resolves, as I expect, to send troops, operatives, some money, slaves or convicts, and engineers to direct the necessary works, you will also direct that they bring a sufficient supply of provisions; for it is not to be doubted that the English will close the ports against flour, upon news that comes to them. Besides it will cool the haughty ideas of Milord Oglethorpe, and giving us time to prepare ourselves, frustrate his expectations.

“The two confidential persons agree in this information, and caution us much, not to delay preparing ourselves, because Milord Oglethorpe was expected at farthest in all October, and that his intrepidity would trample over all obstacles. This is all that occurs to me to acquaint your Lordship, under whose orders I remain, with true resignation, wishing that our Lord may preserve you many years. Florida, 11th November, 1737..

I kiss your Lordship's hands.

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed,) MANUEL DE MONTIANO.”

To his Lordship
DON JUAN FRANCISCO DE GUEMES Y HORCASITAS. }

"St. Augustine de la Florida, May 15th, 1740.

"MY DEAR SIR—At this hour, which is seven o'clock A. M., the time appointed for the sailing of the galeot, two men from Marco's sloop arrived, with the information that the English who had taken our sloop had refitted her, and have placed her to the leeward of Penon Bar, so very near the land that in the quietude of the night they can hear the sound of the voices of those on board.

"With this knowledge, I have stopped the sailing of the vessel (galeot), and have ordered a Spaniard and three Indians to go in a small canoe to the keys, through the inland passage along the coast, whence it is easy for the three Indians to transport the canoe by means of skids; and on arriving at Key Biscayne or Matacombe, they should endeavor to procure a fishing-vessel to convey them to that port (Havanna), and, on failure thereof to seek the chief Don Diego, to do this important duty; for which purpose I write a flattering letter to him, for they, the Indians, think much of such friendly demonstrations.

"And I have to say, that if these two ships, the tender and sloop, do not leave this coast, we shall not be able to communicate any information, unless there come from that port (Havanna) vessels of large force, because the way by the keys is uncertain and dangerous, and, moreover, there are few Indians in those parts upon whom we can depend to execute this duty.

"And in this supposition you will sufficiently comprehend, that this place already has no means of subsistence than the aids and supplies which you can give us by means of armed vessels, which should not be for less than six months, because already I am without expedients to avail myself of, and the aid not arriving here by the 20th of June, at latest, it appears a natural consequence this garrison must perish.

"Which is all that occurs at present to say to you, to whose obedience I subscribe myself with the most sincere affection, praying God to preserve you the many happy years which I desire.

I kiss your hands.

Your most obedient humble servant,

DON JUAN FRANCISCO DE GUEMES }
Y HORCASITAS. }

DON MANUEL DE MONTIANO."

"St. Augustine of Florida, June 24th, 1740.

"MY LORD (MUY SENOR MIO)—Considering that in case this arrives in time to be of any benefit, your Lordship may, with reflection upon its contents, take the most concerted measures, I give you notice that the enemy remains stationed at this bar, and that of Matanzas (twenty miles south), and in possession of

the island of St. Anastatia and its watch-tower, of all the beach of St. Mateo (north point of the harbor), and maintains a camp at the village (Pueblo) of Moses. The shipping with which we are blockaded consists of seven ships of twenty-three to thirty guns, two brigs of ten or twelve guns, six schooners, three sloops, and twelve launches, exclusive of boats and launches belonging to the vessels.

"At this moment, which is nine o'clock in the forenoon, the firing has commenced with a mortar of small bombs (grenades reales) of which some shells have fallen into the fort, but most have passed over to the lines, and beyond them.

"I assure your Lordship that it is impossible to express the confusion of this place, for we have no protection except the fort, and all the rest is open field (*campo abierto*). The families have abandoned their houses, and come to put themselves under the artillery (*lajo la artilleria*) which is pitiable, though nothing gives me anxiety but the want of provisions, and if your Lordship, for want of competent force, cannot send relief, we must all indubitably perish. With this information I am assured your lordship will excuse the hyperboles in which the conflict we are in may be portrayed; and hope you will give every attention to measures conducing to relieve this imminent peril, as a matter of such moment, and of the first service to the King.

"I remain your Lordship's most obedient, and with assurances of regard, I pray God to preserve your Lordship many happy years.

Señor Don JUAN FRANCISCO DE GUEMES, } (Signed,) MANUEL DE MONTIANO."
Y HORCASITAS, Gov. of the Isle of Cuba. {

On the 6th of July, during the siege, he writes to the governor of Cuba:

"From the beginning of the fire up to this day, they have thrown 122 small bombs (grenades reales) and 31 grenades, from which, glory to the Lord, we have received no corporal injury. On the island of Anastatia they have a battery of five guns, three of eighteen and two of six-pounders, the first to batter the fort and town, and the others for the galleys, and with them they make incessant fire; but ours answer them, and we are informed that they receive more damage than ourselves.

"On the first day of the month they beat a call with a white flag, and sent us three letters, which comprehended a demand for surrender. We answered them in a proper form, and from that day they fired with more impetuosity, but vainly, for it appears that God had given more certain direction to our fire."—*MSS. of Governor Montiano.*

Upon General Oglethorpe's raising the siege of St. Augustine, Governor Montiano writes to the governor of Cuba as follows, on the 28th of July, 1740 :

"On the 20th, the enemy raised his camp, and went off in a precipitate and shameful flight; and I dispatched promptly an order to our sloops, that if they saw the coast clear, to make their voyage, entering by the bar of Matanzas, which they accomplished on the 25th, and have now finished discharging.

"I assure your lordship, that I cannot arrive at a comprehension of the conduct or the rules of this general; for I am informed by at least twelve deserters from him, that his camp was composed of 370 men of his regiment, 600 militia of Carolina, 130 Indians, and 200 sailors, armed, and encamped on the island of St. Anastatia, and as many more sailors for the management of the sloops, schooners, and launches. My wonder is inexpressible that this gentleman (*caballero*) should make his retreat with such precipitation, as to have abandoned four six-pounders on the battery of St. Mateo, one schooner, two kegs of powder, several muskets and fowling-pieces, set fire to a quantity of provisions, such as boxes of bacon, cheese, lard, dried beef, to a schooner, and an excellent mortar-carriage; besides many things that have profited the Indians and galleys, which have had the fortune to encounter several barrels of flour, and lard, and some pork.

"The formal siege has continued thirty-eight days, counting from the 13th of June to the 20th of July, and the fire of the batteries twenty-seven days, from the 24th of June to the said 20th of July. The batteries were three; one, the Poza on the island of St. Anastatia of four eighteen and one nine-pounder, another on the point of the hammock on said island, of two eighteen-pounders, and the other on Point St. Mateo of seven six-pounders, five of iron and two of brass. The mortars and small mortars were thirty-four; two of half-quintal and two of about a quintal; the thirty small mortars were what the deserters call *cohorns*, for throwing hand-grenades, and others for those of ten or twelve pounds.

"This would be the moment to exterminate General Oglethorpe, with his regiment, and force him to abandon Georgia, with a force but little stronger than I have here, for his troops are disgusted, and Carolina would afford but tardy succors, on account of the same displeasure, and for fear of their negroes."

Governor Montiano's return of troops, made to the governor of Cuba on the 25th of March, 1740, gives as his aggregate strength, 613 men, comprising—

Infantry, eight companies,	.	.	.	308	
Infantry of the garrison,	.	.	.	80	
Artillery,	.	.	.	32	
Cavalry,	.	.	.	42	462
				<hr/>	
Militia,	.	.	.	61	
Armed Indians,	.	.	.	50	
Free negroes,	.	.	.	40	151
					<hr/>
				Total,	613

In addition, he had 122 men afloat, to man the galleys.

The total population of St. Augustine, of all classes, at this period, was 2143.—*MSS. of Governor Montiano*, 1740.

CHAPTER IX.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1841.

Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, 4th infantry, on special duty to expel the enemy east of Tallahassee, to the Suwannee river.—Preparations for a combined movement in the Big Cypress Swamp.—Major Belknap, 3d infantry, proceeds to the Carlosahatchee river to take command.—Death of Midshipman Niles, U. S. N.—Yellow fever in camp.—Depot and camps established.—Instructions to the different commanders: plan of co-operation.—Troops take the field under Major Belknap.—Major Childs, and Lieutenant McLaughlin in canoes.—Colonel Worth meets the different commanders at Waxe Hadjo's.—Landing on the edge of the Everglades.—Operations of the troops in the Big Cypress Swamp, and Everglades.—Major Belknap's report.—Lieutenant McLaughlin's report.—Extracts from the journal of an officer of the army, kept from day to day in the swamp.—Lieutenant McLaughlin reports his passage up the Carlosahatchee river through Fish-eating Creek to Lake Okechobee.—Captain M. Burke's, 3d artillery, expedition in the Everglades.—Letters from Captain McClellan, topographical engineer, in reference to the Carlosahatchee river, and its head waters.—Lieutenant Marchand's report of an expedition in the Everglades.—Head-quarters re-established at Fort Brooke.—Success of Major Wade, 3d artillery.—Capture of sixty-three Indians.—His report.—The Florida squadron commanded by Lieutenant McLaughlin.—Its depot.—Strength and efficiency of officers and men.—Murder of two friendly messengers by the Creeks near Fort Fanning.—Cowardly spirit of Tigertail.—Declines acting himself, and deters others.—Lieutenant-Colonel Garland's correspondence.—Meeting of Nethlockemathlar and the Creek chief, Octiarche, at the mouth of the Withlacoochee river.—The latter chief refuses to visit the steamboat.—He is unable to assemble his band: appoints the 12th of January for another meeting.—Embarrassing state of affairs.—Attack made upon the settlement of Mandarin, by Halleck-Tustenuggee.—His haunts found.—The breaking up of the confederacy in the Big Cypress Swamp.—Surrender of the sub-chief, Waxe Hadjo.—Reports that Bowlegs, Sam Jones, and the Prophet had fled for safety.—State of the army: number taken sick, died, and discharged during the months of November and December.—Successful establishment of settlers at exposed points.—Citizens armed and provisioned.

THE active and judicious measures adopted on the 1st of November, by the commander of the 3d infantry, in the neighborhood of Tallahassee, together with the authority conferred upon Lieutenant-Colonel Garland to negotiate with, or punish the enemy in that quarter, gave every assurance that the Indians would abstain from hostile acts, or if they did not, means would be at hand to pursue them into their hiding-places. Nethlockemathlar and Tigertail, at Fort Brooke, supported by Alligator and Holartooche, were holding communication with such of the Creeks as were disposed, when opportunity offered, to break through the laws imposed by others more hostile and vindictive.

Through these, and other Indians coming in daily, who had broken off from the various bands, from fatigue and dissatisfaction, it was believed Halleck-Tustenuggee could be found and induced to surrender. With the settlements as adequately protected as human skill or military means could devise, the remaining force of the army was directed towards the Southern Indians, who felt themselves secure, environed as they were by swamps, deep mud, mangrove-bushes, and a large expanse of Everglades. It was feared the necessary preparations in establishing depots on the Carlosahatchee river, would break up this confederacy of Indians, so long united in self-defence, and cause them to scatter

in small parties, and thus effectually elude the combined efforts of troops on land and water. Should this be the case, it would at least frustrate any farther combinations, and ultimately compel them to surrender; as they would thus find that the military could pursue them at all seasons, and with the aid of experienced guides, be enabled to penetrate the most secluded parts of the country.

On the 1st of November, Brevet Major W. L. Belknap, 3d infantry, was ordered to proceed to the Carlosahatchee river, assume the command of troops in that quarter, and establish depots preparatory to a combined movement by land and water upon the Big Cypress Swamp. Fort Harvie (named in memory of Lieutenant John H. Harvie, 8th infantry), eighteen miles above Punta Rossa, on the southern bank, and four from what may be called the mouth proper of the river, was made the principal depot. Thirty-seven miles up the river, on the south bank, was Fort Simmons. Still farther west, near Lake Okechobee, a temporary camp of dragoons was established.

Detachments from the 2d dragoons, the 4th infantry, 6th and 8th infantry—comprising 1040 rank and file, were present for duty. Of commissioned officers, there were present: of the medical corps, six; quartermasters, two; topographical engineers, two; 2d dragoons, five; 1st infantry, one; 3d infantry, one; 4th infantry, eight; 6th infantry, eight; 8th infantry, eighteen—making a total of fifty-one commissioned officers. The health of the troops was generally good, and the prospect of striking an effectual blow upon the enemy imbued officers and men with spirit and resolution to overcome the difficulties known to exist in this strong-hold, to which the desperate characters of every tribe in Florida had resorted as the last and only retreat from the vigilance and perseverance of their pursuers. The sudden death of Midshipman Niles, U. S. navy, by yellow fever, belonging to the command of Lieutenant McLaughlin, then at Fort Simmons, *en route* to Lake Okechobee, caused serious apprehensions in regard to the troops assembled for the field. Assistant-Surgeon Steiner, whose assiduous care of Mr. Niles had subjected him to the disease, was severely attacked, as also the attendant who assisted him; but by timely and judicious treatment they recovered, and the disease was stayed within the command. It was contemplated to move the force from this point simultaneously with the detachment of the 3d artillery, in canoes under Major Childs, from Fort Lauderdale, and with that of Lieutenant McLaughlin, U. S. navy, with one hundred and fifty sailors and marines from Fort Dallas, near Key Biscayne. The following memorandum for the guidance of the co-operating forces, was transmitted to each commander.

"Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, Tampa, Oct. 30th, 1845.

"Captain McLaughlin proposes to be at the lower (or Prophet's) landing, leaving his depot on the 25th, by the 30th; Major Childs leaving on the 25th, it is believed, at the utmost extent, he can be at the upper (or Bowlegs' or Waxey-Hadjo's) landing by the 1st or 2d. Should Captain McLaughlin arrive on the supposed day, it is understood that he will remain at the lower landing until he shall have ascertained the arrival of Major Childs's command at the upper landing. These two forces may take it for granted, that those approaching from the Carlosahatchee will be in position centering on Fort Keas, on or before the last-named day, and that each force, from both sides, will, by the 1st or 2d, enter the Cypress in pursuit of the enemy, and endeavor to open a communication with each other. It is deemed proper that the movement shall be so directed from each side, as to envelope the northeast portion of the Cypress, preventing the escape of the enemy in that direction, and pressing him towards the Mangroves to the southwest.

By order of Colonel Worth.

(Signed) S. COOPER, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

"Memorandum of questions propounded to an Indian captured in the Everglades.

"Question 1st. Can you guide direct from Miammi to the landing, without going to Chyraya's island?

"Answer 1st. I can go until I can get near Chyraya's island, and then strike across to the landing; or I can go up Little river, and then strike across to the landing.

"Question 2d. Can you guide from the landing through the Big Cypress to the Carlosahatchee?

"Answer 2d. I can guide from the landing through the Big Cypress as far up as there are any settlements of Indians. I have never gone to the Carlosahatchee that way.

"Question 3d. How many days will it take to go from the landing, in boats, through the Big Cypress, to the last settlements north?

"Answer 3d. The first Indian town we come to, after we leave the Cypress, is six days' march. The Indians have all moved off in the interior, from the Cypress and Everglades.

"Question 4th. How many settlements are there back of the Big Cypress, between the landing and the Carlosahatchee?

"Answer 4th. I know of four towns, and a fifth as you approach the Okechobee.

"Question 5th. Are there any settlements below the landing?

"Answer 5th. There is no town below or south of the landing.

"*Question 6th.* How far would the troops have to march from their boats to those settlements? State the distance to be marched to each from the boats.

"*Answer 6th.* Answered in No. 3.

"*Question 7th.* Where did you start from, in your boats, when you commenced proceeding to Fish-eating Creek on the lake?

"*Answer 7th.* We started from the nearest town to the landing. We had our boats hid in the saw-grass, went outside of the Big Cypress, and up the Everglades, to a small lake near Fish-eating Creek. The water is high enough for the army-boats now. It will take eight days from the landing to the small lake above referred to. There is an Indian town seven days' march from the small lake referred to.

"*Question 8th.* How long did it take you to get to the lake?

"*Answer 8th.* Answered in No. 7.

"*Question 9th.* Do the Indians back of the Big Cypress build their huts in hammocks or in the pine-barrens?

"*Answer 9th.* One village is in a cypress hammock, one in a prairie. The people in the town near the small lake referred to, spoke of moving back of the Cypress. When I speak of towns, I should rather say settlements, as the houses are scattered. At the last green-corn dance, at Billy Bowlegs' town, at which I was present, there were 241 warriors, besides old men, with arms and ammunition. This calculation was made by the chiefs, judging their number by the small sticks, about the size of matches, that they could hold between their thumbs and fore-fingers, and upon trial the above result was produced."

"*Question 10th.* How many Indians were supposed to be collected in that country?

"*Answer 10th.* Answered in No. 9.

"*Question 11th.* State what bands were collected at Billy Bowlegs', at the green-corn dance.

"*Answer 11th.* Sam Jones's party, Spanish Indians, Hostetler's party, and Seminoles.

"*Question 12th.* Was there any disposition to make peace, or disposition to come in, among those people?

"*Answer 12th.* There was some talk of coming in; but the opinion of Sam Jones and the Prophet, for war, prevailed.

"*Question 13th.* Had they plenty of provisions?

"*Answer 13th.* They have a very fine crop this summer, of rice, pumpkins, and corn.

"The above questions to and answers of Joe, the prisoner, are respectfully submitted to the commander of the south A. D.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) MARTIN BURKE, *Captain Commanding.*"

The depot for what was denominated the Florida squadron, commanded by Lieutenant J. T. McLaughlin, was at Indian Key, on the eastern coast, seventy-five miles south of Cape Florida, and seventy-five northeast from Key West.

The following list exhibits the character and strength of the force employed :

List of vessels employed in the Florida squadron, from June, 1838, until August, 1842, Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin, commanding in chief.

The squadron consisted of the Wave, Panther, revenue-cutters Campbell and Otsego; with a force of 160 men, from June, 1838, until November, 1839; from this date until June, 1841, of the Flirt, Wave, Otsego, and barges Mayo and Harney, and two companies of marines, in all 541 men; from June, 1841, until August, 1842, of the Flirt, Wave, Otsego, Phoenix, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and barges Mayo and Harney, with 130 marines, making an aggregate force of 622 men, of whom 68 were officers; 140 canoes were employed by the squadron during its service.

Date.	Vessel.	Lieutenants Commanding.	Tonnage.	Act'g Lieuts.	Passed Mids.	Midshipmen.	Assist. Surgs.	Clerks.	Total.
1838-39	Schr. Wave,	John T. McLaughlin,	129	2	1	3	1	1	9
1840-41	"	John Rodgers,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1841-42	"	Acting Lieut. John C. Henry,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1838-39	Sloop Panther,	" E. T. Shubrick,	60	1	2		1	5	
1839-41	Schr. Otsego,	" "	95	1	1	1	1	1	6
1841-42	"	" James S. Biddle,	"	2	1	1	1	1	7
1838-39	{ Schr. Campbell, (revenue-cutter,)	{ Lt. N. C. Coste, rev. ser.,	98					1	3
1839-42	Schr. Flirt,	John T. McLaughlin,	180	2	4	3	1*	1	12
1839-40	Barges,	Act. Lt. Montgomery Lewis,			3				4
1840-41	"	Act. Lt. C. R. P. Rodgers,		1		2	1		5
1841-42	Schr. Phoenix,	C. R. P. Rodgers,	95	2	3	1	1	1	9
"	Brig Jefferson,	John Rodgers,	150	2		4	1	1	9
"	Schr. Madison,	{ William L. Herndon, Acting Lt. W. S. Drayton, }	130	2	2	2	1*	1	9
"	Schr. Van Buren,	John B. Marchand,	120	2	2	2	1*	1	9
1839-40	First-Lieutenant	Geo. H. Terret, commanding marines, with 2 lieutenants.							
1840-42	"	Thomas T. Sloan, " with 4 "							

NOTE.—In addition to the garrison at Indian Key, in 1842 the marines garrisoned Fort Dallas.

This force, in the hands, as it was, of intelligent officers in the discharge of their duty, and guided by the experience and ability of the commander, added much to the efficiency of operations, and caused the Indians inhabiting that quarter to fear the *sailors' boats*, who were as skillful in navigating the Everglades as themselves. Three depots were advanced to and within the swamp, thirty miles south of Fort Simmons, to which supplies were transported in wagons, from thence into the swamp. Officers and men packed on their backs, with a blanket, seven days' rations.

* Passed.

One mule to each company carried the necessary cooking utensils. The colonel commanding arrived on the 24th of November, and on the 30th two companies of the 8th infantry were dispatched, in command of Captain G. Wright, in boats, to the mouth of Malco river, eighteen miles south of Punta Rossa, thence up the river eastward into the Everglades, encircling the southern extremity of the swamp to Bowlegs' landing, and there to communicate with Major Childs and Lieutenant McLaughlin. On the 6th of December the land force, in command of Major Belknap, entered the swamp by a trail near Fort Keais. From thence, detachments diverged in all directions, under the guidance of experienced *trackers*. The chief Hollur-Tooche, negro Sampson, and five friendly Indians, accompanied the command. The chief, being well acquainted with this country, was the bearer of a *talk* from Alligator, Nethlockemathlar, and Tiger-Tail, at Fort Brooke, to Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs), and the sub-chief Waxey-Hadjo.

Alligator, Neathlock-E-mathla, Tiger-Tail, Cochus-Tustenugge, and Thlocklo-Hadjo, send this talk to Waxey-Hadjo and Bowlegs.

Alligator has come a great distance to see his red brethren; he followed their old chief Holatoochee, but could not overtake him until now; he has come at last. When Alligator was in Arkansas, he heard that his red brethren here wanted to see him, and he has taken great pains to come to them, to give them the good word, and he now wants them all to make up their minds to go back with him. His namesake, old Alligator, has gone down to see Waxey-Hadjo and Bowlegs, and he hopes they will open their ears to his *talk*, and receive his words and come in. Alligator is with Neathlock-E-mathla and Tiger-Tail, who have come in with all their brothers and their people; they all want Waxey-Hadjo and Bowlegs to come in with their people and join them. Alligator has come a long way; he heard his red brethren wanted to see him, and he listened to their voice; he now tells them they must not be afraid to come in to their white brethren, who have their hands open to receive them as friends. If they cannot all come at once, let them who are ready come, and let the rest follow me. Their white brethren will receive them as friends, give them plenty to eat and drink, and clothe and treat them well. Alligator has come for his children, like a hen that is looking for her chickens; he wants to gather them all together, and take them with him to his new home, where he will take good care of them, and make them happy and comfortable; he therefore sends out his word to them to come in at once, before the time arrives when they will not be able to find him. Waxey-Hadjo is Alligator's sub-chief, and they both came from the same parents, he must therefore not delay to come in, and must remember that all his friends in the west want to see him badly. Alligator sends a present to Waxey-Hadjo and Billy Bowlegs, which they must receive the same as if he was with them to give it to them. He cannot come himself because he has some business to attend to here. Alligator now sends his last words. The Prophet has passed for a great man, and you listen to his talk, but you must also hear what Alligator has to say. Are you willing that all your women and children should be killed for the sake of the Prophet? Do you love him more than you do your women and children? Alligator calls for his children, and will they not hear his voice? You say you don't want to leave this country, because you want your bones to rot in this land; but this is not right, you must go with Alligator to a better land, where

your friends are awaiting to receive you, and where you will live happy. You must not listen to the word of the Prophet, because he will certainly bring you to trouble; come therefore, and come quickly.

Tiger-Tail, Nethlock-Emathla, Cochocus-Tustenuggee, and Thlocko-Hadjo, join in this talk to Waxy-Hadjo and Billy Bowlegs, whom they want to see very much, with the rest of their brethren.

Pasaco-Mico sends word that he has come in, with his people, and has joined Alligator, and that he is treated well by his white brethren.

Witnesses.

S. COOPER, *Major U. S. Army.*

Y. D. CALLENDER, *2d Lieut. Ordnance.*

TONEY X BARNET, *Interpreter.*

J. T. SPRAGUE, *Lieut. and Aid-de-camp.*

ALLIGATOR, *his X mark.*

NEATHLOCK- X E-MATHLA.

TIGER- X TAIL.

PASUC MICO. X

TUSTENUGGEE X MAHA.

Tampa, November 15, 1841.

Enclosing this talk to Major Belknap, the commander of the army writes as follows: "I shall probably send up the St. John's in search of Halleck-Tustenuggee, a party combined of the elements of peace and war. There is difficulty in finding men who can be made to comprehend that there is more true patriotism, sense, and decency, in ridding our country of this incubus in a quiet way, than in cutting down a solitary Indian, who may have been guilty of the indecency of defending his own country in his own way. With you, Childs, and McLaughlin, and the officers of the respective commands, I feel, nay, I know, that all will be well."

Colonel Worth on the 8th of December met Major Childs and Lieutenant McLaughlin on the margin of the Everglades, at Waxy-Hadjo's landing, at which place they were to receive intelligence from Major Belknap, moving within the swamp, and to obtain further instructions. The time of meeting here was later than that fixed in the memorandum, but this did not change the plan of co-operation. These commands in canoes had penetrated every part of the Everglades, finding abandoned fields, villages, and trails, but not an Indian or a track was seen. It was believed that Sam Jones had crossed to the Atlantic coast, and secreted himself on the Locha-Hatchee river, near Fort Jupiter, to which place Major Childs was directed to proceed. The Prophet, it was thought, had fled to a mangrove swamp near Key Biscayne, which was examined by the naval command without success, as also the Locha-Hatchee river. The movements of Major Belknap within the swamp confirmed these impressions. The colonel commanding being called to the northern frontier by the sudden and hostile movements of the Creeks, the entire direction of affairs devolved upon Major Belknap, who continued that vigilance and energy which had distinguished him throughout, sustained by the cheerfulness and hearty good-will of the officers and men of the command.

* As illustrative of the peculiarity of the service to which these various corps were subjected, there was, at one time, to be seen, in the Everglades, the dragoon in water from three to four feet deep, the sailor and marine wading in the mud in the midst of cypress stumps, and the soldiers, infantry and artillery, alternately on the land, in the water, and in boats. Thus situated, the commanders of these various corps met at Waxey-Hadjo's landing, to make their reports, and adopt further measures in pursuing the enemy. Here was no distinction of corps, no jealousies, but a laudable rivalry in concerting means to punish a foe who had so effectually eluded all efforts. Comforts and conveniences were totally disregarded, even subsistence was reduced to the lowest extremity. Night after night officers and men were compelled to sleep in their canoes, others in damp bogs, and in the morning cook their breakfast over a fire built on a pile of sand in the prow of the boat, or kindled around a cypress stump. Inter-mixed as the various detachments were, subjected to privations, fatigue, and disappointment; subordination, cheerfulness, and resolution, marked the conduct of all engaged in the expedition.

The country in every direction was explored, and recent signs of Indians discovered, but not a man, woman, or child, was seen. The command of Major Belknap was fired upon by an unseen body of Indians, and two men killed. His report, and that of Lieutenant McLaughlin, U. S. N., which are given entire, afford a minute and interesting detail of the arduous duties devolving upon all, while they communicate information in reference to a part of Florida before unknown, and which under other circumstances would never have been explored.

*"Head-Quarters, Forces in the Big Cypress, }
Depot No. 1, December 23, 1841. }*

"SIR—Yesterday the force under my command arrived at Fort Keais from a seven days' scout in the swamps, of the severest character of any we have yet encountered in this service.

"On the 16th instant we took the field, with the view of finding the enemy, from depot No. 3, with rations to include the 22d, leaving, as before, horses and pack-mules at that camp. We marched on that day to the Prophet's town; thence, on the 17th, twelve miles in a S. S. W. course, Holatoochee having discovered trails several days old in that direction. On the morning of the 18th, the trail deviated northwardly, at a point distant about five miles from the head of the Fakahatchee, which lies south of the Prophet's town. (According to Holatoochee, this stream is improperly named Fakahatchee-*chee*, as in the navy map.) On that day, as often afterwards, the trails were ingeniously dispersed to the width of several miles; then, afterwards, they would come

together; then dispersed again in devious tracks, all admirably calculated to frustrate pursuit. The unfailing tact, and the assiduity of the chief Holatoochee, enabled him to detect the trail of the women and children, and upon that we continued our march. That day we marched northwardly about thirteen miles. On the 19th, we struck W. S. W., marching ten miles that day, *six* of which were more than knee deep in water and mud, through the 'Ockholoacouchee,' which there is thus widened out, and is full of strong currents, flowing south, and indicating that it may be the source of the river on which Fort Harroll is situated. That night we encamped in open pine woods, which the guide says extends, with occasional skirts of cypress, from Fort Keais to a prairie bordering on the mangroves.

"Marching thence on the 20th, we soon struck an additional trail of the men coming in from the north, making the main trail much larger and fresher. No use of axes was permitted the previous night; small fires were made, which were extinguished in the morning, and every precaution taken not to alarm the enemy, who had brought us on such a devious and toilsome chase, and who had evidently, but a few days previous, retreated to their secret hiding-places. Under these circumstances, with every hope of surprising the enemy, we were fated to have our pursuit utterly foiled by the stupidity of a flanker. Pvt. Morrison, of B. company, eighth infantry, who, about 8 o'clock, A. M., having lost himself, fired his musket three times, which (it being a damp, cloudy morning) doubtless alarmed the camp of the enemy, then distant only three miles west. This detained us two hours to reclaim the man. We were advancing with three columns, flankers thrown out. Two cypress swamps intervened. The sign freshened as we approached, and in the second swamp (two miles in extent) we were attacked, about 2 P. M., by a few Indians, who waylaid the trail on which we were approaching. Two of the advanced guard (commanded by Lieutenant Johnson, eighth infantry) were instantly killed, Sergeant John Doone, of Lieutenant Gates' company, (I.) of the eighth infantry, and private William Foster, of Major Graham's company, (D.) of the fourth infantry. A charge was ordered, but the Indians instantly fled on the discharge of their fires, and, I regret to add, were soon beyond our reach. The spot chosen for this attack was, as usual, well adapted to their purpose, in the midst of large cypress knees, the water two or three feet deep, their own flanks surrounded with pond-lilies, in which to hide their flight, but the space in front somewhat open, to give them a view of our approach. I think their number was about fifteen or twenty, but the interpreter, Sampson, who was in an advanced position, estimated their number at fifty. A few hundred yards beyond this point of attack, we found the fires of

the camp still smoking, with some of their roots, &c., prepared, every thing indicating that they had dispatched their women and children that morning, on being alarmed by the musket shots of the flanker. (This man, I understand, is the same person who was lost near Tampa, on the march of the eighth infantry to that point last autumn.) This camp of the enemy is in a dry hammock thicket, just beyond the Cypress. It is very dense and tangled, and Holatoochee says, this is the character of a large section in that region, which has now become the resort of the Indians.

"We had thus pushed on this trail until five out of our seven days' rations were exhausted, and, to my great regret, we were at this crisis compelled to return to refit. I had been induced to continue the chase, with the hourly hope of surprising them in their camp. The route to Fort Keais being the shortest and most practicable, I have brought the force in this direction. Our last camp was distant about twenty miles, in a *straight line*, S. S. E. from Fort Keais, and about twenty-three miles west by south from depot No. 3; but our route from the latter post was so circuitous, that we came over fifty miles in reaching the point from which we returned.

"I am persuaded that the whole band of the Prophet, and of Bowlegs, are assembled in that quarter, and that they have now retreated to fastnesses in a westerly or southwesterly direction from the point where we met them, perhaps towards the head of Malco river, distant thence twelve miles, in a S. W. course. I shall now establish a depot, to be supplied by wagons, a few miles south of Choolapulca; thence a depot, to be supplied by pack-mules, can be established within eight or ten miles of the spot where we encountered the enemy. I have this day ordered Major Graham to proceed to depots Nos. 2 and 3, and to break them up and withdraw the troops and supplies to this point, being convinced that none of the enemy can be found east or north of the 'Ockholootochie.'

"It has been, almost beyond a parallel, an arduous march for the troops. The country we have operated in, was covered with water from three inches up to three feet, and the troops were wading knee deep, and threading their way through dense hammocks or thick cypress, from morning to night. Before reaching the end of this scout, many of the men were compelled to resort to cabbage trees for subsistence. The officers carried their own provisions and packs upon their back. I shall do the troops, both officers and men, but faint justice when I say, they have endured the uncommon toils and privations of this march with the utmost cheerfulness, being all eager to crown with success the enterprise in which we are employed.

"Of that success I yet entertain the strongest hopes, for this scout has gained for us two important objects.

"*First.* It has given the whole command a knowledge of the country.

"*Secondly.* It has taught the enemy that we can penetrate to the most secret recesses of the chosen region of retreat.

"This I shall endeavor to accomplish by sending out, as soon as the depots are established, several commands, on various routes, so as to cover the country, to unite probably somewhere on Malco river. The routes selected will be such as would probably throw the enemy from one column upon another, in their attempts to escape us. I would send a company in maciknaws up the Malco river, if I had a guide for such an expedition.

"Captain Screven returned to depot No. 3 on the 16th, from his march to the Prophet's landing. He did not meet Captain Wright's command, but left my communication for him in a conspicuous place.

"I must add, that both Holatoochee and Sampson, have behaved in a manner worthy of all praise. John has done well. Passac is sick. But the other Indian guides have been utterly worthless.

"If any of Waxey-Hadjo's people (or Alligator), having courage sufficient for the attempt, can be induced to go on a message to the Prophet or Bowlegs, in the midst of our operations, I think they might be inclined to come in, when they see themselves thus trailed and harassed by our troops.

"Four ponies, recognized by Holatoochee as belonging to Bowlegs, were captured southeast from Fort Keais, by Passac Mico, accompanied, as I learn, by some of Capt. Hutter's command.

"Captain Hutter, with some seventy men, is now on a six days' scout, in a southwesterly direction from Fort Keais. He will return on the 26th, and it is quite possible that he may encounter the enemy in their flight.

"Our operations will thus be continued some time longer in this quarter. I believe there are now supplies within our reach until about the 25th January. But I will be careful to give you prompt information, when it will be necessary to suspend the forwarding of supplies from Tampa Bay.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

(Signed)

W. G. BELKNAP, *Major Commanding.*"

Col. W. J. WORTH,

Commanding Army of Fla., *Tampa Bay.* }

"P. S. I send a very rude and imperfect sketch of our route; as soon as a more correct one can be made, I shall forward it.

"I have ordered Captain McClellan, of topographical engineers, to report to me on his return to Fort Simmons, or as soon as he completes the duty upon which you have ordered him."

" *Florida Expedition—Flirt, at Key* }
Biscayne, December 23d, 1841. }

"SIR—I have the honor to report to you, that this command reached here this morning, on its return from the expedition I advised you we were about to make on the 27th ultimo.

"In pursuance of the plan of co-operation detailed in the 'memorandum' I had the honor to enclose you on the 27th ultimo, we reached the Prophet's, or lower landing, on the 1st instant, and the next morning a column of one hundred and fifty men, under Lieutenant Commandant John Rodgers, penetrated the Cypress in a W. by S. course for twenty-five miles, with instructions to hunt the enemy through every trail, and open a communication with the troops who were to have moved at the same moment from the upper landing, and Fort Keais. He succeeded in finding neither. There was not a fresh trail discovered during the scout. Several abandoned encampments and fields, with the trails from them leading to the north, and about two weeks old, were found, which left too much reason to fear that the Cypress had been abandoned, and that the enemy, for the time, had eluded us. Being without transportation of any kind, the scout returned on the afternoon of the 6th, after wading for nearly five days up to the middle in mud and water. On the 7th, with twenty men, I proceeded to the upper landing, to communicate with Major Childs, whose scouts had returned after an equally unsuccessful search.

"On the 9th, having returned to the lower landing, an express reached me from Colonel Worth (a copy of which I have the honor to enclose), which determined me immediately to proceed to the Loche Hatchie. My guide assured me that Fort Pierce, on Indian River, could be reached in ten days. Having but nine days' full provisions for the entire command, I ordered every body upon half rations, and on the 10th, retraced our course across the Everglades.

"I cannot forbear an expression of professional pride and gratification, at the enthusiastic manner in which this order was received by the whole command, when it was published to them that the surprise of Jones was the object of it. And when it is remembered that the most of these men have been, without intermission, in their canoes since the 9th October last, a very fair opinion can be formed of the spirit and disposition of the command.

"On the 12th, the sick and disabled were returned to this

place from Council Island, and on the 15th we entered the Cypress at the head waters of the Locha Hatchie, in latitude 26 degrees 15 minutes north. Through this it was almost impossible to make any progress. It was one continuous portage over stumps and cypress knees, with occasional glimpses of open water. For six days we continued our search through the swamps, meeting but little success. Three canoes were found. The only recent trail found was a day old, and that of one person, and he on foot. This was followed until lost at an old camp, which had been abandoned for some weeks—as had also two others which we had passed—the trails from all of them leading to the northward. Enticed by this pursuit, we had wandered so far to the northward and westward, that the Everglades offered us a speedier return to the vessels than the Locha Hatchie, and this had now become necessary from the want of further supplies.

“During my absence, the *Phoenix* and *Otsego* have been on the west coast with supplies; the *Madison* and *Wave* cruising on the reef, and this vessel here, with the *Jefferson* and *Van Buren*, whose whole efficient force were on the scout.

“On the 30th November, the schooner *Cornelia*, Myers, fourteen days from New-York, was blown ashore on the Samboes; men were sent to her from this vessel, took her cargo out, got her off, reloaded her, and sent her on her voyage.

“I am happy to say, the health of the command is improving. The sick list has decreased very much, although we have had five deaths within the month, and among them we have been called upon to lament Midshipman Niles, a most promising young officer, whose ripening talent was developing the promise of great future usefulness. He died and was buried with military honors, at Fort Simmons, on the *Carlosahatchie*, having received from the officers at that post every comfort and attention which the kindest feelings could suggest.

“Respectfully, Sir, I have the honor to be,

(Signed,)

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN, *Lieut. Com'g Expe'n.*”

The Hon. A. P. UFSHUR, }
Secretary of the Navy. }

“P. S. The vessels are now being towed over the bar, and will proceed immediately to Indian Key, whence a force will be pushed directly into the Mangrove lake (referred to in Colonel Worth's enclosed dispatch), in which it is supposed the Prophet, or some of his people, may have taken refuge.

“J. T. McL.”

The following extracts from a journal kept by C. R. Gates, 8th regiment, who with fortitude bore his share in the toils in

this, as well as in many other campaigns in Florida, since 1836, written under every inconvenience, from day to day, conveys a lucid detail of the difficulties encountered, as well as of the character of the country explored.

“Left Camp Simmons on the 3d December, at ten o’clock, and marched eight miles—country very wet. Colonel Worth and staff (Major S. Cooper, and Captain Sprague); Major Walker, paymaster; Captain Myers, assistant quartermaster; Lieutenant Callender, ordnance officer; Dr. Harney, medical director; Captain McClenercure, topographical engineer; Major Belknap, Lieutenant Arnold, adjutants; Captain Sibley, assistant quartermaster; Dr. Birdsall; Captains Hutter, McCall, Scriven, Kello, McKavitt; Lieutenants Reeve, Gates, Easton, Walker, Sheppard, Gore, Browne, Johnson, McClay, Darne, Burbank, and Fort.

“*December 4.* Marched sixteen miles to a pine ridge (“Chola-la-p-ul-ka”); wet prairie most of the way; killed several snakes in the road.

“*December 5.* Lieutenant Walker’s mounted command, with Major Belknap, &c., went six miles east, and found an old camp (York), thought to be Fort Keas. A sergeant and three men went nine miles southeast, and found Fort Keas. Major Graham’s fires seen four miles off north

“*December 6.* Marched for Camp York, joined on the march by Major Graham’s command, Dr. Madison, Lieutenant Parker, adjutant; Captains Larned, Thornton; Lieutenants Ransom, Steele, Emory, Haller, Nelson, Berry (three companies)—arrived at Camp Depot, one mile west of Camp York at nine o’clock. Captain Kerr joined with a report from Major Childs, who is near Bowlegs’ landing: he is to wait for orders till the 10th. instant. Kerr was sent on the 1st from Fort Simmons, to communicate with the major (Lieutenants Arnold and Humphreys). Train left in the afternoon to go back for more provisions. Captain Hutter ordered to Fort Keys, with his company; and Lieutenant Walker and ten men, Captain Kello, Lieutenants McClay and Parker, to remain. Captain Kerr remains sick.

“*December 7.* Started at ten o’clock, with five days’ provisions, cooked—five on pack mules. Crossed the Oc-hol-wacoochee at eleven; water knee-deep, and boggy; three mules bogged; Captain Scriven’s pack thrown into the water, lost his sugar and bread. Waited till one—Big Cypress close by—marched through water all the afternoon, and stopped at the only dry place in sight at half-past four; Pine Island; camp of Waxie Hadjo, when routed out by the navy; Colonel Worth, with part of Captain Kerr’s company, continued to some other island—on his way to Major Childs.

" *December 8.* Lieutenant Gore, with sixteen men (two from each company being left), and ten of Captain Thornton's dragoons, to remain to guard the pass; Lieutenants Sheppard and Brown remain *sick*; we marched with all our packs at seven; waded a mile through cypress islands, and came to a thin growth of cypress, which is the edge of the Cypress: for the next two miles it was wet, but otherwise good marching—as the growth of cypress is thin and small, and there are frequent openings; at two miles we came to a pine island, where Waxie Hadjo's trail came in from the north—his old village is a mile off. We here took a drink (from a bottle the colonel sent us) to the success of the expedition. We were from ten till one o'clock marching the next mile, as the cypress, &c., was very boggy. The mules threw off their packs frequently: the next five miles we had to stop occasionally, but got along very well; in some places the mules and horses bogged, or sunk their feet between limestone rocks—great wonder they did not cut their legs. We came across three or four old Indian camps in the pine ridges: the mules were very much fatigued; some stopped at four o'clock, at the extremity of the Pine Ridge. The men drew one day's provisions, to lighten their packs.

" *December 9.* Started from camp at nine, and marched two miles, when we came to a cabbage island in which Waxie Hadjo had a small camp last November. When an Indian discovered Captain Guynn's command at Fort Deynaud, they immediately decamped and went east into the Cypress: marched a mile further and came to a pine island, when we struck S. E. and approached the Cypress again (three miles); when within one hundred yards of the edge went south a mile, and came to another pine island, where we discovered a large (white man's) trail which went a quarter of a mile west—and there a camp was discovered; supposed to be the navy; looks to be a day old. We steered back a short distance towards the west and then south half a mile, and halted at three o'clock on a pine island. Waxie Hadjo's village is on a pine island, near where we approached the Cypress. Major Belknap went to it, and discovered some old bark sheds. We leave the mules and horses here under Lieutenant Steele, and six men from each company. Major Graham goes with his command to some fields west from here, and we go under Major B. to the council-ground; three days' rations. We travelled to-day over a large, open tract of country, covered with pine, cabbage, and oak islands; the ground is generally wet and damp—the water has evidently fallen a great deal. The Cypress was in sight continually on the left bearing north and south, and on the right it was barely visible; where we are now encamped, however, appears to be the southern ex-

tremity of the open tract. Three large fires were seen in our rear this afternoon, supposed to be signal-fires.

" *December 10.* Left camp at seven, with three days' rations in our haversacks: Thornton, McCall, Emery, Scriven, Gates, McKavitt, and Reeves, (Sampson and Passack guides,) steered about south 10 west for four miles, through alternate cypress belts and pine and cabbage openings—water from one to two feet deep; we then came to two islands of very thick pine and cabbage growth—water for one hundred yards between them about three feet; we here waited for some time to hold council, and take lunch; Pine Island close by (S. W.); started at eleven, in two columns—McCall, with McKavitt and Emory, taking to the right, with Passack; to come on the trail to the west of the Prophet's town, we went south half a mile and came to a cabbage island S.; turned the west end, and passed between it and another on the right, where were some old Indian huts in the Cypress: here left our packs, with four men from each company, turned through and steered west along the south side of the island, half a mile; then steered south, and went through a cabbage and cypress island (very thick)—water knee-deep; came across some old huts: a quarter of a mile further on, came to a run or hole (four feet deep); after crossing it, we came upon the town, N. W.,—when in a few minutes we were met by Captain McKavitt, who came in from the west; Captain McCall came in shortly after from the S. W. There are about fifty huts in the Prophet Hospitaiky's villages, and Waxie Hadjo's fields, which extend three-quarters of a mile north and south. We found pumpkins, beans, some rice, tobacco, and corn. The town has not been occupied for about two months; we sent back for our haversacks, and encamped for the night in the town. The major occupied Assinaway's hut; Reeve, Darne, Burbank, and myself, Fuse Hadjo's; Emory, McCall, and Thornton, Waxie Hadjo's. Scriven went back two miles to Sam Jones's town (east), which is in a pine and cabbage island—and destroyed it; there were about twenty huts there (mosquitoes and fleas very thick). An express (Pas-sac-e-mico) arrived from Colonel Worth, about an hour by sun—he formerly lived here.

" *December 11.* The guides and two Indians went round the camp this morning, and discovered the track of ten Indians going N. W. some days old. McCall with Sampson, and Reeve with Passack have gone out to examine the country, and endeavor to find which direction the Indians have taken. Major Graham and Captain Larned, left with us yesterday; but went west to some fields (John Phillip, guide). The country around has at one time been very dry, as we find huts in the Cypress where the water is now a foot deep—and there are traces of a fire

through the cypress and cabbage. We also saw signs where the water was a foot higher not a great while ago. Reeve returned about one, having been to Sam Jones's town, which is southeast from here. He went two miles further on southeast and east, and discovered a large pumpkin field in a hammock; saw the tracks of two men and a woman, followed the trail for a short distance, and then lost it—it appeared to be six or seven days old. He saw the council-ground, where the dancing-ring was. The Indians said there were about one hundred and fifty men, and showed where the ring was—it was much worn, and large. Captain McCall returned at four, P. M. He left on the west side, and then struck south into that trail. He went about fifteen miles altogether, but not more than six miles in a direct south direction. He found a trail of seven men and a woman, followed it some time and then they scattered—he followed one for two miles, and then lost it: in hunting for it, he came across a pumpkin field of about two acres, and four huts; he also found one other field—he says the trail was about a week old. The country is about the same as that we have come across—rather better if any thing. When he started to come back, he could see an extensive pine ridge on his right, and the Cypress on his left—approaching each other in a southwesterly direction. This afternoon we destroyed all the fields and huts except those we occupied, as we may want them again—I should judge there were about twenty-five acres destroyed. We killed two snakes, eight feet long—they are very abundant through the country.

"*December 12.* We started at half past seven back; we left at the north trail, and then steered northeast: the entrance here is not so bad as the one we came in on, especially if you keep a little to the right of the trail (coming in); our course to camp was about N. 20° E.; we came into our old trail between the two cabbage islands, where we held the consultation—reached camp about eleven: found Major Graham had got in at twelve yesterday, having gone about seven miles west by south to a pumpkin field of three acres (a dozen huts); country same as that we travelled through; found an express in camp—Waxie Hadjo's people were within a few miles of Tampa, coming in. Neathlock Emathlo's people were also coming in—his two nephews have been killed by the Mic-a-sukies. Creeks are coming in next month. "Bowlegs" is with the Prophet somewhere in this direction. Ransom and Steele took all the mules and horses back to Camp Gore, where Ransom and the horses are to remain; the mules return with Steele with provisions, to form a depot from which we are to operate.

"*December 13.* Scriven left with his company for the Prophet's landing, on the navy trail, to communicate with Captain

Wright. He found at the navy camp a letter directed to Colonel Worth, from McLaughlin, dated December 2d, at the landing, saying that Rodgers had gone on board with part of his command. We broke up our camp at eleven, and came three-quarters of a mile east to another pine island, as we had used up all the wood, and it was rather wet for camp ground.

"*December 14.* Captain Larned went with his company S. E. on a scout, and found a trail, on which he continued. Captain McKavitt went to Waxie Hadjo's town, and struck N. E. through the Cypress three or four miles, till he came to a prairie two or three miles long; found a large trail five or six days old, going south.

"*December 15.* Reeve returned at nine, with six days' rations; we start to-morrow with seven days' on our backs. Browne came, and is to remain in charge. Reeve goes back to-day for more rations. Larned returned about twelve M.; he went in a S. E. direction twelve miles, then four south, part of the time on an old trail; returned in a N. W. direction; saw nothing of importance; the first twelve miles was mostly in a cypress, some parts very bad; when he struck south the country was more open, consisting of wet prairie, pine and cabbage islands, and thus it continued back towards camp. Reeve went back with the mules for more provisions.

"*December 16.* All ready at sunrise to start south, but were detained till eleven by a heavy rain. Scriven arrived at half-past ten; did not see Wright, but left a letter for him; says the navy trail led him thirty miles; coming back he cut off, and made it twenty. Left at eleven, in two columns, with our seven days' provisions on our backs (heavy loads); Major Graham's, Captain Larned's, Emory's, and Burbank's companies, left column; Thornton, McCall, Gates, and McKavitt, right column; marching, paraded ten paces apart; flankers. Reached Prophet's town about three. Our guides are Holatoochee, Suti Mico, Halleck Yahola, and Sampson. Holatar travelled over the country when a youth, hunting; he is the only one who knows any thing of the country. He says the country S. E. is open, and therefore the Indians will not hide there; but towards the S. and S. W. there are bad hammocks, and they may be there.

"*December 17.* Left camp in a westerly direction, and went through the Cypress a mile (S. W. course); we then steered about S. 10 west, after coming upon a wet prairie, cabbage and pine-islands on the right; limestone very frequent during the day. We halted at ten, for twenty minutes, and lunched, after having come about four miles; a mile further on we came to an Indian camp, rather old; from here we skirted the pine-barren on our left. The pine extends some distance east, but I should judge not

more than four miles, and then the Cypress commences ; on our right, about two or three miles off, extends the Cypress southerly ; near it are oak-islands ; a large open prairie ; the ground is so soft, that you can push a stick four feet down with the greatest ease ; water about six inches deep nearly all the way. The distance of eight miles from camp is well marked by an oak-island on the left, and a single cabbage-tree on the right, each about three hundred yards off. We here struck *towards* the west two miles till we came to the Cypress. The pine on the left and cypress on the right approach at this place. We pass down a short distance through a little prairie, with a cypress island on the left, and the main Cypress on the right, to a pine island or ridge, which is the only place to camp for some distance ; accordingly we halt at one o'clock. We have been following a trail made by four or five Indians, all day. Scriven came up about three o'clock, having left the depot at sun-up. Two racoons and a large rattlesnake were killed to-day ; a ground-rattlesnake was killed whilst making my bivouac.

"*December 18.* Left camp about seven, and went through a spur of cypress to the right, about three hundred yards ; we then followed a trail towards the north, through the pine for a mile and a half, when we came to a camp which had not been occupied more than four days. We then struck westerly through a thick cypress for a mile, when we came upon a low wet prairie, about two miles in diameter westerly, and four northerly ; we steered N. N. W. across it, and halted on a cabbage island to lunch, near the N. W. end. There are a few pine islands towards the N., and one or two southerly. Holatar says there is a lake (Fish-catching) near the latter. We went westerly through a thin spur of cypress, and continued, through wet prairie and scattered cypress, nearly two miles, till we came to a thick point of cabbage, &c., on the edge of the cypress on the left. We then struck north, with cypress on both sides (two hundred yards on each side), for a mile ; the country then opened more, the cypress on the left receding about a mile and a half, the pine-barren appearing on the right about three miles. We marched about three miles, and came to a pine and cabbage strip, connecting the two sides of the prairie ; we here found another camp, rather fresher ; rested here for twenty minutes, and passed through (two hundred yards) and again struck the prairie, the pine-barren running around towards the N. and N. W., and apparently meeting the cypress about four miles off. There are numerous strips of thin pine and cabbage on the left, near the cypress, running N., and to our right there are cabbage and oak islands. We marched about a mile further and camped. Major Graham's column on one pine and cabbage island, and ours on another one hundred yards

north; dry wood rather scarce. The ground to-day was very wet and spongy, the marching therefore very hard. We have been following the trail of a child about six years old, all day. There are apparently four or five men, a woman, and two children, one of which is occasionally carried; signs about three or four days old. We had to halt frequently to find the trail, as they scattered often.

"*December 19.* Left camp about seven, and steered W. N. W. for a mile and a half, when we found another camp. We then entered the cypress, and went W. S. W. for five miles through; it was very thick, and the water about knee-deep nearly all the way; when about the centre, we found the water up to our waists, with a strong current to the south; bottom clear and hard; no doubt a river. We emerged, at the end of the five miles, upon a high ground covered with cabbage and pine; the signs much fresher. We continued W. S. W., the country covered with scattered pine and cypress, ground low and wet. We found an old camp of six huts (only one whole) a mile further on. We marched about three miles from the swamp, and halted on a pine-strip, the ground wet.

"*December 20.* Started from camp about seven; went westerly a mile and a half through thin pine and cabbage, till we came to the edge of the cypress; we here were halted by the firing of a musket on the left, shortly after, another, and another; it proved to be a flanker who got lost; he was not paying attention when we took a turn north; after waiting an hour or more, and hunting for him, he came up. We then entered the swamp westerly, went a mile nearly, and came to a flag-pond, (very bad place to get through,) water waist-deep; after emerging from it a short distance, we came upon an Indian camp, with signs of the day before; rested a short time, and then pursued the trail through pine, oak, and cabbage-hammock a mile and a half, then through swamp another mile and a half; there found *evident signs* of the Indians. The guides refused to go in front. We went half a mile further, when the cypress was more open on the trail, a large flag-pond one hundred yards to the left, and a small one immediately on the right, water nearly waist-deep. Here the advance were fired upon by about twenty Indians, who were posted about forty yards in front and to the left, behind the cypress. Sergeant Down of my company was shot dead at the third shot; the ball hit just above his left collar-bone, and cut the artery; he was in the advanced guard, next to Lieutenant Johnson. Foster, of D company, 4th infantry, was shot also in the advance; was shot in his right arm, and the ball passed through the left; shot dead. The Indians ran, after the first fire, to the left and right; some companies pursued a short distance, and returned, as the thicket

was very dense. I went back, and after finding the dead bodies, brought assistance and carried Down to camp, which was in the one where the Indians were evidently just making preparations for a permanent camp. A sentinel fired at night; the men turned out promptly; no cause of alarm discovered.

"*December 21.* We started this morning, and carried the bodies as far as the second flag-pond, and there sunk them—very hard work taking them through the cypress. We reached the edge of the cypress (where the flanker fired) about 12. We then turned a small cypress and went northerly. Captain Thornton had been taken with chills and fever the day before, and now had to be put into a blanket and carried. We went three miles, and discovered Captain Hutter's trail, leading S. W. into the cypress, but one day old, apparently; marched a mile further, and camped near some small cypress. Marching, since we left the cypress, pretty good; pine most of the way.

"*December 22.* Started at seven, and went northerly through the cypress. We march six miles through thin cypress and pine islands. We halted to lunch on a piney point, a large extent of thin cypress. We then went two miles, and came to a pine-barren and two or three cabbage-trees. A pine-tree was blazed at nine miles. Wagons can come here. A mile further we came to a cypress, bordered with oak scrub. Horse trail (Walker's) discovered. We steered easterly through pine and thin cypress belts two miles, and two more through prairie, and reached Fort Keas at four, P. M., the men and officers much fatigued, and out of provisions—some the day before. Lieutenant Arnold in command, with fourteen dragoons and six infantry sick. Captain Hutter, with his command, gone on a six days' scout. We had half a barrel of biscuit divided in the command, and an express sent to depot No. 1, ten miles, for rations. We went to Arnold's tent, and ate every thing he had in short order. Captain Sibley and Lieutenant McClay arrived at half past ten, P. M., with provisions.

"*December 24.* Started at eight for depot No. 1, where we arrived at twelve; course about N. N. E. Found Kello, Sibley, McClay, Dr. Simpson, and Kerr there; they invited us all to dinner; went by reliefs, and ate enormously, as the dinner was excellent.

"*December 25.* Lieutenant Parker, with seven or eight Indians, arrived from Fort Simmons. The train from the depot arrived shortly after; received two bottles of whisky from Munroe, by Parker, who brought a few more in his saddle-bags; the crowd came to my tent at night, and we had a little whisky punch.

"*December 29.* Started at eight, with packs, in four columns, the order in which we entered the main Cypress, Captains Hutter and Emory rear guard. We marched in a S. S. W. direction,

through occasional cypress and pine-barren; marching rather good; several showers during the day. The packs and dragoons got along pretty well until near the close of the march, when we went through a boggy cypress; we came about twelve miles, and camped on a pine and cabbage ridge; about a mile westerly of our camp on the 21st, we passed through Walker's camp, on the other side of the boggy Cypress.

"*December 30.* The columns all ready at sunrise, but some trouble arose about the Indians, &c.; they are not willing to go. All the men who are likely to fail, are left. Captain Kello, with his company, and Sheppard, who was quite sick, are at Fort Doune. Reeve's company stay here. I left five men, with mules, or pioneers, and Sergeant Edwards and three men, sick. Gore and Brown remain; cannot stand the tramp. Tom Johnson, who started on Christmas day for Fort Simmons, has not returned, so he is supposed to be sick. After a speech from Major Belknap, we all started, about half past ten. Captains Hutter and Emory's companies go south, round the Cypress to Malco river. Easton and Foote, officers. Guides—Parsackemicco, Tustenugge Maha, Suti Mico, and Isaac. The other three columns go together to the camp on the 20th. Scriven, who was in command of one column, was unable to proceed after a short distance, so returned, and left McKavitt in command of it. We arrived at the edge of the Cypress about one, and lunched; the march was hard, as the heat was intolerable. Corporal Green gave out; I sent him back. We went through the Cypress, and camped at the Indian village about three. Captain Larned came up, quite sick. Major Graham had a talk with the Indians at night, and found them quite loth to leave Holatar. Gave Larned some whisky and sugar—cured his chill.

"*December 31.* Started at sunrise, in three columns; passed through the Cypress; course about W. N. W.; found, previous to starting, that Captain Larned was too unwell to proceed with us. A corporal and six men, and three others, were left with him; one of them, my man, Sergeant Proper, went with him through the Cypress. The corporal and six men returned, and he proceeded to Camp Foster. When we reached the dead bodies, found that they had been disturbed, clothes torn, bodies dismembered; some suppose Indians; and some, alligators; the latter, I think. We reached the Indian camp, just to the left of ours, about half past nine, and halted till ten; found more trouble with the Indians; they did know the country, did not like to go in front, and wished to go with the chief, and some pretended to be sick; finally, however, persuaded them to divide, Tustenugge-Hadjo and Christian going with McKavitt; Sampson, Cotza-Tustenugge, Holata-Fixico, and another, with McCall; Holatar, John,

and two others, with Graham. McKavitt has his company, and D company, 8th infantry, commanded by McClay. McCall, myself, and Darne, the second; Graham's company, D, commanded by Berry, and Larned's, commanded by Haller. The 1st, McKavitt left us here, and went S. S. W., by the flag pond; we went through our camp, and then Graham struck off to the west, while we went S. W. We proceed about a mile and a half through a dense thicket, composed of oak, cabbage, pine, vines, and palmettoes. We then went a mile through a thick cypress swamp, S. S. W. We then came out into a small prairie, with small cypress to the left, and small cypress and pine to the right. We proceeded through this and a small strip of cypress, when we discovered Major Graham's column to our right, in a small prairie; we met at the other side, in another small strip of cypress; held a short talk, and proceeded a short distance to a small prairie; the first column took to the right, and we went south. Came to a cypress, and found a track of three Indians, about two days old; followed it a few hundred yards, and came to McKavitt's trail; he was a short distance to our right, taking a lunch; did not see him. We followed the trail a short distance further, and concluded it unnecessary to do so any longer, as it was going south towards Hutter's trail. We then struck S. W., through a small prairie; then into a big cypress; skirted it northerly a short distance, and came to a small prairie. Here a gun was fired—found that in our sudden turnings, one of my flankers had got lost. Major Graham hailed us from a pine island ahead; good place to camp, and probably, the chief said, the only one for some distance. Sent Sergeant Nash and six men to hunt for flanker; he returned with him shortly after we got into camp. McKavitt joined us shortly after, so we all camped together. This island is called Muster Island. Pretty way, this, of spending *new year's eve*; nothing but ham or pork, hard bread and onions, and that brought in our knapsacks.

"*January 1, 1842.* We all started this morning and entered the Cypress together, in a south-westerly direction. McKavitt left us after we had marched about half a mile (to the left). We marched through a dense cypress swamp, about two miles and a half, then came to a pine and cabbage ridge. Our column here struck to the left, headed round a small cypress, passing over McKavitt's trail. The Indians would not go to the front, so we endeavored to steer by compass, S. by W. through a dense cypress swamp, and occasional pine and cabbage thickets; the latter is much the worst, as the vines and undergrowth is very hard to force through. After emerging from the swamp, we came into a more open country, composed of low pine (ground damp), interspersed with small cypress swamps. We proceeded till ten

minutes of eleven, to the edge of a cypress, and halted to lunch. We had passed McKavitt's trail about a mile and a half back, in the swamp; he was steering about S. S. W. After about twenty minutes, Major Graham joined us; he had got on a trail, followed it to a camp, found the signs about two days old, but they had scattered so, that after hunting half an hour, they could not tell which way to follow, so kept on the original course. We stopped till about twenty minutes past eleven, and proceeded together, in order to take advantage of Holatar's guidance through a thick cypress. The first half mile the trees were rather small, but the vines and scrub were extremely thick; the latter part the trees became larger and more open; we went about a mile through, and then, after a talk, concluded to proceed direct to Malco, near to each other. Holatar seemed to think we could get there before sundown. The major, on our right, struck McKavitt's trail, and continued on its course, about S. W. We marched about a quarter of a mile apart, through thin cypress and low pine, interspersed; we went very fast, and the heat was great; the men were very much fatigued. After marching about six miles, we came to a rather dry pine point of a small ridge, and camped, about an hour and a half by sun. The Cypress runs around us, just by our bivouacks, which are made of small palmettoes. Sampson, the interpreter, is quite sick. McKavitt is about an hour ahead of us; the water is clear in his trail; some of the men, after dark, said they saw his fires, apparently about three hundred yards off, through the Cypress. The major wishes to go back to where he lost the Indians' tracks, and try to follow them. McCall is of the same opinion, but after consulting Holatar, he says he thinks we had better go on, and bear round to the south, and if they have gone southerly, we most probably will see signs of them; if not, we will know they have gone northerly, and can beat about returning. According to all *data*, we should be close to Malco. Holatar has not been there since a young man, and therefore does not recollect the country distinctly. The Indians are determined not to go in front except where there is no probable danger; so we have gone most of the way by compass, and as we have to wind about so much in the thickets, we make rather bad work. I think our general course to-day has been about S. S. W.; probably a little more west. According to my ideas, we should have steered about W. S. W. from the start.

"*January 3.* Started this morning early (no sun): Holatar steered first N. E., and after marching some distance we found he was steering S. E.; he finally halted, and said, he could not tell exactly which way to go, as the sun was not out; we set him right; almost immediately after, we discovered Captain Hutter's trail; Christian, a guide, started on it, as it was fresh,

and returned after we struck it again on a pine island, where they had rested a short time before we saw them—and shortly after, some of his Indians joined us. He was steering about E. N. E.; we started again, after a lunch, and proceeded among cypress trees, pine, and scrub, for half a mile, till we came to an oak island on our right; here we blew the bugle for Captain Hutter, as we thought him near—no answer; we then entered a cypress, rather open, and running about N. E., apparently about three miles wide, as we could occasionally see pine to the right and left before we entered it. Holatar said, he would be guided by compass; accordingly, Roach, a sailor of my company, went with him, but he soon gave it up: he went pretty near N. E. for three miles in the Cypress—water knee-deep, and then began to steer wild: he went E., then S. E. S., and finally S. W. till he struck a pine and cabbage ridge, where we halted an hour (about one o'clock). We then went through a small pine ridge, plenty of scrub, steering N. N. E. for half a mile; got into the old cypress, with deep water; went a mile and a half to a pine strip; the cypress grew more open and smaller as we approached the pine, which appeared to extend to the right and left. We crossed the strip fifty yards, and struck a small prairie, with stunted pine on its edge, half a mile N. E.; then a pine ridge, high ground, where we camped.

"*January 4.* Started early this morning, and expect to reach Camp Foster about four o'clock; we went in a N. E. direction for a mile, winding around some small cypress; then struck a deep cypress, which extended for half a mile; then through a thick thicket and cypress, for two or three miles: one of the thickets, for one hundred yards, is the worst we have passed yet—as in addition to the vines, the bottom is composed of rocks, which are very dangerous, as you run a risk of breaking your shins; we emerged from the thicket and cypress into a small scattered cypress, with pine on the right (E. N. E.); we crossed that to a piney point, which runs to where we saw the Indian village on the previous scout; we then went for half a mile through thick cypress, and came to the lily pond, which here is much deeper, but harder bottom, than below; after passing through it and twenty yards of cypress, we came to the piney and cabbage ridge; half a mile further brought us to our camp, where we found Reeve, Brown (who was quite sick), Burbank, and Gore. Hutter came in about an hour after; as he came through the *battle ground*! it appears that he, after we saw his trail, steered due east, and struck an old trail about three miles below the Indian camp. Major B. has ordered Major Graham to break up this depot.

"*January 5.* Started about eight for Fort Doune; McCall and

myself in rear of mules—fine business; reached Fort Doune about three o'clock; got an invitation from Thornton to dinner—very acceptable. He and Arnold, with the two companies, are to start immediately on a ten days' scout around Billy Bowlegs' landing (got away an hour by sun); found Johnson had returned—had been sick; Scriven, recovered; Larned, a little better; Sheppard, quite well; *another scout on hand*.

"*January 6.* Train goes for more provisions, Easton in command; wrote some important letters, and with Haller's assistance drew off my notes for Captain McCall's and Major Graham's reports: the Indians gone to the mangroves in their opinion; Colonel Worth orders us to exterminate or capture—*no chance*.

"*January 7.* Private McKenzie came in this afternoon, weak and exhausted—had nothing to eat for two days; says, that on the third day (January 3d) he was sitting down eating, about noon, heard an axe, went to see what it was, and discovered two Indians in an open cypress, cutting a canoe; it was on skids, and was marked with black lines; he went off as fast as possible, got into a thicket, which took him three or four hours to get through; he struck Captain Hutter's trail about two hours by sun, followed it till he came to Captain McKavitt's camp; got bothered, took the left trail (ours), and came to Fort Foster, where he slept; he took the track to the swamp, and got to the Indian village before he saw his error; then came back, and took the correct road; thinks he can take us to where the Indians are.

"*January 8.* Received orders this morning about nine, to pick out such of the men as had shoes, and could stand a hard scout; Major Graham to start with two hundred men; Captains McCall and Scriven in command of the two columns, of two companies each; myself, McClay, Armistead, and Darne, go with McCall; Johnson, Reeve, and Burbank, with Scriven—Dr. Wood, surgeon—Passac-Mico, John, and Isaac, guides. We left about one o'clock, after providing our men with such shoes as could be got by exchanging with the men who remained. We reached Fort Foster after a hard march, after dark; Captain McCall and myself, with fifteen men—the only ones that kept up—took the trail, and got into our old camp; we took the back trail (which we could hardly see), and a quarter of a mile brought us in sight of the fires, which some of the men (who had followed the right track) had made. Scriven and the mules came up half an hour after; some of the men did not get in till next morning (they stopped after dark); five days' rations were here issued, making seven days' in all.

"*January 9.* After some consultation as to the shortest route to McKavitt's camp (where we were to take the boy, and then

question him), I proposed to take the route we came in on the last scout, to where Captain Hutter's trail crossed, and then follow his to the camp, as it is the straightest and most open. We accordingly started at eight, in four columns, advance of twenty men; Armistead and McClay, with company C, 4th, on the right; McCall, myself, and Darne, with company I, 8th, next; then the advance, Graham, Scriven, and Johnson, with D, 8th; Reeve, and Burbank, and B, 8th, on the left. We did not have much trouble breaking the trail through the thickets, as we had done so before. We reached our old camp (six miles) about eleven; halted to eat for an hour; men quite tired; very hot—Armistead pretty nigh giving out. Started again and went three miles, where we had to halt for Armistead, who had stopped behind. Sent back Isaac, a corporal, and four men for him; did not come up for an hour—a man taken with cramp in the mean time. As it was now two o'clock, and no other place to camp for three miles through swamps, the major concluded to camp. The island was covered with thick scrub, so that we had some difficulty in clearing a way. As we found that a number of the men were likely to give out, the major proposed to send them back under Lieutenant McClay, who had a violent diarrhœa. Armistead would not *cave* in, so the major concluded to let him go on.

"*January 12.* Started at seven (the sick man well enough to march); soon came to the mangroves, which presented a beautiful appearance: we were marching through tall grass, with innumerable islands to the right and left, extending as far as the eye could see. Our trail led in an easterly direction, crossing the point and between the islands, which are covered with cabbage, a few pines, and low mangroves. The water in the grassy prairies is from an inch to two feet deep. In some places there are openings or channels through the grass, which some think might be passages for canoes. I do not believe so, as such passages are very common in high grass, made by the main current of water when it is high (as in the rainy season). We went five miles, and then came to a small spot of cypress; could see the main cypress approaching from the north (running westerly): after passing through we came upon a large prairie, with a large cypress clearly defined bordering the east, and running as far as we could see to the southward. We went north a mile and came to a small piney island, and there found Captain Hutter's camp, as described by the boy—cabbage stump and all. Here we took a lunch: the cypress here approached from the north and west. We went northerly over the prairie for three miles, with large cypress on each side, about two miles off; on each hand here they are joined by scattered cypress, and pass

through a short distance to a small island surrounded by cypress and prairie: this is where Hutter lunched on the 1st instant, and where the boy slept on the 3d—where he struck the trail is about four miles from here, he thinks. We then went three miles through scattered cypress, and pine and cabbage thickets, which join the two main Cypresses, which here run about four miles from each other: then came to wet prairies; in one of these the boy came on the trail, hunted some time for it, but did not find it—the guides apparently not at all desirous of doing so. Dr. O’Niel was again taken with ague; so, as it was getting late, we went a mile further to a cabbage island, and camped.

“*January 13.* Sent Corporal Chappin back with the sick man, and twelve men; only a short distance to Fort Foster. We started back to find the trail; went three miles through the prairies, and after much trouble found the track—followed it a short distance to the swamp, and then endeavored to get the guide Passac to follow it: said he could not—too much water, and thicket. Major G. swore at him, and determined to go ahead westerly through the swamp; cannot be more than eight miles through—guide says, ‘mighty bad place.’ went a mile, when one of the negroes started us near a lily pond, by shooting a deer: went a mile further, and were stopped by a large lily pond, boggy bottom: Isaac went up a tree, and said that it was about two miles broad, and extended to the north and south quite broad—evidently the extension of the lily pond through which we have crossed further up; it extended south some distance: we then struck north along it, and then towards the east; struck our trail about a mile from camp, reached it about three, and encamped.

“*January 14.* Started early, went two and a half miles, and came to Hutter’s camp; a mile further brought us to our old camp on the 19th December. Struck off to the north, and a mile brought us to Fort Foster; reached camp, in four miles, at ten o’clock; found Hutter there with three companies; McKavitt, McClay, Sheppard, Emory, and Foote, and Dr. Madison, ordered to remain; commanders of companies to go immediately to Fort Doune, to draw clothing, &c., for the men; Graham, McCall, Scriven, Reeve, and myself, went up; Reeve, Scriven, and myself, on mules; got there about three. Thornton had just got back from his scout. Heard that Easton had gone with some thirty men, to join Captain Brown at Malco, to march through to Fort Foster; we are then to go on another scout.

“*January 15.* Waiting for an express; Alligator and his Indians left for Istopoga, to find some Indians supposed in that direction. Holatar remained.

“*February 1.* Arrived at Fort Simmons about eleven; found there McCall, Sibley, Gore, Larned, Birdsall, and Parker. The

men got pretty blue on wine, porter, &c., (none better entitled to indulgence.) Major Belknap gone to Tampa, to endeavor to have the troops go by land, and scour the country along Istopoga. Two Indians came in belonging to Hospetarke's tribe; families five days' march.

"*February 4.* Steamer De Russett arrived, with Major Belknap, Can, Cochran, part of Larned's company, and Captain Montgomery, Hanson and company. Scriven and myself go down in the boat. Kello and Reeve march to Fort Harney, and there take the Adams, which, after landing Wright and command at Punta Rossa, will take Kello and Captain Brown's command. Major Belknap, with Major Graham, McCall, Montgomery, and Kerr, go through by land, scouring on the way. Alligator and party it seems caught eight Indians near Istopoga, and let them go, on promise of meeting them with their packs; they did not come back, however, so the major hopes to catch them; they are Assinaway's band. They say that none but Bowlegs' party are in the Cypress. I found at Fort Simmons a man of mine, who got lost at Fort Foster; he reached Prophet's town on the third day, and the fort three days after, nearly dead, having had nothing to eat but two birds. The two Indians say they saw him at Kello's camp.

"*February 5.* Kello and Reeve started at daybreak; reached the boat at ten. Major Belknap was to leave immediately after us, Cochran to remain, with part of Larned's company, and Gore, commissary. We reached the bar, five miles from Fort Harvie, about three, and, as expected, (being loaded down with every thing,) we ran hard and fast aground. I took ten men in one boat, Johnson ten in the other, and rowed to the fort. The Adams came up shortly after; she took the flat and three mackinaws in tow for the bar; got about two miles up, when the captain, who had taken the wrong channel, grounded, and turned round. We then manned the flat, &c., and reached our boat about an hour after dark; we then landed all the men on the shore, and filled the boat with the stores, and landed some. We were not enabled to get off till we took every thing out, and, fortunately, having a very high tide, at twelve at night on the 6th we got off. We then had to take the stores and men a mile, two of our boats having been taken by the Adams, to load her with wood. Reeve came up to us on the 6th, having arrived on the 5th. Brown's company, with Easton, Lovell and Edes, were on board the Adams. They say that Lincoln arrived at Fort Foster, on our trail from Malco, on the 30th, in the evening, same day we left. Edes went to the camp on the Malco the evening Graham left, (27th.) Malco river is only three miles long, two miles below Graham's camp.

"*February 7.* Got all aboard by daylight, (having worked two nights and a day,) and reached Fort Harvie about seven. Adams just gone, and taken all but four cords of wood; have to wait till sixteen cords can be hunted. The Harney had arrived at Punta Rossa, to take Wright's command round to Fort Pierce. Hanson sick at Fort Simmons.

"Thus ended the Big Cypress campaign, like all others: drove the Indians out, broke them up, taught them we could go where they could; men and officers worn down; two months in water; plunder on our backs; hard times; trust they are soon to end. Hear of good success at Fort Brooke. Tiger-Tail and Nethlockemathlar surrendered. Coacooche and Hospetarke gone. Indians asking for peace in all quarters. The only reward we ask is the ending of the Florida war."

The letters of Captain McClellan, topographical engineers, are given, as describing a section of country imperfectly known, as also portions of Lieutenant McLaughlin's correspondence, and the reports of Lieutenant J. B. Marchand, and John Rodgers, U. S. navy, showing the co-operation of the Florida squadron.

"*Tampa Bay*, Nov. 4th, 1841.

"SIR—I have the honor to inclose herewith, a map of a reconnaissance of the Carlosahatchee, made in obedience to order No. 20, dated the 5th October last.

"In the course of the time taken up in preparing for the expedition to Fort Deynaud under Major Belknap, the position of the islands in Carlos Bay, as far up as to a point five miles above Punta Rossa, was fixed, and on the 15th of October the examination of the river was commenced, and in the course of it, it was found that the channel, though a very tortuous one, has a depth of water amply sufficient for all the purposes of transportation of supplies, in steamboats, for the troops that may be stationed on and south of the river, except at two points, at which bars have formed, and which are marked as bars on the map. On our passage up the river, we found but five and a half feet water on the lower, and but four and a half feet water on the upper bar, and then nearly high water. On our passage down the river, after the storm of the 19th October, when the river was higher than usual, we found six feet water on the upper, and seven on the lower bar.

"From the formation of the shores of the river, at the points where the bars are formed, and from the great depth of water found by Lieutenant Humphreys, on either side of the lower one, I am inclined to think, that on examining them more minutely, deeper water may be found on both of them, and this examination

I had determined to make after or on our return to Punta Rossa, but the condition of the post then, after the storm of the 19th October, rendered it and the examination of Charlotte Harbor impracticable.

"The banks of the river are generally high, and with the exception of points at which creeks empty into it, or lagoons make from it, are dry, and covered with a growth of pine, live or scrub oak, or palmetto trees.

I am respectfully, your obedient servant,

Major S. COOPER, Assistant Adjutant-
General, Army of Florida. }

J. McCLELLAN,
Capt. Top. Engineers."

"Fort Harvie, East Florida, Dec. 25th, 1841.

"SIR—I beg leave to report, that on the morning of the 15th instant, in obedience to the orders of the colonel commanding, I left Fort Simmons for the purpose of making a topographical examination of the Carlosahatchee, from Fort Deynaud through to Lake Oke-chobee, and of Fish-eating Creek.

"On the morning of the 16th we reached Fort Thompson, about seven and a half miles above Fort Deynaud, and at the foot of Lake Thompson, on the pickets of which we found marks indicating the height of the water to have been, since the late rains, at least eight feet higher than it then was. I determined, notwithstanding, to make an effort to pass through to Oke-chobee, and proceeded in the direction of the current, north, 70° east, directly towards the head of the lake, a distance of five miles, when we found our passage obstructed by floating islands of dock, and then by a dense canebrake, the latter at least from seven to nine feet above the surface of the water, and through which it was impossible to paddle the canoes, and for the men to have drawn them through was impracticable, as in many places the water was from five to nine feet deep. I spent the whole of the 16th and part of the 17th, in hunting a passage to the head of the lake, and failed in my efforts. I then sent a man up a tree, to overlook the lake, and he reported that, as far as he could see, it was a continuous canebrake, and that he could perceive no passage above the point we had reached; and I am convinced, that it is only at the highest stage of the water that such passage exists.

"I have the notes that will enable me to complete the sketch of the river, to within five or six miles of the head of Lake Thompson; and should the lowness of the water continue to prevent the examination contemplated by the colonel commanding in his late order to me, I can obtain the sketch and notes kept by Captain McLaughlin, in his passage through to Oke-chobee, and from them complete the sketch to that lake, and the map

of the part of the territory south of this river; and for these notes, &c., I have written by the James Adams, which left this for Malco to-day.

"I waited several days at Fort Simmons, after my return from Lake Thompson, expecting that the detachment to Fish-eating-Creek, alluded to in my orders, would reach them, but it did not; and as Major Belknap had directed a further supply of provisions to be sent to his command, I presumed he would not order the detachment for some days, and as I found that probably there would be no boat there for some days, I came here, that I might the more readily communicate with you, if necessary.

I have the honor to be, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Major S. COOPER, Assistant Adjutant-General, }
Army of Florida, *Tampa Bay.* }

J. McCLELLAN."

" *Florida Expedition—Flirt, at Indian* }
Key, December 26th, 1841. }

"COLONEL—Lieutenant Commandant Rodgers has been directed to proceed in the Phœnix to Tampa, to deliver to you the enclosed dispatches, and proffer you the service of his vessel for any duty in which his co-operation can serve you. If you should have none for him, he is ordered to return to this depot at the earliest moment, with such communications as you may do me the honor to intrust to him for me.

"My official report to the Honorable the Secretary of the Navy, of which I have the honor to enclose you a copy, will make you acquainted with the incidents of our last scout in the Everglades. Every thing we saw in the Cypress at the head-waters of the Locha-Hatchie, goes to establish the belief that Jones has taken shelter in the Oke-chobee, or that he is wandering about in the Alpatioke Swamp, between the Oke-chobee and Indian river. The Cypress in which he builds canoes was deserted, and had not been visited, apparently, for two months. Further on, near the source of the Locha-Hatchie, we found a canoe (unfinished, yet sufficiently so to be brought away) which had been abandoned for a fortnight. Further on, again, we found two canoes, which had been abandoned at a camp in the Cypress, the occupants of which had left it on foot, about two weeks before. Another camp had been abandoned in the same manner, at an earlier period, and the trails from all these led in one direction—north.

"Under these circumstances, after receiving such information as Major Childs' present movement may furnish, I propose, if the co-operation shall meet with your approbation and consent, to concentrate my entire command, of about three hundred effective

men, in the Oke-chobee, approaching the point of rendezvous by either coast of the Everglades. One half the command to search the Cypress and Locha-Hatchie, and penetrate in boats or on foot as far into the Alpatioke Swamp as their means of transportation will permit, and thence to fall back upon Fort Center, on Fish-eating Creek, for supplies: and the other, to scour all the southwestern mangroves and cypress, and approach the Oke-chobee by the head-waters of the Carlosahatchee, there to break up all the fields, and examine the islands and rice-fields I had not the time to visit on my route to the Locha-Hatchie through that country. This done, following my old trail, it will descend the S. W. shore of the Oke-chobee, and find the creek upon which the Indians have lived; nor will it abandon the search until it is found. This can be accomplished with one month's supplies, which my boats are well able to carry; but at the expiration of this time, I must have a depot at hand to supply me. Fort Center offers the most convenient site for this, beside being immediately at the Indian crossing on the river. I have no means of transportation to put supplies there; so that if you approve this movement, I must depend upon you for one month's rations for the whole force, to be deposited there by the 15th February, the movement being to commence here on the 15th January. Be pleased to communicate to me your views and wishes on this subject, or suggest any other operation in which I can render my command useful; the harder and more hazardous the service the better.

"Lieutenant Commandant Rodgers has been directed to require for camp equipage for my marines, who are ejected from their barracks by the sick. Many of my men are thoroughly worn out, and condemned by a board of surgeons as unfit for service. Fifty are about being sent to northern hospitals, and we have still a sick report of one hundred. There is no disease of a malignant type known among them, but a general sinking of the system, a 'regular cave in' of the constitution. But we will do the best with what is left. He is directed to require for ordnance stores as well as ordnance. Five out of thirty of Colt's rifles have bursted in firing, after being loaded for ten days, doing serious injury to those around. I am compelled, therefore, to return to the musket. Other small items are upon his requisitions, and I have directed him, should he find any difficulty in obtaining them, from want of necessary authority on the part of the officers in charge of the stores, to refer the case to you.

"I regret that I cannot have the pleasure of an interview with you at this moment. I am called to Havana for two or three days, at furthest, to obtain funds for the expedition. I shall be absent from the coast, perhaps, four days, and immediately on my return shall send a party into the Mangrove lake, near Key Bis-

cayne, with which Chai professes to be acquainted. If any of Hotalke-Hadjo's people are there, we will have them.

"I send Scipio (the negro interpreter) back in the Phœnix. He is worse than useless to me. Chai is now my only guide. His brother, taken by Captain Wade, is an excellent one, and could be induced to volunteer with Chai. I must pray you to send me at least two (with an interpreter) who will know something of the Oke-chobee, the rice-fields, three days above Billy Bowlegs' landing, and the route thence through the Everglades into the Oke-chobee. Without these we should be wandering in the dark, and perhaps defeat the very object we have in view, by blundering along, exposed to sight when we should be concealed.

"I trust the successful termination of the war is still so near at hand, that our rejoicings at that event may yet mingle with the festivities of this season, of which I have the honor to wish you many happy returns.

"Respectfully, Sir, I have the honor to be,

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN, *Lieut. Com'g Expe'n.*"

Colonel W. J. WORTH, }
Commanding army of Florida, &c. }

"P. S. I have omitted to mention, that as we emerged from the Cypress, on the morning of the 21st, we met Captain Vinton's guide. He had just entered the Cypress, seven days from New river; had seen nothing, and supposed from the trails, old, and going north, that Jones had abandoned his haunt. I communicated my movements, by note, to Captain Vinton.

"J. T. McL."

"United States' Schooner Van Buren, }
Indian Key, January 27th, 1842. }

"SIR—I have the honor to inform you, that, in obedience to your orders of the 13th instant, I took the force assigned, and entered Florida through Shark river; proceeded from it through numerous mangrove lakes, to an old settlement on the banks of the O-we-chat-ta river. This settlement appears not to have been occupied for three or four years past; it is advantageously situated, having a plentiful supply of fresh water from wells, and a communication by land is reported to Cape Sable and the hunting grounds to the eastward of that cape.

"The Indian guide informed me, that the Tal-lar-so-cul-car, an island on the southern edge of the Everglades, about equidistant from the Miami and Shark rivers, was an occasional resort of the Indians; and endeavoring to get there, I passed from the O-we-chat-ta river into O-we-had-ka-theoc-co bay, coasted along its eastern bank, and ascended the Muc-co-thee-pa river, but was unable to reach the Everglades by reason of the lowness of the

water. I descended it, and from the same bay entered the O-we-ki-e-war river, and ascended to the Everglades, but could not penetrate them, for the same reason. I then returned to, and crossed the O-we-had-ka-theoc-co bay, entered one of the mouths of the Hat-che-chop-co or Shark river, ascended to and entered the Everglades.

"I found the water in the Everglades so low, that it would occupy a time exceeding that limited me to reach Tal-lar-so-cul-car island, and caused me to return to the sea by the way of Harney's river.

"On my return, I visited Key Largo, and found the old Indian settlement had not been occupied for some years, and the guide was unacquainted with the locality of the negro settlement.

"At no time during the expedition, did I discover recent traces of Indians.

"I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. B. MARCHAND, *Lieutenant Commanding.*"

Lieut. Com. J. T. McLAUGHLIN, {
Commanding Florida Expedition. }

*"Florida Expedition—Flirt, at Indian }
Key, February 1st, 1842. }*

"SIR—Lieutenant Commandant Herndon, and Lieutenant Sloan, of marines, have been ordered to report to you with all the available force of their respective commands, prepared with thirty days' provisions, for service in the canoes.

"With this force, added to the Jefferson's, you will enter the Everglades by either of the rivers emptying into Biscayne bay, and following their eastern boundary, you will examine carefully the islands and cypress adjacent thereto. You will continue this course until you reach Lake Oke-chobee. Arrived there, you will examine most carefully a creek, situated on its southern borders, upon which the Indians are represented to have large fields in cultivation, and with the localities of which, one of your guides is intimately acquainted.

"Should you capture any of the enemy, here or elsewhere, you are directed to use any measures of severity to compel them to lead you to the haunts of Jones, who is supposed to have retreated upon the shores of this lake. Should you not be so fortunate, you will examine most carefully the islands and cypress on the eastern and north shores of the lake, so far as Fort Center, on Fish-eating creek. You will reach this point in thirty days after your departure hence, and you will find there supplies and provisions awaiting you.

"Lieutenant Commandant Marchand, with a detachment of the expedition, will join you at Fort Center, and in the absence of any further instructions, you will make such disposition of your

force as will best tend to secure the great objects of the expedition, the defeat and capture of the enemy.

"Respectfully, Sir, I have the honor to be,

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN, *Lieut. Com'd Fl'a Ex'n.*"

Lieut. Com. JOHN RODGERS, }
U. S. Brig Jefferson. }

"Flirt, at St. Augustine, April 7th, 1842.

"MY DEAR COLONEL—We arrived here last evening, and I am not a little disappointed to find I have missed you again. Information from Tampa encouraged me to hope I should find you at Pilatka, and with that view I came here.

"Marchand's report, which this will accompany, will give you all the information of his recent scout on the southern boundary of the territory. His men are so completely prostrated, that they will scarce be able to act efficiently again before the 20th instant, and this time will be required to refit, repair, and equip, for further operations. In the mean time, accepting his supposition that the Indians have taken shelter near Cape Sable, I have sent Biddle, with seventy-five men, into the mangroves on the route traversed by Marchand in January, a copy of whose report I inclosed you, with instructions to beat up the haunts there, and drive them back upon the pines, while, with another detachment, he will keep a look-out upon the neighborhood of Coconut Island and Long Key, to prevent escape in that direction. (These localities will be explained to you by the rude diagrams I inclosed you on a former occasion.) These measures will, I hope, induce the Indians to remain quiet where they are, until I can again put my undivided strength upon them. Biddle has been cautioned particularly against disturbing them in the pines.

"Rodgers had not returned from Kissimmee on the evening of the 4th, when I left Key Biscayne. His protracted stay induces me to hope for some success from his operations. On the 2d March he wrote from Fort Center, on Fish-eating Creek, that he was in sight of the enemy's fires, afar off, on the Kissimmee, and but awaited the return of a scouting party along the banks of the creek, to go in pursuit. He had abundance of supplies, and had not then proposed to himself a period for the termination of his scout. I trust, however, that his return may be speedy. His force is required in the south. If the enemy succeed in getting into the Locha Hatchee or Big Cypress country again, they will very much increase the difficulties of capturing them. On the 20th I shall, with five columns of seventy men each, enter the belt of main land on which the enemy is fixed, from as many different and opposite points, and drive to the centre, and I trust in God with some success. A zeal less ardent than

ours would be disheartened at the want of tangible evidences of success, which all our labors and energy have hitherto failed to command. This movement is, of course, predicated upon the supposition that ere the 20th Rodgers will have returned. If he shall not have done so, I shall then move with all my remaining force, and my arrangements will be made accordingly. In the mean time, would it seem proper to you to send down a force from Pierce, to overrun the country about and north of Lauderdale? If the enemy should elude us, he may seek shelter in this region, and the visit of the force will be opportune. Escape for him in the other direction will be impossible.

"I shall await here until the 15th, with the hope that I may hear from you, or have the pleasure of seeing you at Pilatka, whither I am told it is possible you may return before that time.

Faithfully yours,

Colonel WORTH, }
Commanding Army, &c., &c. }

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN,
Commanding Naval Forces."

"Key Biscayne, March 23d, 1842.

"SIR—I have the honor to report the arrival of the forces under my command at this place.

"On the 9th instant, with detachments of men from the Van Buren, Otsego, Phoenix, and Wave, I left Fort Dallas, and entered the Everglades, following the main land to the southward and westward, approaching it as near as practicable with the present low state of the water, searching the various islands for the hostile Indians and their settlements. On the day following I found upon a small key remote from observation, a large quantity of prepared coonti, deer-skins, articles of clothing, and cooking utensils, carefully preserved, and two cabins, which had been erected about a week previous. I destroyed every thing useful to the Indians, and continued in the same direction, upon the trail of four of them, travelling on foot to a small key, upon which they had encamped, remaining two nights, and had been abandoned four days previous; their trail, which we soon lost, then leading over a rocky bottom, and through shoal water, towards Long Key. On the 11th instant, we had reached a distance of about eight miles from Cocoanut Island, when the extreme shoalness of the water rendered the canoes useless. From this point I dispatched Lieutenant-Commandants Bidle and C. R. P. Rodgers, each with detachments of men on foot, to scour the country to the southward and westward. After a most fatiguing march of three days they returned. The former reported, that, in company with Lieutenant-Commandant Rodgers, he followed the edge of the pine land to the southward, until reaching Cocoanut Island, where they separated, he taking a

westerly course, to examine the pine keys in that direction ; and on his return to the canoes, he searched the numerous islands between Long Key and the main land. He discovered no Indian trails of less than four days old, which, upon following, were lost in the pines.

"Lieutenant-Commandant Rodgers reported, that upon leaving Cocoanut Island, he crossed the pine-barrens in a southerly direction, and penetrated some distance into the Mangrove Keys, and finding no indication of Indians, he again entered the pines, and pursued a course in it until he reached the trail he made from Fort Henry on the 26th ultimo, when he returned with his command to the canoes.

"On the route he pursued, no very recent indications of Indians having been there were perceptible.

"On the 15th inst., from the same point, I dispatched Acting-Lieutenant Lovell, with a detachment of men, to proceed in a westerly course, and examine a portion of Long Key and the islands lying to the westward of it. He informed me, that soon after crossing Long Key, he struck the trail of ten Indians, leading to the northward and westward, and following it, reached an island upon which they had encamped three days previous, and finding that several of his men were broken down, he was compelled to return to the canoes. No Indian settlements were seen by him.

"I then concluded to continue my operations in canoes, as the men were unable to do so on foot ; in consequence of which I passed to the eastward of Long Key, near where I found a field containing about an acre, with thriving corn, &c., growing, which I destroyed ; and in the Everglades to the northward of that key, several islands, which had been inhabited and cultivated, but abandoned from eighteen months to three years. Supposing the trail seen by Lieutenant Lovell led to the Big Cypress, I crossed the Everglades to the source of Shark river, and by a different route reached the head of the Miami, without finding any ; from which circumstance I infer that the Indians are concealed somewhere between Cocoanut Island and Cape Sable.

"For the last forty days the officers and men under my command have endured great hardships ; their exertions deserve commendation, and in their exhausted state they will be unable to act efficiently for some weeks.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Lieut. Com. J. T. McLAUGHLIN, }
Commanding Florida Expedition. }

J. B. MARCHAND,
Lieutenant Commanding."

"U. S. Brig Jefferson, Indian Key, April 12th, 1842.

"SIR—In obedience to your orders to proceed to the Oke-cho-bee, and thoroughly examine the country adjacent, I have the

honor to report, that on the 15th of February I left Key Biscayne, with a detachment of men from the Madison, under Lieutenant-Commandant Herndon; from the Jefferson, under Passed-Midshipman Preble; and of marines, under Second-Lieutenant Taylor. The examination was made, but unfortunately without any success. We saw Indian towns deserted, camps abandoned, and fields uncultivated, but only once did we get near the Indians. This was on Lake Tohopkeliga; but no sooner had the first canoe emerged from its outlet, than a large fire sprung up on the opposite side of the lake. Thinking it impossible that we could have been discovered, the boats were carefully concealed, and at night we made the circuit of the lake, hoping to find the fires of the Indians. Failing in this, I went around by daylight, closely examining every nook upon the lake; but we had been seen.

"The Thlo-thlo-pop-ka or Fish-eating Creek runs through an open prairie, to which it serves as a drain. As might be expected, it gives evidence of being in the wet season a large stream, but when I examined it, the volume of water it discharged was very small. This stream is very tortuous, and sometimes swells into a river, and then dwindles to a brook. Its head is in a marshy prairie, where a number of streamlets run together about twenty miles, in a straight line due east to the Oke-chobee, but following the course of the creek about twice that distance. The banks of Fish-eating Creek are covered with game, and its waters filled with fish.

"The Kissimmee is a deep, rapid stream, generally running through a marshy plain, but sometimes the pine land approaches its borders, and sometimes beautiful live-oak hammocks fringe its banks. The In-to-kee-tah or Deer-driving Place is a pretty little lake, with an island of perhaps one hundred acres of very fine land: 'There,' said the guide, 'the Indians once lived in very great numbers, and many may yet remain;' so our boats were concealed, and we waited for night to make an examination, when the fires would point out the exact position of any party; but though appearances proved the first part of our guide's assertion, we found the town had been long deserted.

"The Kissimmee is, I think, the natural drain of the immense plains which form this part of the country; but, though deep and rapid, it is quite narrow. It is something strange that very often the surface of the river is covered by floating grass and weeds, so strongly matted together that the men stood upon the mass, and hauled the boats over it, as over shoals. The Kissimmee runs into the Oke-chobee, which filters through its spongy sides into the Everglades, whose waters finally, by many streams, empty into the ocean.

"On the 11th April we returned to Key Biscayne, having

been living in our canoes fifty-eight days, with less rest, fewer luxuries, and harder work, than fall to the lot of that estimable class of citizens who dig our canals. At Key Biscayne the various detachments were disbanded, and returned to their several commands.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Lieut. J. T. McLAUGHLIN, }
Commanding Florida Expedition. }

JOHN RODGERS,
Lieutenant Commanding."

*"Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, }
Fort Brooke, June 17th, 1842. }*

"SIR—In a recent communication to the department of war, I took the liberty to suggest the policy of continuing two of the smaller vessels of your squadron on service near the Peninsula, with a rendezvous at Indian Key, for the purposes of general protection, to aid and assist wrecked or distressed vessels, and to guard against improper intercourse with such Indians as may remain on the cape, and the people of Cuba. Should you concur in these views, and under the instructions of the secretary of the navy consider yourself authorized, I respectfully request of you to carry them into execution on withdrawing the squadron. If disapproved, but slight delay or inconvenience will result, as the orders of the secretary of the navy in the case will soon be received.

"I beg of you to instruct the commander, in furtherance of the pacific relations now attempted to be established with the southern Indians, on which subject you are fully advised; and also that you will have the goodness to direct him to have occasional communication with the military commander.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

Captain JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN, }
Commanding Naval Forces, Coast of Florida. }

W. J. WORTH,
Colonel Commanding"

*"Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, }
Cedar Keys, June 21st, 1842. }*

"MY DEAR CAPTAIN—You will receive herewith a copy of my report to the adjutant-general, of the 20th instant.

"On parting with your young and accomplished comrades, I beg you to convey and make acceptable to them, the high professional and personal respect I have the honor to entertain for each. The commendation of an old soldier can do no harm, and it is for me only to regret the humbleness which gives no warrant for a more decided expression of all that is due to their gallant and uncalculating devotion in a service as painful as thankless.

"May God protect, and your country promote you, is the sincere prayer of

Most truly your friend,

Captain McLAUGHLIN, Commanding }
Naval Forces, Coast of Florida. }

W. J. WORTH."

“ *Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,* }
Cedar Keys, June 20th, 1842. }

“SIR—I have the honor to forward a copy of a communication, addressed to the commander of the naval force on Florida service, and to report his prompt compliance with the suggestions therein made.

“I trust I may be permitted on this occasion to express my respectful and grateful sense of the cordial and efficient co-operation received, on all occasions and under all circumstances, from Captain McLaughlin, and the gallant and accomplished officers, who have ever aimed at rivalling the zeal and devotion of their admirable commander; and I feel assured the general-in-chief will learn with gratification that the utmost cordiality and confidence has prevailed between both branches of a common service, whether united on the land or on the water. I am most happy, on the occasion, to express my personal obligations.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Adjutant-General U. S. Army, }
Head-Quarters, Washington City. }

W. J. WORTH,
Colonel Commanding.”

“ *Flirt, at Indian Key, April 29th, 1842.*

“SIR—I have the honor to report to you the recent operations of this squadron.

“Lieutenant-Commandant John Rodgers, with a detachment from the Madison and marines, returned on the 10th instant from a scout into Oke-chobee, Kissimmee, and Tohopkeliga, under the instructions of February 1st; a copy of which I had the honor to enclose you on the 15th of that month. The duties performed by this detachment have been of the most arduous character. Since the 9th day of October last, excluding an interval of twenty days, they have been employed without intermission in canoes. Every portion of the Everglades, and water-courses of the interior, from Lake Tohopkeliga south, has been visited by them and examined; and large fields and settlements broken up and destroyed. A copy of Lieutenant-Commandant Rodgers’s highly interesting report will be forwarded to you.

“Immediately on the return of Lieutenant-Commandant Rodgers, Lieutenant Herndon was sent with his command in the Madison, to bring off a garrison left with supplies on Fish-eating Creek. He will ascend the Carlosahatchee, and thence cross the country to Fort Center. His return is looked for in a fortnight. Lieutenant-Commandant Biddle has been employed until the 25th instant in the Everglades, watching the movements of the Indians on the south end of the Peninsula in conformity with his instructions, which I had the honor to report to you on the 27th ultimo. The movement contemplated at that time, and

referred to in the same communication, has been delayed until now for want of guides.

"Since the return of the party from Oke-chobee, Lieutenant Sloan, of marines, has been and still is employed with his command on the coonti grounds between the Miami and New rivers, with instructions to explore every acre of them.

"The Flirt was dispatched to a vessel reported ashore on the east coast, in latitude $26^{\circ} 26'$ north; and returned last night, bringing information that the vessel had been burned by the wreckers. Her name could not be ascertained. She was of New-York; a large centre-board schooner, and loaded with flour. Nothing could be learned of the fate of her crew. The cargo was almost entirely destroyed. A band of Indians, supposed to number thirty, had been at the wreck a week previous. From having repacked several barrels and a bag of flour, and secreted them in the bushes some distance from the beach, there is no question of their intention to return. With the hope of intercepting them, I shall sail this afternoon in the Flirt, with the Wave in company, and landing at the wreck there await their coming: or if they shall have returned before we get there, we will endeavor to follow on their trail. In the mean time the residue of the force under Lieutenant-Commandants Marchand and Rodgers, divided into small parties, will endeavor to ferret out the party of the enemy still in the south end of the Peninsula. The attention of these officers has also been directed to three rivers, having their source in the Big Cypress on the west coast, and emptying into the Gulf near Tao-ka-hat-sie, Biddle's Harbor, and Nokosee Cayo. These streams have never yet been visited by whites, and were once the haunts of the Indians.

"Yesterday morning the Flirt found the brig Statira, Babbidge master, with a cargo of sundries, from New-York on the 11th of April, bound to St. Marks, ashore on the reef to the southward, and in sight of Cape Florida light-house. She came off without difficulty or injury, and was brought into this place by Lieutenant Noland, whence she was dispatched this morning on her voyage.

Respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be,

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR, }
Secretary of the Navy. }

J. T. McLAUGHLIN,
Commanding Naval Forces on the Coast of Florida."

"*Flirt, at Indian Key, May 26th, 1842.*

"SIR—I have the honor to report to you the result of the projected operations of the force under my command, as communicated to you on the 29th April last.

"With the Flirt and Wave I proceeded to the wreck on the

eastern coast where signs of the enemy had been last seen, and there established an ambush for ten days, but without any success; the Indians having been driven from that quarter by the scouts from Fort Pierce. Having destroyed one hundred and sixty-seven barrels of flour remaining but slightly injured from the wreck, we commenced our return to the southward; and at the mouth of Hillsborough river, struck upon the trail of two Indians, which we pursued for two days, when it brought us to their fields in the Everglades, at the head of Snake Creek. These had been newly cultivated, and larger clearings were being made. Bananas, cane, corn, and vegetables of every description, were in high cultivation upon this island, but no residences had yet been established there. With the crew of this vessel I continued on the trail the next morning, and left Lieutenant-Commandant Henry, with the Wave's, to lie concealed on the island, with instructions to observe the most strict concealment for the space of ten days, with the hope that before the expiration of this time some of the enemy might return to the island. Lieutenant Henry returned to this place yesterday, where I had arrived on the 19th, and reports the destruction of these fields, and of two others on two adjacent islands. He had not seen any Indians. While the scout from the Flirt and Wave was abroad, the marines under Lieutenant Sloan, in examining the country between Miami and New rivers, came upon five distinct settlements of Indians; the first of them within five miles of Fort Dallas, between Little River and Arch Creek. The instant he was discovered, signal fires sprang up in every direction, as if by magic, and fields and settlements were as suddenly deserted. Large quantities of ripe corn were gathered and destroyed, and eight fields laid waste.

"A second scout of marines under Lieutenant Taylor, in co-operation with Lieutenant-Commandants Marchand and Rodgers, was compelled to return abruptly to their post for want of water. The fatigue and privation undergone by this detachment was so great, that private Kingsbury fell in his trail, and died from sheer exhaustion. Nor were the labors and hardships of the commands of Lieutenants Rodgers and Marchand any less. The waters of the Everglades had fallen so low, that it was necessary to track the boats at all times; and at some to make ways of the boats' seats for miles and miles, to slide them over. Service like this, could not be of long continuance, without a great sacrifice of men; and having ascertained that the enemy had abandoned the southern extremity of the Peninsula, these officers returned on the 20th instant to this place.

"During these operations, which extended from latitude 26° 40' N. on the east side of the Peninsula to Cape Sable, and as high as latitude 26° N. on the west, the officers and men of the

squadron have undergone every species of privation and toil. Their patient endurance, and cheerful alacrity in the discharge of every duty, evince their high state of discipline, and merit the highest commendation.

Respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be,

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN, *Com'g, &c. &c."*

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR, }
Secretary of the Navy. }

" Flirt, at Indian Key, June, 9th, 1842.

"SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th May, directing the return to Norfolk of the vessels under my command so soon as Colonel Worth shall advise me their services can be dispensed with on the coast of Florida. In an hour I shall be on my way to Tampa, for the purpose of arranging with Colonel Worth the time of withdrawing; and the disposition to be made of the public property here, which will be useful to the army in its future operations.

Respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be,

J. T. McLAUGHLIN, *Com'g, &c., &c."*

HON. A. P. UPSHUR, }
Secretary of the Navy. }

" Flirt, at Cedar Key, June 19th, 1842.

"SIR—Enclosed I have the honor to transmit you a copy of a communication from Colonel Worth. The suggestions contained in this paper will be complied with, and the Wave and Phoenix will be left on the coast; while with the rest of the squadron, I shall return immediately to Norfolk, in obedience to your order of 5th May.

"The surplus stores and property of the squadron will be transferred to the military force in the territory; the officers in each of the respective departments to which they shall belong, having been ordered to receive and receipt to me for them.

Respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be,

J. T. McLAUGHLIN, *Com'g, &c., &c."*

HON. A. P. UPSHUR, }
Secretary of the Navy. }

" Flirt, at Indian Key, July 4th, 1842.

"SIR—Assured that it will be gratifying to the department, to learn the high estimation in which the services of this expedition are held by the distinguished officer commanding in Florida. I have the honor to enclose for its information, an extract from Colonel Worth's letter to me, dated June 21st; and another from his official report to the department of war, dated June 20th, 1842: a copy of which he was pleased to enclose to me.

Respectfully, I have the honor to be,

J. T. McLAUGHLIN, *Com'g, &c., &c."*

HON. A. P. UPSHUR, }
Secretary of the Navy. }

"*Flirt, at Indian Key, July 4th, 1842.*

"SIR—Arrangements having been nearly completed for the transfer of the public property in use of this squadron, I have the honor to report to you, that it will sail hence for Norfolk on the 8th instant.

"The Wave and Phœnix will be left on the coast, as signified to you in my letter from Cedar Keys, dated June 19th.

Respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be,

J. T. McLAUGHLIN, *Com'dg, &c., &c."*

HON. A. P. UPSHUR, }
Secretary of the Navy. }

On the removal of head-quarters to the field of operations in the south, the important and delicate duties at Fort Brooke were confided to Major S. Cooper, assistant adjutant-general, chief of the staff, whose judgment and experience guarantied the fulfillment of what was anticipated from the military movements in that quarter, and from the exertions of friendly Indians.

Nethlockemathlar and Tiger-Tail's bands were now encamped at Fort Brooke, consisting of fifty-two warriors, and one hundred and ten women and children. A large Indian trail was discovered near Lake Istokpoga. Alligator was sent to examine it. He reported it was a body of Indians, doubtless from the Big Cypress Swamp. Two Indians were seen, but they fled immediately. Lieutenant-Colonel Riley, second infantry, with one hundred men, marched from Fort Mellon on the 27th November, scouring the country south, and westwardly, and eastwardly, to the Atlantic coast, via Smyrna, to Fort Pierce. A command in boats ascended the St. John's to Fort Taylor. This movement was designed to intercept the Indians driven from the south, and to prevent a junction with Halleck-Tustenugge. The following instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Riley, fully explain the design :

"*Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, }*
Tampa, November 18th, 1841. }

"SIR—There is strong reason for believing, that the remnant of Halleck's band, to which is probably added that of Jones (about thirty), are now in the neighborhood of Smyrna, and thence south along the Mosquito. The colonel commanding desires you to take one company, either from Fort King or Russell, unite to it all the disposable force of that at Palatka, except about fifteen men; proceed to Fort Mellon and take the force of that garrison, except twenty men; and from thence proceed to Smyrna, to which place there is a passable route; from that point, by land and water, (if boats can be timely placed at your disposal, on which subject confer with Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting,) scout down as low as Fort Pierce; there replenish your provisions, and thence back

by the same, or, if practicable, some other route, to Fort Mellon. If, as is supposed, the Indians be in that neighborhood, you will be likely to secure them; if not, your movement will operate a beneficial influence in favoring the movement about to be made towards the Cypress, and place you in position to secure any who may attempt to steal west by that route.

"Should you find yourself in the neighborhood of the chiefs mentioned, so doubtful are our efforts at catching them, try the effect of Indian influence; and for this purpose, Lieutenant Sprague will be able to detach some suitable negotiator; take with you, if within reach, the guide and interpreter, Morris; if not, Cyrus. Sergeant Williams, fourth infantry, formerly of dragoons, who, it is understood, is well acquainted with that country, is sent to you. If Colonel Whiting can place boats for you at Smyrna, it will probably be well to send a detachment direct from Palatka to Smyrna by steamboat with the boats, and so time the movement as to meet the command from Mellon; from the latter post you will mostly rely upon packing mules for your supply, say twelve or fifteen days of provisions. If, unfortunately, you should not be in health, give Captain Barnum command and instructions. The troops should be in position and operation by the 28th or 30th, at furthest.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. COOPER, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

Lieut. Colonel B. RILEY, }
Com'g Ocklawaha District. }

The cheering intelligence received from Captain R. D. A. Wade, third artillery, from Fort Lauderdale, announcing the capture of sixty-three Indians as the result of his scout of the 5th of November, the destruction of large crops and villages, gave additional vigor to the exertions of the army and to friendly Indians, who had become dispirited for the want of success corresponding with the means put in execution. Captain Wade's report, given entire, awards much to the officers and soldiers of his command.

"Fort Lauderdale, East Florida, }
November 13th, 1841. }

"SIR—In pursuance of the instructions contained in your communication of the 24th September, I set out on the morning of the 5th instant, accompanied by Lt. Thomas, 3d artillery. Assistant Surgeon Emerson, and sixty N. C. officers and privates, embarked in twelve canoes, and provisions for fifteen days. We proceeded by the inland passage to the northward, coming out in the bay at the Hillsborough inlet, and in such manner that our canoes were concealed from the view of an Indian whom I there discovered fishing on the northern point of the inlet. I made the requisite

dispositions immediately to land, and succeeded in surprising him. By operating on his hopes and fears, I induced him to lead us to his Indian village, fifteen miles distant, in a westerly direction. This we reached on the morning of the 6th, surprised and captured twenty Indians, men, women and children, took six rifles, destroyed fourteen canoes, and much provision of the usual variety. Of those who attempted to escape, eight were killed by our troops. We returned to our boats the same forenoon, with our prisoners, and proceeded up a small stream towards the orange-grove haul-over, where we encamped for the night. On the morning of the 7th, after proceeding three miles further north, the stream became too shallow for canoe navigation, and we made here a camp, leaving the prisoners, the boats, and a sufficient guard, in charge of Doctor Emerson.

"Under the guidance of an old Indian, found among our prisoners, who is called Chia-chee, I took up the line of march through nearly a mile of deep bog and saw-grass, then through the pine-barren and some hammock to a cypress swamp, a distance of some thirty miles northward. Here (on the 8th instant) we were conducted to another village, which we also surrounded and surprised, and captured twenty-seven Indians, took six rifles and one shot-gun, and destroyed a large quantity of provisions and four canoes. The next morning (November 9th) we set out on our return to the boats, on a more easterly route than the former, which led us to the shore of Lake Worth, where we found and destroyed a canoe, a field of pumpkins, and an old hut. In the afternoon of this day, one man came in and surrendered himself, thus making the whole number of our Indian prisoners forty-nine. At 10 A. M., of the 10th, we arrived at our boats, and proceeded to the little Hillsborough bar by evening, and in the afternoon of the next day, November 11th, we returned to Fort Lauderdale, without any loss on our part, after an absence of six days. Having seen much in the old man, Chia-chee, to inspire my confidence in his integrity, I permitted him to go out from our camp (on the 10th November) to bring in other Indians, which he promised to do in three or four days. This promise he subsequently redeemed, having, on the 14th instant, brought in six (four men and two boys) at Fort Lauderdale.

"My warmest thanks are due to Doctor Emerson and Lt. Thomas, for their valuable and efficient aid in carrying out my orders; and of the conduct of the troops likewise, without any exception, I can speak only in terms of the highest praise.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

R. D. A. WADE, *Capt. 3d Artillery, Com'g Exp'n."*

"Recapitulation.

	Warriors.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
" Killed, - - -	6		2		8
" Prisoners, - - -	14	15	10	15	55
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
‘Total,	20	15	12	15	63

" Destroyed, 20 canoes (one destroyed with first prisoner).

" Captured, 13 rifles, 12 powder-horns (well filled), a quantity of ball and buck-shot, with other munitions for defensive operations.

R. D. A. W."

Unfortunately, however, when success of the troops in a remote part of the territory gave assurance of a short duration of this detestable warfare, there came rumors, often unfounded, but sometimes too true, of the perpetration of murders in populous parts of the country.

Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, with one hundred and twenty-five men, of the third infantry, a part mounted, proceeded at once from Fort Pleasants, to punish those insolent marauders on the frontier, who were known to be Creeks, frequenting the swamps bordering the Esteen Hatchie river, and secreting themselves in Pumpkin and Cook's hammock. The five friendly Indians with the command, were timid and cautious. They possessed a knowledge of the country, but it was only by threats and promises that they could be induced to go in advance of the troops. After scouring the country north and south, as far east as the Suwannee river and Fort Fanning, without seeing the enemy or even a track, the bodies of two Indians were found by the road-side, about twenty miles from Fort Fanning. These proved to be two friendly messengers, sent from Fort Brooke by Major Cooper, with a *talk* from Alligator to the Creeks, among whom they had relatives and friends. One was Waxe-Hadjo, a delegate from Arkansas, the other a cousin of Tiger-Tail.

These men, in execution of their mission, had, three days before, been in the camp of the hostiles, where they met twenty warriors, who assured them of their disposition to be at peace. As a pledge to the fulfillment of these assurances, and in accordance with customary Indian forms, they returned to Fort Fanning, to obtain the necessary quantity of tobacco and whisky, an additional evidence of the sincerity of the whites in proffering, through friendly Indians, the terms of peace. Having obtained what was required, they hastened to the Indians' camp, a violent rain overtaking them on the way, when they built a fire, and erected palmetto sheds for shelter. While in the act, both were shot dead, and their bodies stretched upon the ground, perforated

each with two balls. The supplies, as well as their clothing, rifles, and ammunition, were plundered. It was ascertained soon after, that Halpatter-Tustenuggee, a Creek, and Cotzar-fixico-chopco, a Mickasukie, were the perpetrators of this infamous deed. They had resolutely protested against the reciprocal feelings entertained by the Creeks towards the friendly messengers, and as their only way of frustrating the present understanding, waylaid these two men, and creeping through the high grass, murdered them without a moment's warning.

Such transactions, which no human prudence could guard against, were calculated to put an end to all further exertions, to secure these bands by overtures of peace. But as embarrassing and trying as these circumstances were to Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, who was intrusted with the discretion of adopting either peaceful or hostile measures, he restrained the spirit of retaliation so natural and just, with the hope of yet getting the enemy within his grasp. A rash act would have retarded, if not entirely defeated, the prospects of ultimate success, which every officer and soldier had hoped would reward the toils and trials undergone in this disgraceful banditti warfare. To pursue was fruitless; it only prolonged the war. Tiger-Tail, on his way from Fort King with the other Indians who had been searching for Halleck-Tustenuggee, arrived at Fort Fanning to witness the indignation of Colonel Garland and his command at this atrocious and unprovoked outrage. It was hoped an Indian war-party might pursue the perpetrators, but the cowardly spirit of Tiger-Tail discarded all disposition to redress the wanton murder of his relative. Barbarous and bloody acts, strange as it may seem, quell and dismay the instinct of an Indian's heart.

The more infamous and atrocious these are, with so much the greater fear and terror do they regard the authors of them. Tiger-Tail, in communicating this murder to his associates, warned them of the desperate and relentless character of Halpatter-Tustenuggee and Cotzar-fixico-chopco, and dissuaded them from attempting retaliatory measures. The friendly Indians dispatched by Colonel Garland from his column, *en route* to Fort Fanning, returned, having intercepted small parties of the enemy, with whom they exchanged friendly salutations, and who expressed an earnest desire to be freed from the authority of their chiefs, but stated that they were so constantly watched they found it impossible to join the whites with their women and children. The letters of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland give important and useful information, showing a cordial, zealous, and judicious execution of the duties intrusted to him, qualities seldom united, though important at such a juncture and in so difficult a warfare. Subse-

quently, his efforts and those of his command were amply rewarded, as these bands were all secured :

"Fort Fanning, Dec. 2, 1841, 7 o'clock, P. M.

"COLONEL—It gives me pleasure to report a decidedly favorable change in my prospects. since I had the honor to address you from this post on the 28th November. Hotalka Emathla and party came in this afternoon, after having had an interview with the few remaining Creeks in Middle Florida, numbering in all fifteen persons, seven men and eight women and children; they have crossed the Suwannee to-day on their way to Withlacoochee, where they are to counsel with other Creeks, and some of Neathlock-Emathla's people, preparatory to going in to Tampa. Hotulka does not entertain a doubt of their sincerity, and when they are prepared, they desire to have a steamboat sent to the mouth of the Withlacoochee for them. To-morrow they are to inform me more fully of what they have seen and wish to have done. In the mean time I have set Tiger-Tail to work, with his relation Hallackee, and also Cochus-Micco, who are disposed to contradict Hotulka's statement as to some part of their operations.

"I am well assured by the party that the only remaining Indians now in Middle Florida are Mickasukies, under the chiefs Chitto-Hadjo and Halpatter-Tustenuggee. This is the party with whom the two deceased Indians had a talk. They are now located on the upper part of the Esteen-Hatchee, where, if our delegation refuse to visit them, as I fear they will, I will make them a visit with 125 men, whose services are yet at my disposal. The detachment of 3d infantry, under the command of Captain Wheeler, is still here, waiting the issue of events. The officers and men are eager for a rencontre with these dare-devils.

Most respectfully, &c., &c.,

Colonel W. J. WORTH, }
Commanding Army of Florida. }

JOHN GARLAND,
Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding.

"P. S. Pascopha and some few Creeks joined Sam Jones some time since.

"Lieutenant Sprague, A. D. C., has been quite unwell since he reached here.—J. G."

"Fort Fanning, December, 5, 1841.

"COLONEL—In the report which I had the honor to make to you on the 2d instant, some further developments were expected to be disclosed in the council appointed to be held on the next

day, with the united parties of Tiger-Tail and Hotulka. Nothing of importance was elicited.

"One of the hostile Creeks had on a remarkable overcoat, known to have been worn by Spooner when he was murdered near Magnolia. This is pretty conclusive evidence that they were in that affair. They acknowledge that they burnt the mill last summer, between Camp Gamble and Tallahassee. The fellow wearing the overcoat asked if the whites would not shoot him, if he came in with the coat on him. Hotulka answered, No, that the whites were disposed to forget and forgive. He and Cochus Micco urged the party very strongly to come in, but they declined, giving as a reason an appointment they had made with other Indians to meet them in Wacasassa hammock, there to feast on pumpkins and hold a council, after which they would come in, whether their other friends decided to do so or not. It was then agreed that Hotulka and Cholotiky should meet them at a field on the northwest side of the Withlacoochee, near its mouth, where Halleck-Tustenuggee held his green-corn feast. This to take place at the beginning of the new moon. They desired to have a steamboat at the mouth of the river, to receive them. Tiger-Tail suggested in council, that inasmuch as Hotulka did not know precisely the location of the appointed rendezvous, he would select one of his own young warriors at Tampa to go along and point out the place to him—a spy. This Hotulka at once agreed to.

"For fear of accident, I have thought it best to send Hotulka and Cholotiky at once to Tampa, under charge of Lieutenant and Aid-de-camp Sprague. Primus, who also goes along, is getting infirm.

"Hotulka's efforts, under the advice of Tiger-Tail, it is hoped, will accomplish every thing with the Creeks now in that quarter.

"I entertain very little doubt of the intention of many scattered parties to meet at the pumpkin-field in the Wacasassa hammock, and among them Octiarte, who, it is said, has as many as forty warriors with him.

"I intend to direct my efforts in an opposite direction, and will take with me Cochus Micco, Cuntal-Hadjo, and Hollakey, with the interpreter John.

"A strong effort will be made either to talk or fight with the Mickasukies, confidently believed to be at this time in the hammock of the upper Esteen-Hatchee, under the chiefs Chitto-Hadjo and Halpatter-Tustenuggee. The Creeks say that there are no Indians on the Ocklocknee, and that the band with Chitto-Hadjo is the only one now in Middle Florida.

"It is very desirable to effect the expulsion of this party from Middle Florida, and that no effort of mine may be wanting to

accomplish it, I have this morning directed Captain Wheeler, with a detachment of one hundred men of the 3d infantry, to proceed to the falls of the Esteen-Hatchee, and there establish a camp for the reception of such Indians as may be disposed to come in. This accomplished, to take the remainder of his men, and examine Pumpkin and Cook's hammocks, and then take post at Fort Barker, where I will join him with twenty-five mounted men of the 3d infantry, now with me, and such other force as I may be able to gather at Forts White and Macomb; with this force we hope to accomplish something.

Respectfully, &c., &c.,

Colonel W. J. WORTH, }
Commanding Army of Florida. }

JOHN GARLAND,
Lieutenant-Colonel 4th Infantry."

Head-quarters were established at Fort Brooke on the 16th of December. The accumulation of reports, letters, petitions, &c., was almost discouraging. The varied character of these, coming from all parts of the country, in and out of the territory, exhibited the complex nature of the service, and the vexations to which a commander was subjected. If success in one portion of territory was complete, in others all efforts had failed. Inroads were made by three or four vagrant Indians, who stealthily moved between the scouting parties, in a manner equally misleading and annoying. At night, they could look in upon the soldiers' bivouac, ascertaining the number and the measures adopted for their security, and the ensuing day follow them in the rear. Cruel murders were committed, and the tracks of two, three, or four Indians, moving with secrecy and haste, could be seen in almost every direction. The accounts of these transactions, revolting as they were, were always magnified, particularly as to the numbers slain, so that as they travelled the route to Washington City, and by the time they were formally communicated by representatives to the war department, the frontier was declared to be in ashes, and the citizens generally weltering in their blood. To resuscitate the spirits of the people, and to give security and confidence, the mustering of a militia force was urged with cunning sophistry and ingenious logic. The commander of the army was admonished, as though ignorant of it, that the Indians were hostile, and that the calling out of a militia force was imperatively necessary for the safety of their homes and those around them, and with becoming desire to retaliate upon the enemy, urged that a company of militia should be mustered for the protection of that neighborhood, and *that he*, the applicant, was thought to be the most capable, by the neighbors, to discharge the important duties of captain, and that to be effective, the force must be mounted. Petitions for the protection of

a particular settlement, letters complaining that tracks had been seen, appeals for rations and security, constituted the general character of these communications and demands, which, to have complied with, would have required unlimited authority and a force of fifteen thousand men. These contending influences, rendered the more embarrassing by the prevailing ignorance of the nature of the service, and authority vested in the commander, mingled with political objects and aspirations, were enough, combined, to induce those in power to open the flood-gates of the treasury of the nation, and look upon and treat the Florida war as an interminable conflict.

The contemplated meeting of the Creeks at the mouth of the Withlacoochee river, as agreed upon by the messengers dispatched by Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, created much interest, as these Indians were not only treacherous to the whites, but regardless of any ties or obligations towards those of their own color. The chief Nethlockemathlar was dispatched, with other Indians, in a steamer, to the appointed place, where, in conjunction with Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, the interview was to take place, about the 30th of December. The chief and his companions were encamped near the margin of the hammock, at the mouth of the river, where, for five days he held communication with Octiarche, chief of the Creeks.

From his ingenious and artful excuses, it was evident his object was to obtain subsistence and ammunition. His band, he said, could not be assembled for the purpose of surrendering, before the 10th of January; in the mean time he urged that the troops might abstain from pursuit. This was acquiesced in, on the condition that the Indians also abstained from hostilities; and the 12th of January was agreed upon, when another meeting would be had at the same place, preparatory to coming in to Fort Brooke.

Octiarche could not be induced by any artifice to visit the steamer; friendly messages were interchanged between the officer on board and the chief, but to urgent and polite invitations he always expressed his deep regret, that *at the present moment* his acceptance of *such hospitalities* was not practicable.

Had he accepted, he would have been secured, and held as a hostage for the surrender of his companions. But though disappointed here, good fortune crowned the exertions made in another quarter. The combined movements south, as was anticipated, had broken the league existing there; the enemy finding their haunts simultaneously assailed by land and water. Waxey-Hadjo, one of the youngest and most intelligent chiefs of the Big Cypress, was intercepted on his retreat north from Lake Okechobee, with seventeen men and thirty women and children. He could give no satisfactory information of Billy Bowlegs, of

the Prophet, nor of Sam Jones. The last he saw of them was in the Everglades, with only their families, retreating from the swamp. The remaining Indians had scattered, in parties of three or four, for safety.

The attack upon the settlement of Mandarin, twenty miles south of Jacksonville, on the eastern bank of the river St. John's, and thirty-five miles from St. Augustine, on the 20th of December, counterbalanced all that was realized at Fort Brooke. This marauding party consisted of seventeen men, belonging to the band of Halleck-Tustenuggee. They came from the neighborhood of Dunn's Lake and Haw Creek. Following the hammocks, which border the river for forty miles, and crossing the main road from St. Augustine to Picolata, they found the small village unprotected. The men, in a body, that morning, had left upon an extensive deer-hunt, ranging the country for ten miles round. The Indians assailed the houses, yelling most furiously, and shot the inmates, as they, frantic and confused, ran for the main road. Two men who had returned from the hunting excursion, two women, and an infant, were killed. The dwellings were plundered, then burnt, and for sixteen hours these savages danced around the smouldering remains and mangled corpses of the slain. At that time it was impossible to tell from whence these Indians came. So sudden an outbreak in a section of country thickly settled, caused much dissatisfaction and alarm.

Since the capture of Coacooche not an Indian had been seen or heard of east of the St. John's river. The trail of these Indians was taken up by practiced guides, and followed to their haunts, which divulged the hiding-place of Halleck-Tustenuggee, which for seven months past had been diligently sought, by wide-extended operations of troops, aided by the knowledge and sagacity of friendly Indians. Powis-fixico or Short Grass, with five men, well known as a crafty and vindictive Indian, was with him.

A petition was at once sent to the commander of the army for a force: "We now," says this paper, "most humbly pray that you would allow us a mounted force for our protection. There are a sufficient number of men in the settlement to form a company, and if we are allowed a mounted force, either volunteers or dragoons, the families will return to their homes; if not, the whole settlement will be abandoned." The letter from Colonel Worth shows that ample measures were adopted for security:

"Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, Tampa, }
Jan. 10th, 1842. *}*

"SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 26th ultimo, which has received the most respectful attention.

"The possibility that some small bands of Indians might attempt to steal west, between the St. John's and Atlantic, had not for a moment escaped attention, and so early as November 18th, detachments were put in motion under an active and zealous officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Riley, to cover that part of the country, and intercept, if possible, such as might thus attempt to elude the hot pursuit below. No one can more sincerely lament the catastrophe at Mandarin than myself. The assailing party was small, the highest estimate carrying it twenty-one, while a more careful examination leads to the belief that it may not have exceeded twelve, which number coincides with that of the only band which could, in any probability, have committed the act; and it is to be regretted, making all due allowance for the time of attack and character of the foe, that some of the fifty-one signers to a call for succor had not been found to give some account of so despicable a foe. Nevertheless, sufficient force has been placed at the disposal of the commander in that quarter, with ample instructions to give protection to every exposed point, which, I am happy to say, the near close of the contest enables me to do, without withdrawing troops from any other quarter of defence.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Gen. J. M. HERNANDEZ, Col. G. HUMPHREYS, }
and others, *St. Augustine.*

W. J. WORTH,
Colonel Commanding."

The closing of the month of December, as well as the year 1841, brought with it many incidents and results rewarding the army for the toils, privations, and sickness, which had fallen to the lot of all. Hardly a man had escaped sickness in some form, and none had escaped from a full share of the burden. The contest, however, was far from being closed. So long as ten Indians in the woods remained hostile to the white man, so long would the Florida war be protracted. No material change had occurred in the condition of the army. The season of the year was more favorable, and all ranks were eager for the most active duty. How far this disposition could be gratified, was an embarrassing question. Negotiation and military measures had to go hand in hand, requiring the utmost circumspection, lest the one might defeat the other. During the month of November, 1576 men were taken sick, 44 died, 8 discharged the service. In December, 1569; 23 died, and 44 discharged the service.

The beneficial results from the measures adopted in inducing settlers to enter the country, and stimulating those to return who had fled from their plantations, now began to be realized. Major D. L. Wilcox, to whom was confided this duty, assisted by Lieu-

tenant Patrick, second infantry, had, by untiring industry, accomplished more than was anticipated. Thirty-two settlements had been established in various parts of the territory, at points heretofore subjected to the incursions of the enemy. The timid had become resolute, thereby introducing the most formidable antagonist to the Indian—the log-hut, the ploughshare, and pruning-hook.

Block-houses were erected by the army in each settlement, as a place of refuge; arms and ammunition were placed in the hands of men accustomed to them from boyhood, and with the rations issued by the government from month to month, there was every guarantee that, with ordinary industry and courage, these settlements would be a home for many who for years had been houseless, and ultimately be an efficient and effectual means of reducing and expelling the enemy.

CHAPTER X.

Correspondence between the executive of the territory of Florida, and of the state of Georgia ; with the federal government, and with Colonel W. J. Worth, commanding the army of Florida, in regard to the mustering of militia to co-operate with the army for the protection of the frontier.—Character of the applications made by citizens for employment.—Remarks upon the expediency of calling out militia to expel the Indians, or to prevent incursions.—Letters from officers of the army, showing the state of the frontiers of Florida and Georgia ; the necessity of troops, and the disposition among the border-settlers.—The firmness of the Hon. J. C. Spencer and Major-General Scott, added much to the successful progress of the war, and to its termination.

THE employment of militia in the state of Georgia and the territory of Florida, since the commencement of Indian difficulties, caused misunderstandings between the civil and military. The civil officer endeavored to shield the citizen from molestation and murder ; while the military, having this in view, hoped to guard the coffers of his country from wanton and useless expenditures. Signs of Indians having caused alarm in the neighborhood of Tallahassee, his excellency the governor of Florida, C. K. Call, again reminded the commander of the western district, Major Wilson, 3d infantry, of the necessity of more troops in that quarter ; and at the same time, urged upon the authorities at Washington, the propriety of mustering into service a militia force. The war department, on the 2d of August, authorized the colonel commanding to muster into service, two companies of foot for three months. In reply to this, as well as to the admonitions of the governor of Florida, the following extract of a communication of August 17th, from the commander of the army to higher authority, will show clearly that this section of country was not lost sight of.

“ I respectfully ask a careful perusal of the enclosed reports of scouts from Major Wilson, commanding the western district ; from which it will appear, that sympathizing to the fullest extent in the governor’s solicitude for the safety of the settlers, not only in Middle Florida, but at every other exposed point, not doubting but that the enemy, after being routed and his fields destroyed, would seek food and vengeance upon the settlements. It will be perceived, on perusal of Major Wilson’s reports, a high degree of activity and zeal distinguished the officers under him ; and also that it is not in human foresight or sagacity, to guard against occasional acts of violence of the enemy, so resolute and vindictive. It will be with extreme reluctance, and only in the last resort, that I shall muster in militia ; and I must be permitted to say, that a desire for the service enters largely into every panic.”

His excellency Charles J. McDonald, governor of Georgia, through the representations of settlers who apprehended the barbarities of the Indians, sustained by the clamor along the entire frontier, had partaken of the popular feeling, and with becoming alacrity urged upon the war department the presence in Georgia of a larger number of troops. He was referred to the commander of the Florida army, who would render necessary protection, and who had already effected it. Seven companies of dragoons and four of infantry occupied the frontier of Georgia, extending from Traders' Hill, on the St. Mary's river, to Tallahassee. No depredations had been committed by the Indians; but the alarm, which soon becomes a popular and *judicious* feeling, had aggravated the acts of the enemy one hundred miles south.

To letters, were added presentments by *grand juries*, censuring the commander of the army and his officers, and petitions signed by as many as could write their names and make their marks. Doubtless it was the duty of the executive to adopt all measures within his reach to meet the demands of the people, and allay the excitement pervading the public mind, whether well founded or not; but it was as imperatively his duty first correctly to ascertain this, before upbraiding the government or depreciating the services of the regular force. From the acts of the Indians, tracks, signs, &c., it was evident but few, if any, encroached upon the settlements. Murders were committed, remote, but these were as liable to be done on the frontier, even if the entire line was bristling with bayonets. It required more than human sagacity to tell at what point a blow would be struck. Under these circumstances, dragoons patrolled the country night and day, effectually quieting the fears of the industrious and hard-working planter.

The call for militia is generally a popularity-seeking act; and being supposed by many to be prompted by a regard to the public weal, there are few who are willing to disabuse the public mind.

The authorities at Washington fully understanding the subject, and possessed of information from reliable sources, divested of interest or partiality, the secretary of war in answer to repeated representations, addressed a communication to the delegate on the 21st of October, clearly laying out the plan of action, and expressing confident reliance upon the efficiency of the means in force, and other measures which at the proper time would be adopted.

“*Washington, D. C., War Department, October 21, 1841.*”

“SIR—Your letter concludes with four separate propositions, which however may be summed up thus: to call out militia force

for protection, and place it under some officer independent of Colonel Worth, who is to be restricted to offensive operations with the regular troops.

"It is not perceived that any advantage can be reasonably expected from a division of the command in Florida; but rather, it is apprehended, that great inconvenience might result from the want of concert of action between two commanders. The government has entire confidence in the disposition and ability of Colonel Worth, not only to conduct the offensive operations against the Indians, but also, through his subordinate officers, to afford all requisite and proper protection to the frontier inhabitants; and for this purpose he has been authorized, whenever he might deem it expedient, to call into service any portion of the militia, not exceeding one regiment. Prompted by every humane and generous motive, and urged by frequent communications from this department, no doubt is entertained that he will do whatever is proper to be done for the defence of the frontier.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. C. SPENCER."

Hon. D. LEVY, Delegate, &c.

This was calculated to excite, in the minds of some, malevolent feelings, and frustrate the ultimate designs contemplated by others, of providing for the employment and livelihood of those who were active agents in instigating Indian alarms, and who had rendered political service.

The war department had not been without timely admonitions from the executive of Georgia, as well as Florida, on this subject.

"War Department, Washington, July 10th, 1841.

"SIR—Your letter of the 1st, acknowledging recent communications from this department, and suggesting the propriety of immediate measures for the protection of Camden and Ware counties, has, with its enclosures, been received. It is gratifying to find that the militia of your frontier are so ready and able to protect the settlements in case of actual danger; but the department indulges the hope, that it will not be necessary to make any requisition upon their gallantry and zeal during the present year. To avoid all apprehension on the subject, Colonel Worth will be instructed to direct his particular attention to the Okefenokee swamp, and to place ample protection in that quarter.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

To His Excellency C. J. McDONALD, }
Governor of Georgia.

JOHN BELL."

The hopes of the secretary, as expressed, did but little towards gratifying the wishes of the people, or relieving the executive of the state from the reports so resolutely and exaggeratedly thrust upon him. He was in the interior of the country, and the opinions and fears of citizens along the frontier, was the only guidance for his action. Fatigued with these importunities, and disgusted with the authorities at Washington, who were incredulous in regard to *tracks* and *signs*, he had mustered into service, for three months, two companies of mounted men, with Captains Jernigan and Sweat as commanders. On the 15th of September, his excellency addressed the commander of the Florida army, as follows:—"But be the cause what it may, I cannot consent to permit the people of this state to be exposed to the depredations of the Indians, and have ordered out two companies of mounted men for their protection. I must ask you to supply them with the necessary forage and subsistence, as long as it is necessary to retain them in service."

He was replied to as follows :

" *Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, Fort Brooke, }*
Tampa, Fla., October 17th, 1841. }

"SIR—I had the honor to receive, by the mail of yesterday, your letter (with enclosures) dated the 15th ultimo, advising me that you had been pleased to order into the field two companies, mounted, of state troops, for the protection of the Florida frontier of Georgia, against apprehended incursions of Indians. I do not consider myself authorized to comply with your excellency's requisition, to supply these troops with forage and subsistence. The subject will be referred to the proper department at Washington, whence I may expect to receive instructions in the case. I take the liberty to submit a memorandum, exhibiting the disposition of troops proximate to the Georgia border, and have to add the strong conviction, that measures now in a course of execution, will, in a few weeks, cause the final disappearance of the few Creeks menacing that quarter.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

W. J. WORTH, *Colonel Commanding.*"

To His Excellency, C. J. McDONALD, }
 Governor of Georgia. }

Memorandum exhibiting the disposition of Troops proximate to the Georgia Frontier.

At Traders' Hill, one company dragoons. At Fort Moniac, same. Thigpens, south prong St. Mary's river, one company. At North's Station, one company. Natural Bridge, one company. At Fort White, one company. Fort Macomb, one company. At Fort Pleasants, near Tallahassee, two companies infantry. Fort

Hamilton, on the Belloney road, one company. Fort R. Gamble, twenty-eight miles from Tallahassee, one company. Active scouting parties have been kept from Fort Moniac and Traders' Hill, during the summer, without discovering any Indian signs.

The following letter was transmitted to the adjutant-general of the army at Washington :

“ *Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, Fort* }
Brooke, October 17th, 1841. }

“SIR—I have the honor to transmit, for the information of the major-general commanding, copies of correspondence with his excellency, the governor of Georgia, and in that connexion forward a memorandum, exhibiting the disposition of the troops in relation to that border, and original reports of field operations in that immediate quarter; by which it will, I imagine, satisfactorily appear, that the force is sufficient in numbers and activity. In reply to his excellency, I have considered it out of place to make any remark touching the expediency of the measure, but have deemed it my duty to admonish the staff departments to do no act that would in any sense commit the department of war in respect to troops *thus in the field*.

I am, &c., your obedient servant,

To General R. JONES, Adjutant Gen. } W. J. WORTH, *Col. Com'g.*
 U. S. A., Washington, D. C. }

The governor again addressed the commander of the army :

“ *Executive Department, Milledgeville, Ga.,* }
November 24, 1841. }

“SIR— * * * * The conducting of the army operations and the protection of the Georgia frontier, have been confided, I believe, to your discretion by the war department. I must, therefore, ask you to adopt speedy measures for the protection of this district of country, and that the companies or detachments ordered out by General Knight, may be mustered, and arrangements made for their payment.

I have the honor, &c.,

CHARLES J. McDONALD.”

Col. W. J. WORTH, }
 Commanding Army of Fa., *Fort Brooke, Fa.* }

The following letter was transmitted the governor of Georgia, by the secretary of war :

“ *War Department, Washington, Dec. 3, 1841.*

“SIR—Your letter of the 25th ultimo is received, and I hasten to reply, that Colonel Worth, commanding in Florida, is vested

with the most ample discretionary power to afford protection to the people of Georgia, as well as the inhabitants of Florida; and on the receipt of your excellency's communication to him, dated 24th ultimo, a copy of which you have transmitted this department, he will unquestionably take all such measures as his great ability and peculiar information shall dictate to be necessary or expedient by General Knight, and he will make such disposition of them as the exigency of the case may require.

"For your information respecting the movements of the Indians, I transmit herewith, copies of letters recently received from Captain Bliss, U. S. A.

I am, &c.,

To His Excellency C. J. McDONALD, }
Governor of Georgia. }

J. C. SPENCER."

"Traders' Hill, Ga., November 9th, 1841.

"SIR—I respectfully report that, agreeably to instructions of the 28th ultimo, from your office, I left Washington on that day, and reached this place on the 8th instant; having been unexpectedly detained several days in Charleston and Savannah.

"From Savannah I reported to Colonel Worth, soliciting his instructions relative to the discharge of the two companies I am ordered to muster. I hope to receive his reply on the 16th instant.

"Captain Brown, 6th infantry, who is now here, will proceed on the 11th to North's Station, *via* Fort Moniac. I shall accompany him for the double purpose of getting accurate information on the state of the frontier, and making arrangements for the muster of the two companies; Jernigan being at or near Fort Moniac, and Sweat being on an excursion around the swamp, which will probably bring him to North's Station on the 13th.

"Sweat's company certainly, and probably Jernigan's, will not be embodied for muster before I receive instructions from Colonel Worth. Should those instructions direct the discharge of the companies, but one muster will be necessary in that case.

"Taking into consideration the tranquil state of the frontier, and the probability that Colonel Worth will order the immediate discharge of these companies, I hope I shall not be considered to transcend my instructions should I delay the muster of one or both the companies for two or three days, if necessary, until Colonel Worth can be heard from; I have reason, however, to expect his instructions quite as soon as Sweat's company can be mustered.

"From the best information I can obtain, there has not existed the slightest necessity for calling these militia companies into service. Intelligent officers assure me, that there has not been

an Indian in the swamp this summer. Persons are not wanting to report 'signs,' from time to time; and parties of regular troops have repeatedly been called out on the most frivolous alarms. The *real* state of feeling among the frontier inhabitants, and the kind of service these volunteer companies expect to render, are well illustrated by the fact, that while the road from this point to Waresborough is travelled in security by small parties, and even single individuals, though skirting the swamp, Captain Sweat's company has been for two or three weeks embodied on Kettle Creek, near Waresborough, five miles from the court-house, for what public or patriotic purpose it is difficult to imagine.

"I hope to report more fully, on my return from North's Station, about the 15th instant. Agreeably to the verbal direction of Major-General Scott, I shall communicate to Colonel Worth every thing of interest relative to affairs in this quarter.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

The Adjutant-General of the Army, }
Washington, D. C.

W. W. S. BLISS,
Assistant-Adjutant General."

"Traders' Hill, Ga., November 20, 1841.

"SIR—Herewith I respectfully enclose the muster-roll of Captain J. A. Sweat's company of mounted militia, mustered by me at this place, on the 18th instant.

"I saw Captain Sweat, just before leaving for North's Station, and ordered his company to this point for muster, fully expecting to receive the instructions of Colonel Worth by the day appointed, which was the earliest day that the company could be assembled here. In this I was disappointed, and the company has accordingly been mustered for service, and placed, agreeably to my instructions, under the orders of Captain H. Day, 2d infantry, commanding this post.

"Jernigan's company was embodied on the 15th instant; but the difficulty, at this moment, of supplying it at its rendezvous, near Fort Moniac, has induced me to defer its muster until I receive Colonel Worth's instructions, which can hardly fail to reach me by the 22d instant. I hope this short delay will meet the approbation of the major-general commanding.

"On my route hence to Fort Rosa (five miles east of North's Station), I traversed nearly sixty miles of the Okefenokee frontier, and found the country in a perfectly tranquil condition, no alarm seeming to exist among the settlers, and the road being constantly travelled by small parties and individuals unarmed. I could hear of no Indian depredations, for many months, within the limits of

Georgia, and the signs occasionally reported, are too equivocal to deserve attention. While Fort Rosa, Fort Moniac, and the post near Thigpens are occupied, I should deem this frontier abundantly secured from Indian inroads, particularly in the present state of affairs in Florida.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

W. W. S. BLISS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

The Adjutant-General of the Army, }
Washington, D. C. }

Captain Bliss was dispatched by Major-General Scott to the Georgia frontier, to muster *in* or *out* the two companies of militia in the field by order of the governor. "You will report," says his instructions, "your arrival at Traders' Hill and the execution of your duties, to Colonel Worth, whose orders relative to mustering the companies out of service (should he order their discharge immediately) you will await at Traders' Hill, or other convenient point."

Captain Bliss awaited at Traders' Hill the receipt of the following communication :

"Head-Quarters, Army of Florida. }
Tampa, November 20, 1841. }

"SIR—Your report of the 15th instant has been received, and submitted to the colonel commanding, who directs, that on the receipt hereof, you will be pleased to discharge, executing the necessary papers as to pay and allowance, such companies or detachments of Georgia militia, called out by the governor of that state, as you may have mustered into the service under the special instructions from the adjutant-general's office, dated the 28th ultimo, advising the proper staff departments when issues of provisions and forage shall cease.

I am, &c.,

To Captain BLISS, U. S. A., }
Traders' Hill, Ga. }

W. J. WORTH, *Colonel Commanding.*"

Jernigan's company was mustered out of service on the 30th of November ; Sweat's on the 3d of December, 1841.

Upon Captain Bliss's arriving in Washington, the solicitude of the executive of Georgia to bring into the field a militia force, caused much concern on the part of the general government, and endeavors were made to obtain all information towards a proper understanding of the matter, tracing the fault or neglect, if any existed, either to the credulity of the executive of Georgia, or the inefficiency of the commander of the forces in Florida. Accordingly, Captain Bliss was called upon for a detailed report. His

letter gives the opinion of every intelligent observer of the state of things in Florida.

The letter of the secretary of war to the governor of Georgia, of December 27th, is interesting. In this letter he enclosed the report of Captain Bliss, in order to keep him well informed of the state of the frontier.

“ War Department, Washington, Dec. 27, 1841.

“SIR—Your excellency’s letters of the 15th and 16th instant, with enclosures, have been received. You but do me justice in supposing that I am anxious to afford all the protection within the power of the department to the inhabitants of Georgia, exposed to Indian outages. You will, I am sure, also recollect how limited are the means at the disposal of the department. Our small army is now principally engaged in striking at the root of the difficulty; and but a few days, it is believed, will elapse, before the only leader of the Indians now in arms against us in Florida, with his band, will be captured. If the depredations and alarms of which you speak, do not then cease, we shall have the means of more effectually guarding the frontier of Georgia.

“An Indian frontier, in time of war, cannot expect absolute immunity from the depredations of small parties. No amount of force, regular or militia, can prevent the occasional inroads of a daring enemy, accustomed to move with secrecy and dispatch. This is eminently true in Florida, and the southern portion of Georgia, where extensive hammocks and swamps favor their advance, and obstruct the observation and pursuit of marauding parties. The inclosed report of the officer charged with the duty of mustering and discharging the militia companies recently in service on the southern frontier of Georgia, will show the arrangements for its defence, the bearing of the points now occupied by regular troops upon the usual routes of parties from the south, and their efficacy in holding such parties in check. It is believed that even were a mounted militia force kept continually in service, it would contribute but little additional protection to the frontier, beyond that which the inhabitants can afford themselves. Accustomed to the use of arms, and provided as they are with them, the border settlers must necessarily rely upon their mutual aid for the surest and best protection. This remark is corroborated by the tendency which is known to exist among imbodyed militia, to disperse to their homes when serving near them. They are aware that when a large portion of a sparse population is collected at a few points, all others are left exposed, and they feel that their families and firesides cannot be free from alarm or danger in their absence.

“In reference to your remarks respecting the hazard of rely-

ing upon the opinions of the officers of the regular army, as to the nature and extent of the danger, and the means of guarding against it, it is proper to remark, that those who have served on the frontier have, at least, as good means of information, as the militia officers or inhabitants, and are, at least, disinterested in the recommendations they make.

"The officer commanding the army in Florida, is responsible for the suitable application of the force under his orders, not only to the purposes of offensive operations, but also the defence of the settlements of Florida and Georgia. Acting under this high responsibility, and with much better means of information than any possessed by this department, he has deemed the existing dispositions for the protection of the Okefenokee frontier adequate for that purpose, and has therefore declined the services of a militia force. Confirmed as the correctness of his decision has been by the most recent intelligence received here, I cannot undertake to countermand his orders for the discharge of the militia force.

"I trust there will be no more occasion for calling the militia into service, as all our accounts from Florida concur in representing the great probability of a speedy termination of the conflict. Small bands are continually coming in, and the northern part of the Peninsula is now almost entirely free of hostile parties. Copies of your communications will, however, be sent to Colonel Worth; but I am bound to advise you that the service of the troops discharged subsequent to that event, and prior to any order from Colonel Worth to retain them, cannot be recognized.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. C. SPENCER."

To the Governor of Georgia.

(Inclosed to Governor McDonald by the Secretary of War.)

"Washington, D. C., December 22, 1841.

"Sir—Agreeably to your directions, I have the honor to submit a report, showing the recent state of things on the southern border of Georgia, as connected with real or apprehended danger from incursions of Indians from Florida. To make my report more intelligible, I beg leave to preface it with some remarks on the nature of the military occupation of that frontier.

"When made at all, such incursions have been confined to that part of the frontier which includes the Okefenokee swamp, and the district watered by the head branches of the Suwannee river; the residue being an open country, and never, it is believed, infested or traversed by Indians since 1836, when a remnant of the Creeks escaped to Florida.

"The Okefenokee swamp, from its impracticable character, and scarcity of arable islands, presents no permanent abode for

Indians, and has been only occasionally employed by them as a secure cover from our pursuit—the last time it was so employed, at least by a party of any strength, having been in the winter of 1838–9, when the operations of the regular troops and militia force under General Floyd, were successful in driving the enemy from the swamp. There are *two* routes by which the marauding parties of Indians from Florida approach the swamp; the *eastern* route, by Kingsley's pond and New river, passes near Fort Moniac; the *western*, by the natural bridge of the Santa Fe and upper Suwannee, passes near Fort Gilmer. These routes are dictated by the nature of the country, and have, almost without exception, been followed by Indian parties from the south, which fact has furnished the basis of all arrangements for the defence of that frontier.

“While Forts Moniac and Gilmer have been occupied, the Indians have generally desisted from depredations in the vicinity of the swamp, fearing to be cut off by the garrisons of these posts, after passing them to the northward. On the other hand, a temporary evacuation of Fort Moniac in the summer of 1840, was almost immediately followed by ravages in neighboring settlements. These facts show the great importance of the two positions, which may be regarded as the keys of the swamp; and their adequacy, with active garrisons, to afford competent protection to the Okefenokee frontier.

“A company of dragoons is stationed at Fort Gilmer, and a company of infantry, liberally supplied with horses, for the purpose of prompt pursuit, at Fort Moniac. An infantry company is also stationed at Traders' Hill, and one of dragoons near Thigpens, on the scout indicated above as the *eastern* route. Renewed activity has lately been given to these four companies, and if past experience be of any value, the existing arrangements for the defence of that frontier may be regarded as adequate to their object.

“While recently on a tour of duty in that quarter, I had a good opportunity of judging of the state of feeling among the inhabitants, in reference to Indian alarms. Independently of the sense of security with which the roads adjacent to the swamp are daily travelled, for purposes of business or pleasure, I could discover, by questioning individuals, little or no cause of alarm. The ‘signs’ reported, such as the cutting of bee-trees and killing of cattle, were quite too vague and equivocal to justify any apprehensions; and the captain of one of the militia companies mustered by me, himself expressed great doubts whether any Indians were or had been recently in the swamp.

“With respect to the northern border of the swamp, from which Captain Sweat's company were drawn, and for the de-

fence of which it was called out, I am convinced that no necessity whatever existed for calling that company into service. Captain Jernigan's company was raised in a district near Fort Moniac, more exposed, it is true, to inroads, as above shown.

"It may not be inappropriate to remark, that, within the last few months, the danger of Indian incursions from Florida, across the Georgia line, has greatly diminished. Several bands that roved among the adjacent settlements of Florida have surrendered, and others have been driven further south. Excepting a small party of fugitive Creeks, with whom negotiations had been opened at the last advices, there are no hostiles within striking distance of the Okefenokee swamp.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,

Honorable J. C. SPENCER, }
Secretary of War.

W. W. S. BLISS,
Assistant Adjutant-General."

His excellency the governor of Georgia having become somewhat excited and disappointed at the frustration of the object so universally popular among a border people, addressed a letter, of which this is a copy, to the secretary of war :

"Executive Department, Milledgeville, Ga., }
March 10th, 1842.

"SIR—I have the honor to forward to you a communication from General Knight, which furnishes evidence of 'Indian signs,' that cannot be contradicted, and proof of the indisposition of the regular forces to pursue the Indians into their hiding-places. It is useless for me to apply to the government for an effective force. Those stationed for the protection of the country, instead of discharging their duty, are almost as troublesome as the savages in the work of murder and destruction of property. Of this I have sent you the testimony. I have taken the defence of the state into my own hands, and only write to ask you to remove the regular troops from the territory of Georgia, that I may have the posts occupied by a military force that may be relied on for the protection of the people. I shall ask the delegation of Georgia in congress to have appropriations made to pay the militia.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

Honorable J. C. SPENCER, Secretary }
of War, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES J. McDONALD."

Ignorant of the foregoing communication, the commander of the forces in Florida, on the score of economy, removed the stations and detached camps in Georgia further south, bringing the cordon which protected the frontier entirely within the terri-

tory of Florida. This covered the settlements as effectually, and at the same time dispensed with the services of a steamboat, required to transport supplies to Traders' Hill. The depot and post there were broken up, and a large number of civilians consequently discharged. The following gives a full explanation of the subject :

“ *Head-Quarters of the Army, Fort King,* }
March 30th, 1842. }

“SIR—On the 28th instant, I directed the withdrawal of the depot and garrison at Traders' Hill, in order to adopt a shorter and more economical route of supply, and to give such positions to the companies, and their detached camps, as would better cover the country, especially any approach to the Georgia border. This arrangement was in no degree influenced by the petition of the citizens of that border to the governor, much less by his excellency's letter of the 10th instant, of which I had no knowledge until yesterday through the public prints. Advised of this correspondence, I should have regarded any withdrawal of the detachments, until instructed by superior authority, as premature, and calculated to embarrass the department on a question of much interest and delicacy.

“I forward herewith a map, on which is indicated generally the positions of the troops, showing the detached camps. Several official reports are herewith forwarded, of little interest, other than as exhibiting the systematic efforts to get up alarms, for very obvious purposes. The recent discharge of a large number of hired persons has, as was anticipated, greatly increased this disposition.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

Adjutant-General U. S. Army, }
Washington, D. C. }

W. J. WORTH, Col. Commanding.”

On the 28th of March orders were issued for the withdrawal of the regular troops from the Georgia frontier. Governor McDonald's letter to the secretary of war, desiring that it might be done, and stating ‘that he had taken the defence of the state into his own hands,’ is dated March 10th. The lapse of time between the date and the 28th (when orders were issued), was sufficient to have permitted the war department to comply with the request, and instructions transmitted accordingly, had the firmness of the secretary been shaken, and he intimidated by the voluntary and praiseworthy assumption of the executive of Georgia. To prevent misapprehensions on this point, the letter of Colonel Worth, commanding, explains that this apparent acquiescence was accidental, and not caused in the most remote manner by the reproaches and threatenings of the executive of the state.

“*Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,* }
Tampa Bay, April 10th, 1842. }

“SIR—On the 28th of March I issued instructions to abandon the position of Traders’ Hill (within the limits of Georgia), as a depot. It was not until the 31st of that month that I was apprised, through the public prints, of your excellency’s correspondence with the honorable secretary of war, which is presumed to be authentic, intimating wishes and demands with which my action would seem to be a compliance, of course, under instructions from the government. My sole object in the new disposition, simply was, to establish a better and more economical covering-line, especially in reference to the Georgia border, and Florida settlements in that quarter. To guard against any public misapprehensions on this subject, I beg to be permitted to assure your excellency, that, had I been aware of the published correspondence referred to, no consideration of convenience or expediency could have induced me to adopt a measure seemingly touching an issue which your excellency has been pleased to make with the federal government, much less do I presume to discuss that question; and quite as foreign was it from my design thereby to admit the justice or truth of the imputations which your petitioners have attempted to fix upon the soldiership and discipline of the troops, and the honor of the officers of this army. My purpose, however, mainly is, in all respect and sincerity, to assure your excellency, that, up to this moment, I have not had the honor to receive any instructions touching your demand for a withdrawal of the troops from the state of Georgia.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant, &c.,

His Excellency Governor C. J. McDONALD, }
Milledgeville, Ga. }

W. J. WORTH,
Col. Commanding.”

The reply, and the endorsement upon the letter by the commander of the army, which was transmitted to the adjutant-general of the army, closes this correspondence. It is interesting, and in many respects important to the federal government, to the executive of Georgia, to citizens generally, and to Colonel Worth and those of his command:

“*Executive Department, Milledgeville, Ga.,* }
April 18th, 1842. }

“SIR—I had the honor to-day to receive your letter of the 10th instant, informing me of your accidental compliance with the wishes of the executive of Georgia, in withdrawing the garrison at Traders’ Hill to a point within the limits of Florida; and assuring me, ‘that, had you been aware of the published correspondence of this department with the secretary of war (which contained a request that the regular troops should be

removed from the limits of the state), no consideration of convenience or expediency could have induced you to have adopted the measure.' Your explanation was wholly unnecessary, as it brought me the first intelligence of the important military movements which gave rise to it. It is proper, however, for me to say, that your ignorance of my wishes is accepted as a sufficient apology for your execution of them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Colonel W. J. WORTH, }
Commanding Army of Florida. }

CHARLES J. McDONALD."

"*Endorsement.*

"Although the governor is at liberty to indulge in *pleasantries*, just according to the estimate he may choose to put upon official dignity, it is impossible I should, for a moment, forget the respect due to his *exalted station*.

"It were an easy task to make the ready and bitter retort, did self-respect permit. The military operations referred to were quite unpretending, and I should yet doubt their importance, were it not for this decided opinion of so consummate a master of the art of war.

April 30, 1842.

W. J. WORTH, *Colonel, &c., &c.*"

In continuance of this subject, and in vindication of the officers and soldiers of the army, if any was required, the reports, selected from a vast number of similar character, from officers stationed along the exposed and panic-stricken frontier, are sufficiently explicit to satisfy any candid mind of the state of feeling pervading that section of country.

"*Head Quarters, Atlantic District, Fort Henderson, }
Traders' Hill, January 10, 1842. }*

"SIR—Your communication of the 15th of December last, has been received, and I take the earliest opportunity of reporting to you, that I have received assurances from the several officers commanding stations along the Georgia line, (up to the 9th of this month,) 'that no Indians or signs of Indians, have been seen, by either of their scouting parties, which have been constantly moving within their respective sections of the country, and I am of opinion that *there are no Indians* within the range of the troops stationed to guard this portion of the country. As to the two companies of Georgia militia which were mustered out of service, December 2d, 1841, I have not the slightest reason to desire or recommend their being again mustered into the service, either on the ground of necessity or expediency.

With respect, I am, sir, your ob't serv't,

WM. GATES, *Lt. Col. Com. the Dist.*"

Major SAMUEL COOPER, }
Ass't Adj't Gen. U. S. Army. }

Little River, Columbia Co., E. F., February 28, 1842.

"SIR—Yesterday, about ten in the morning, the Indians made an attack on Mr. Osteen's house, one and a half miles from the natural bridge on the Santa Fe river, killed Mrs. O., and were still firing on the house when the express left Alligator. The particulars of this transaction are not to be learned. I start off again, to-morrow, after them. Signs have been made in a few miles of this, but two days since. Unless we get aid speedily the country must be abandoned. Not a soldier is on the frontier of this county, except at Fort White, leaving Santa Fe and Suwannee free for them to live on. This is protection. I have stated this much that you may be correctly informed of matters in this vicinity, hoping to hear from you soon.

I am, sir, your ob't serv't,

GEORGE E. McCLELLAND."

His Excellency R. K. CALL.

"I respectfully invite an examination of the annexed paragraph, cut from a Savannah paper, and in connection with this, the report of Captain Seawell, referring to the same circumstances. The worthy lady, whom Governor Call's correspondent, *George McClelland*, kills off on the 28th of February, was alive and doing well (having experienced no other harm than the supposition of being fired at with an arrow) on the 20th of March. The head-quarters of a strong company, with detachments thrown out in all directions, are situated within one and a half miles of her house. There is a command at Charles' Ferry, on the Suwannee, with outposts; another at Mineral Springs, also with outposts; besides troops in motion through that region.

W. J. WORTH, *Colonel Commanding.*"

"The aforesaid George McClelland has been twice or thrice mustered into service as captain of volunteers; the last is captain in General Reed's sedentary brigade.

W. J. W."

"Settlement near Fort King, E. F., March 23, 1842.

"SIR—I have read the recently published account of an attack said to have been made by Indians on the house of Mrs. Osteen, in which it is stated that Mrs. Osteen is killed. I was at Mineral Springs, on the Suwannee, on the 2d of March, where I heard that Mrs. Osteen had been killed by Indians, and that the Indians were still firing on the house. On arriving at Alligator the day after, I learned there that she was not killed, but it was generally supposed that she *might* have been shot at by an Indian. I reached Mrs. Osteen's the same day, found her in good health,

and learned that she had not been shot. I was told by her neighbors that she had not even been fired on, and there was great doubt expressed whether any Indians had been in the vicinity. Being a contractor for the supply of beef to the troops at Fort King, and having occasion to visit frequently the upper country, I can state from my own knowledge, that that portion of the published statement which relates to the abandonment of that section of the country by troops, is *untrue*. There has been for six months past, and still is, a camp within two miles of Mrs. Osteen's house, with camps also in several other directions in that section of the country. My visits to the upper country are generally made by myself, and I have never felt any apprehension in travelling through the country alone.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Colonel WORTH,
Commanding Army of Florida. }

L. B. BRANCH."

"Fort King, E. F., March 23, 1842.

"Mr. Branch, the author of the foregoing communication, sustains the reputation of an honest man. His word touching any transaction can be relied on.

J. McKINSTRY, *First Lieut. 2d Infantry.*"

"Cantonment Winfield Scott, E. F., March 20, 1842.

"SIR—I have the honor to report, that the traffic of whisky to the soldiers at this post, is carried on to a great extent by some of the citizens in this vicinity; particularly, as I am informed, by a Mr. James L. Townsend and a Mr. Waller. I have used every endeavor to put a stop to this traffic, but without success, or any prospect of it. It seems that these citizens consider it greatly to their interest to carry it on; far more so than they consider the presence of troops necessary for the purpose of protection against Indian depredations. During my absence from here on the scout west of the Suwannee, my first sergeant was killed by musician Hastings, for taking from him two bottles of whisky which he had procured at Mr. Townsend's, and was about introducing into the garrison.

"Mr. Waller (one of the individuals above mentioned) resides within two hundred yards of this post. He carries on the farming business in partnership with a Mr. Simeon Dill, who, it is believed, is also his partner in the whisky trade. They have a negro, who also sells whisky, and no doubt for their benefit, as they refuse to correct him.

"No Indians, or signs of them, have been seen by the scouts from this post, since my company has been stationed here. About two weeks since (during my absence), it was reported that an

Indian had shot an arrow at a Mrs. Osteen, who resides about two miles from this. Lieutenant Hopson informs me that, immediately after he received the report, he repaired to her house with a command, where he found a number of citizens collected, and, as no sign of an Indian could be found, the report was not believed.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. SEAWELL, *Capt. 7th Infantry, Com'g Post.*"

Lieutenant F. N. PAGE, Acting Adjutant }
7th Infantry, *Fort Micanopy, E. F.* }

"Fort Henderson, Traders' Hill, Ga., April 3d, 1842.

"SIR—I have caused to be copied from the Federal Union of the 22d ultimo, published at Milledgeville, Georgia, and now, herewith, have the honor to transmit for the inspection of the colonel commanding the army of Florida, a very nervous and denunciatory dispatch, from the executive of Georgia to the secretary of war, requesting the withdrawal of the regular troops from the territory of Georgia, charging upon them misconduct and supineness.

"Upon this I have to remark, that if it be his excellency's purpose to scandalize, generally, the forces of the United States, I am not unwilling (in such good company) to sink as low as it may be in his power to plunge us. If he refers only to the troops which have heretofore, and until the 26th of February, 1842, garrisoned this post, it is neither my business nor my purpose, by this communication, to herald myself forth as their champion; but if he refers to the troops which I now have the honor to command, and which have been in position here since the above date, then I declare most positively, that his accusations are wholly destitute of true and sufficient data.

"It is not generally an honorable defence to resort to recrimination, but I have to assure you that the very few and trifling cases of misconduct which have occurred in this command, have been promptly and properly noticed; and have arisen chiefly from an illicit traffic by the settlers in this vicinity in soldiers' clothing and whisky—which I promise you to suppress, if there is law in the land to do it.

"I have in conclusion briefly to state, that in so far as I am informed, there is no cause whatever for alarm (nor can I learn that there does exist any alarm) from hostile Indians in this neighborhood; and, in order to corroborate this assertion, it is my intention in the course of the next week, to penetrate and examine the Okefenokee swamp, in two small detachments, from Forts Floyd and Norton; the first, composed of one sergeant, and eight privates, commanded by Second-Lieutenant T. S. J.

Johnson, 8th infantry; and the second, of one sergeant, one corporal, and eight privates, commanded by myself—leaving only one sergeant, and seven privates for the protection of this post, and depot.

“The two detachments will rendezvous on Floyd’s Island, and, united, emerge from the swamp *via* Forts Tatnall and Gilmer (see map), and so return to this post *via* Fort Moniac. Of the result of this operation, I shall give you timely advice.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

Major S. COOPER, }
Assistant Adjutant-General, &c. }

R. B. SCRIVEN,
Captain 8th Infantry, Commanding.”

“*North’s Station, Fla., April 29, 1842.*

“SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 10th instant, and regret that some malarrangement in the transmittal of the mail has prevented an earlier occasion to submit the following:

“On my arrival at this post on the 25th March, a panic appeared prevalent among the inhabitants in this section, arising from various reports of the appearance of Indians and Indian signs; and their apprehensions were stimulated by the fresh recollection of the murder committed within a few miles of Fort Gilmer, in the early part of March. I immediately established guards sufficient for protection at the exterior and more exposed positions, near the thickest of the population. Confidence was restored, and in the vicinity of our camp, where the people had previously collected at night for mutual defence, their fears subsided, and they returned to their homes with a feeling of security from further alarm. Scouting parties were then daily sent out in every direction, to examine in the most minute manner, every circumstance connected with the appearance of signs of Indians: with the exception of low, narrow hammock, skirting the borders of small streams, the country is mostly open pine-barren, and affords no hidden resting-place for Indians. Big Bay, one and a half miles to the southeast, is fifteen miles long, and three or four miles wide. It is bordered with a light growth of hammock, and islands can be seen in the interior. No Indian can get to these islands without leaving a sign; the print of his foot would remain in the moistened clay at the edge of the water, long after it was made, and until a rise in the bay should cover the mark. So far from a rise at this time, the continued drought has a tendency to depress the water below the common level. A high and dry hammock, along the Suwannee river, easily penetrated, can afford no permanent shelter. Through every hammock, and in every direction, the country was scoured for miles around; and in all

the scouting that continued incessantly for nearly two weeks, not the first appearance of Indian signs could be discovered.

“My attention was now attracted to the continued reports of Indians and Indian murders, remote and near; and an apparent increased degree of alarm existing among some of the settlers, and the difficulty of undeceiving them.

“A Captain North, with a company of seventy-two men, organized, but who had not been called into service by the governor of Georgia, I learned had dispatched expresses to the governor making reports of Indians, and seeking authority to muster his men into service. He was continually absent from home, leaving a few women and a negro to protect the house: this is the exterior house in that settlement, and one and a half miles from the building burnt, with the woman in it, near Fort Gilmer. A guard was established within a few yards: they learned that an Indian or Indian negro had been seen, a few days before their arrival, passing along the hammock in front of the building, and following ‘Torn’s Creek;’ it was examined; the tracks were very distinct—a naked foot, broad and long, such as could not again be mistaken. The tracks returned and left the hammock at the point of entrance; the distance from the entrance to the spot of turning back, about three hundred yards. When Captain North returned home, he also examined, and declared the print the same as was made at the murder before referred to.

“In a few days the object visited the house at night, and slightly alarmed the inmates, without committing further damage; they did not call the guard to their relief, but informed them the next day. The foot-print in the hammock was measured with a string, and corresponded in length and breadth with that of the negro belonging to the house. Again the object visited the house in the night; the corporal commanding the guard was present; the fence-gate was shaken, and a noise made to indicate the presence of somebody. The women said an Indian was seen; the corporal instantly procured a torch, and followed as rapidly as possible, but the object eluded him; it had come from the adjoining field, and returned the same way. It could be traced no further; the negro was absent from the house at the time. The corporal offered to place a sentinel for protection; but they declined, having no further fear. The alarm on this occasion appeared so much the result of an artifice, as to induce suspicion. Captain North, on his return, dispatched another express. Having thus forced himself into service, he seems determined to remain in, by imposing on the credulity of the governor; and he has since exerted himself in circulating reports of Indians, and producing a fictitious excitement.

“Many of these people are too idle and indolent to labor for

the means of subsistence; many live by hunting and fishing; and hence the distress of these inhabitants, and their desire to get into the service for a maintenance. They are but little improved beyond the Indians themselves.

"The governor not yet having recognized Captain North as in service, he has put himself in motion with some of his men, pretending to scout; but in reality disturbing the peaceable and quiet inhabitants, and feeding their minds with false alarms.

"A recent report of the burning of Fort Fanning and the murder of forty people, called out Captain Johnson to *succor the place*, and the same day a report of two hundred Indians induces Captain North, with *twenty* men, to go in pursuit. This game is so openly played, that the people begin to understand the matter too well; but persons at a distance may be deceived.

"The quiet of this region would be greatly promoted, if authority were granted to disperse this armed mob, disturbers of the public peace.

"Some facts have already transpired, and when further developments shall have taken place (I am fortified in the belief from personal examination and other circumstances of evidence), it will be discovered that the *Indians* who committed the murder in the vicinity of Fort Gilmer, were not the *native Indians* of the country.

"So long as this war depends upon *reported* 'signs of Indians,' no limit can be fixed to its termination in this region, until the general government refuses to pay the state of Georgia for calling out those *volunteers*.

H. McKAVITT,
Captain 8th regiment, Commanding Post."

The officers commanding camps and posts, and those on scouts and patrols, were required to make written reports of what they saw from day to day. If Indian tracks were seen, the intelligence was at once communicated, the direction and number specified, and pursuit immediately given. These, together with tri-monthly reports, as required in orders, were transmitted to head-quarters, upon the honor of those who made them. If depredations were committed, or signs seen, in the portion of country allotted, it was imperatively the duty of the officer to shield himself from the imputation of neglect of duty. Those to whom these trusts were confided were men distinguished for prudence, intelligence, and experience, far above any prejudices that could induce them to participate in a feeling of resentment or retaliation towards those who so industriously traduced them.

The mustering of militia for the public service, opens a wide field for speculation and remark.

The organization and employment of such a force, when confined to its legitimate purpose, can effect much in accomplishing its ends. In the field, when the citizen is defending his home, or the government which shields his rights, or when usurpation and oppression threaten his liberty, or when the invader pollutes the soil with his footsteps, no men, in any country, rally with more devoted patriotism, fidelity, and resolute bravery, than the militia of the United States. Then, they stand side by side, unsubdued and unyielding, in principle, in patriotism, and honor, steadfast in the broad phalanx mustered in their country's cause. But the employment of this force to expel the aborigines from the soil, or to prevent incursions upon the border, is less available, and assumes a different aspect. The federal government has wisely adopted a course of policy towards the Indian, to remove him to a part of the country where his habits and inclinations can be indulged, remote from the restless and never-ceasing spirit of enterprise and migration peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon. He seeks the savage first from curiosity, second, to become acquainted with his habits, and to learn if his laws are wholesome and efficacious, next, for gain. Encroachment after encroachment leads on to a claim for certain tracts of land, then, of rights. These are denied, until the clamor, participated in by many *influential* citizens, drowns the impotent wail of the wronged and revengeful savage. The citizens of the state appeal to the executive, to whom they have confided the execution of their laws, and to whom they first, and very naturally, look for protection in their daily vocations, and the sacredness of their property. The governor appeals with confidence to the powerful and protecting arm of the federal government, and to stimulate it to action, and to infuse into its measures a proper degree of acrimony and spirit of retaliation, a detail of the encroachments made upon the unoffending citizen, is heralded to the world, backed by the recital of cruelties and butcheries, calculated to excite the most vindictive passions throughout the land. The turbulent voice of the public will annihilates every impulse of generosity or justice, discards dispassionate investigation to ferret out and punish aggressors, until at last might takes the place of right, law and the feelings of humanity are disregarded, and the country becomes a battle-ground for the lion and the wolf. This being the case, it is obligatory upon the government to give to its citizens ample protection in the execution of its laws, or in perfecting a course of policy designed for the general good. That adopted towards the Indian is an internal domestic arrangement, and should be persisted in with kindness and humanity; but if in its progress it is to devastate sections of country, and drive citizens from their occupation, it disregards and violates

the most sacred rights inherent in the organization and design of the constitution of the country, which guaranties to all "peaceable possession of homes and firesides." Any measure having a tendency, however remotely, to encroach upon this declaration, is an infringement of the privileges of every American citizen. If a certain policy is adopted, the law-makers should look around, and first ascertain if there be the means to execute it, regarding most sacredly the rights of those who bring into being this governing power; if the treasury of the country will not warrant it, or the prejudices of legislators will not sanction the measures which are necessary for the maintenance of a regular force, the policy, whatever it may be, should be abandoned, at least for a time, or until the period arrives when proper feelings and motives actuate those to whom our rights are confided. If persisted in, and the Indian, outraged by wrongs, dares desperately to assail the intruder, the government is bound, by ties of duty and consanguinity, to give to settlers on the border ample protection by regular troops. If mustered into service, each man inevitably leaves his home unprotected. While absent, solicitous for the safety of others, his own dwelling may be fired, and his family murdered; his farm, from which he draws his daily food, becomes a barren waste, and the habits of industry, which have grown with his growth, become enervated by pernicious example. Indolence is as well rewarded as patient toil, his daily pay is as much when spent in vice and slothfulness as when usefully engaged, and that zeal which should stimulate him in his new vocation is weakened by a consciousness, that, when executing his duty, he is liable to the fate of a soldier, and knows, and feels too, that when snugly in camp, participating in the revels of a militia force, he is free from all danger. Even should motives of ambition excite him to duty, this is lessened by the fact, that his employment is temporary, and that if the enemy is found and subdued, his daily income must cease, and he be thrown again upon those qualities which the vicious indulgences of an undisciplined camp tend so strongly to undermine. Nor do these pernicious influences fall alone upon the border settler. The mustering of militia into service becomes intermixed with the political aspirations of men, who, by good fortune and frugality, have risen above the crowd. The political aspirant moves in the midst of many who rely upon his exertions for a livelihood, readily yielding their opinions of government and law to the more potent and paramount demands for bread. These aspirants, thus *born to command*, become known, and before the lapse of twelve months, after a campaign, their important services are lauded, and they comfortably housed in a position distinguished and profitable, while the frontiersman, a fellow-campaigner, has become penni-

less and houseless, thrown out of employment, and reduced to the necessity of again seeking his once cultivated field, petitioning that the regular soldier may be stationed in his neighborhood to protect him. If the ballot-box is corrupted, how can the treasury of the country escape? Experience has taught, that within the last ten years, the demands upon the national treasury, and a large portion of that which has been drawn, was the result of criminal prodigality, and effected through the means of reckless corruption.

"For years after the Indian is expelled from the soil, and peace restored, claims accumulate with a rapidity truly remarkable. Muster-rolls, certificates, affidavits, losses exaggerated by loud complaints and threats, roll in upon congress and the treasury like a torrent, when the establishment of these demands becomes an effectual and important element in the approaching canvass for representatives.

A country once agitated by border wars, requires years for society to regain its former channels. Industry and morals are crushed by that recklessness which ever is the lot of man, when driven from his home, and freed from those obligations which bind him to his country and the society which has grown up around him.

The white man soon imbibes the habits of an Indian, and, divested of his native simplicity of character, he combines the recklessness of the savage with many inherent vices, that give redoubled waywardness and force to the degrading propensities of man in a barbarous state. The society of a frontier once thrown from its axis, revolves in disorder until it is lost in ignorance, slothfulness, and vice.

Calling out militia under the act of congress of February 28th, 1795, could be done so as to effect the object designed—"that is, to repel invasion from any foreign nation or Indian tribe;" but when political ambition and the lust for public money becomes paramount, the intention of the law is perverted, and the community, instead of manfully battling invaders, sits passively in camp, enjoying the monthly pay. It is the abuse of the law which renders this kind of force so expensive and ineffectual. If this does exist from the nature of things, it is not surprising that experienced officers, with a full knowledge of it under their immediate observation, reluctantly become instruments thus to drain the treasury of their country, and be the means of sowing the seeds of corruption, which, from year to year, as the war is prosecuted, adds to the embarrassments surrounding them.

The correspondence upon the subject, shows clearly the opinions entertained by the general government. It preferred leaving the matter discretionary with the regular officer who was

accountable for the protection of the frontier, and best able to form a correct opinion (as results showed), with a full knowledge of what was necessary, and at the same time responsible for the security of citizens; as ample means and power had been placed at his disposal.

The letters of the Hon. J. C. Spencer, secretary of war, exhibit a comprehensive knowledge of the nature and character of the Florida war. The state of affairs in that territory received his special attention, upon first assuming the administration of the department, in which he persevered, until his acute mind and untiring industry opened the subject fully, divested of the mystification which five years' drain upon the treasury had invested it. He sternly marked his course of conduct, and resolutely adhered to it, which gave to the commander, and officers within his command encouragement, instead of ill-digested plans, experiments, and suggestions. He felt that the officer in the field was better able to suggest, than the councils emanating in the bureaux remote from the scene of action. To his firmness and wisdom the country is greatly indebted.

The soldierly and statesmanlike views of Major-General Scott, commanding the army, awarded to the militia much praise for the forbearance they manifested, and the readiness with which they had mustered and pursued the enemy upon emergencies. His opinions and instructions throughout, are characterized by a just and judicious discrimination; doing justice to officers and men, both of the militia and regular force.

CHAPTER XI.

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1842.

The hiding-place of Halleck-Tustenuggee found; strength and character of his band; his own character.—Precautionary measures taken to prevent his surprising the settlements.—Major Plympton ordered to take the field with three companies of the 2d infantry.—Fight with Halleck-Tustenuggee.—Band retreats.—Two Indians taken prisoners.—Pursuit of Halleck by Captain Casey, 2d infantry, with one hundred men.—Lieutenant Wessels ascends the Ocklawaha river to intercept him.—He eludes them successfully.—Capture of Powis-Fixico or Short-Grass.—Nethlockemathlar repairs to the mouth of the Withlacooche to meet the Creeks.—The Creeks plotting to take his life, and rescue the Indians encamped at Fort Brooke.—Indignation of the chief.—He organizes an armed party; takes the field to punish the Creeks.—Thirty Indians, armed completely, proceed to Fort Clinch.—Conduct of Tiger-Tail or Thlocklo-Tustenuggee in council.—Escape of Tiger-Tail from Fort Brooke.—His schemes frustrated.—His wife and child re-captured.—His repeated interviews with Octiarche to concert means of releasing the Indians in camp.—The Indian war-party supposed to be privy to his escape.—Orders sent to Fort Clinch to disarm the party at once.—They sent to Cedar Key, thence to Fort Brooke.—Indignation of the Chief Nethlockemathlar.—Active measures of the army.—Troops recalled from the South.—Campaign in the Big Cypress ended, resulted as anticipated.—Major Belknap secures a sub-chief, and sixty-seven followers.—Supposed hiding-place of Bowlegs, the Prophet, and Sam Jones.—Much praise due the troops, if the service was understood.—Ponce de Leon landing in 1532 on the margin of the Everglades.—Memorandum of reports of officers.—Scouts.—Explorations sent to the adjutant-general.—Orders issued for the relief of the 3d artillery.—Movements of the regiment, and their service in Florida.—Disposition of the troops from the South.—2d dragoons; 4th, 6th, and 8th infantry.—Embarkation of two hundred and thirty Indians.—Creeks, Seminoles, Uchees, and Mickasukies, their character and feelings, vicious and abandoned.—Detachment, 8th infantry, fired upon in the Wahoo Swamp.—Movement of troops to find the Creeks.—Indians under Octiarche attack the settlement with arrows, killing women and children.—They pursued.—Night attack upon their camp in the Swamp.—Capture of the women.—Men escape.—Humanity of officers, and soldiers.—Embarrassments in closing the contest.—Colonel Worth's letter of February 14th, urging upon the government certain measures to finish it.—Major Cooper, assistant-adjutant general, dispatched to Washington.—The contents submitted by the secretary of war to a council of officers.—Not acceded to.—General Jesup dissents from the opinion expressed.—The measures prosecuted, though uninstructed by the commander in Florida.—Orders issued for retrenchment.—6th infantry relieved, and ordered to Jefferson Barracks; its service; its loss by disease and battle.—Sick and deaths in the army in January, February, and March.—The total number in the army taken sick during nine months' active service.—An asylum for old soldiers, and invalids.—Condition of those discharged the service for disability.

THE hiding-place of Halleck-Tustenuggee, the most formidable Indian chief in Florida, had at last been found. Seven months' diligent search by friendly Indians, as well as by zealous and wide-extended operations of troops, had proved unavailing. Some atrocious act upon the settlements, or an humble message to the commander of a post for subsistence, had heretofore, occasionally disclosed his whereabouts or his habitation. Now he was doubtless on Haw Creek or at the head of Dunn's Lake, east of the river St. John's: this was a most eligible spot, from which to emerge at pleasure upon the roads leading to St. Augustine, forty miles distant, and the intermediate places, or intercept travellers on the way to Picolata, on the St. John's.

From the best information which could be obtained, he had with him thirty-five warriors, mostly Mickasukies, resolute and vindictive, who considered the soil theirs by inheritance. A few Seminoles and Creeks were among the number, who had been forsaken by their companions less cruel and blood-thirsty. They were now reduced to the necessity of combining for safety with





Halleck Tustenuggee on the St. John's.

a tribe with which they had had continued feuds and collisions. This band was well armed with rifles, selected with care from among the citizens and soldiers murdered on the highway; and provided with ammunition obtained in the same manner, and turned into a common depository, subject to the arbitrary authority of their chief.

Halleck-Tustenuggee was a savage by nature, without a virtue either of the head or heart to redeem his character. Adroit in his movements, bold and intrepid in action, cruel and revengeful, he had made the pioneer feel, as well as the army, that he was no ordinary antagonist. These decisive traits of character were as well known to his band, as to his enemies. To guard against his assaults, additional force was sent to St. Augustine, Picolata, and to the general hospital at the St. John's Bluff. A patrol of twenty men were going constantly on the main road from the St. John's to the Atlantic coast.

A command of sixty men of the 2d infantry were in boats moving up and down the river to cut off the retreat of the enemy. Three companies of the 2d infantry, in conjunction with these measures, took the field on the 2d of January, in command of Major J. Plympton, whose perseverance in the execution of his duty was only equalled by those under his command. For their arduous service of two months, they were rewarded by defeating the band so long hunted for; compelling them to abandon their strong-holds and recross the St. John's; and terminated with the capture of Powis-Fixico or Short-Grass and party. Major Plympton, after examining Graham's and Bulow's swamp, Tomoka river, Spring Garden, and the hammocks and scrubs bordering and intervening, and destroying abandoned huts and fields, followed, day after day, a solitary track, when, on the 25th of January, he came upon the enemy, posted in a hammock. The Indians for a short time resolutely stood the ground, whooping and yelling to intimidate and prevent approach. The troops closed in, after a well-directed volley, with rapidity and vigor, causing the Indians to retreat in confusion, leaving two wounded upon the field.

Though the command was for some time exposed to the unceasing fire of the enemy, secreted in a dense hammock, but one man was killed and two wounded. This, as informed by the wounded prisoners, was the band of Halleck-Tustenuggee, who, finding no security or rest, was making his way over the St. John's river. The stand here taken was to cover the retreat of the women and children, who were one day in advance. A detachment followed the *trail* to the river, where it was found that the chief had crossed in haste at the southern end of Lake

George. His rafts and a canoe could be seen on the opposite shore. This information having reached Palatka, then for the moment the head-quarters of the army, Captain Silas Casey, 2d infantry, with one hundred men in boats, proceeded at once to the place of crossing, with orders to take up the *trail* and follow it to its termination. Orders were also sent to Lieutenant Wessels, 2d infantry, at Fort King, to ascend the Ocklawaha river in canoes with fifty men, and intercept this band, if possible, when crossing that river. Captain Casey, with an earnestness and hardihood deserving a better result, took up the *trail* on the west bank of the St. John's, and followed it to a swamp three miles wide, through which the officers and men transported their provisions and camp equipage on their backs; the mud and water varying from one to three feet deep. Upon emerging on the opposite side, the foot-prints weré completely lost. The Indians had taken the precaution to scatter in small parties, and set fire to the scrub; thus obliterating every vestige by which the negro guides and *trailers* could ascertain in what direction they had fled. While the command under Lieutenant Wessels was eagerly waiting in ambush at various fording-places on the Ocklawaha, Halleck-Tustenuggee, apprehending this, crossed ten miles south of any known ford, into a dense swamp, which heretofore had been considered by the Indian guides as impassable.

Major Plympton, with an Indian by the name of Tommy, who was retained at Fort Mellon, when coming there with petitions for food from Halleck-Tustenuggee, proceeded to a swamp in which he believed there were Indians secreted. He said that if he was permitted, he could induce them to surrender. Upon farther interrogating him, it was discovered that Short-Grass, his father, was living there. Advantageous positions were taken around and in the swamp, when this boy was dispatched, with assurances that his father should be treated kindly, but if taken in arms his death was inevitable. He soon returned with Powis-Fixico (Short-Grass) and four warriors. These men were the most active participators in the attack upon Mandarine.

On the westward side of the peninsula, events of interest and importance had occurred. The favorable result looked for at the mouth of the Withlacooche river—the anticipated surrender of Octiarche and the Creeks, was not realized. Instead of complying with their promises, they were maturing a plan to put to death the chief Nethlockemathlar; then, through Tiger-Tail, induce those encamped at Fort Brooke to join them in a farther, but more vigorous prosecution of the war. Nethlockemathlar was at the mouth of the Withlacooche on the day appointed (the 12th of January), and was four days in communion with Octiarche

and his followers. But they declined, under various pretexts, visiting the steamboat, at the mouth of the river, or coming in to Fort Brooke, at the time appointed.

Though professing much friendship, there was sufficient to excite the suspicions of the old chief, who reluctantly remained on shore after the fourth day. He was urged to send two of his young men into the swamp, to induce others, who timidly declined coming in, from a fear that the whites would ensnare them. While these young men were gone, a Mickasukie Indian informed the chief of a plan maturing by the Creeks to put him to death, by waylaying those already out, and at midnight assailing him, and slaying him in his sleep. Unwilling to give credence to this tale, revealed not from friendship to him, but from enmity to the Creeks, he, with that calmness and resolution which marked his character, awaited two days the return of his messengers. They not coming, and having for two successive nights heard strange noises around his camp at midnight, he at last returned to the steamboat. One of those presentments, believed to be supernatural by Indians, occasioned the chief to become convinced that his young men had been cruelly murdered. "They want the red-man's blood," said he; "they shall have it, and mine too, if they can get it."

He returned immediately to Fort Brooke, resolved to take the field to gratify his revenge. To keep alive this feeling was of the utmost importance. It was evident that Octiarche and his band could not be secured by military measures, or be induced to surrender, either through bribes or intimidation. The only hope of ever getting him, was to awaken a kindly feeling towards the whites, thus subdue his vindictiveness, and induce him to restrain his warriors and to abstain from violent acts upon the frontier. This course, with the aid of an Indian force, might cause him to listen to terms of pacification.

Nethlockemathlar called a council of the warriors there, to whom he related all that had transpired, and detailed, with much feeling, the plan that had been laid to put him to death. Though advanced in years, the spark of valor was not yet quenched in his breast. He rose in tone and emphasis, and became animated as he enlarged on the infamy of the design, and the audacity of its instigators. He proposed that they should see those Creeks, offer them terms of peace, and if these were declined, punish them upon the spot. A hearty concurrence was given by all present, except Tiger-Tail, who professed to be indignant at the recital of his brother's wrongs, and the meditated attempt upon his life.

To send into the woods a body of Indians, armed with rifles, and provided with ammunition, provisions, and horses, was a

hazardous undertaking, but the object was worthy of the enterprise. Thirty warriors were selected, armed complete, and Nethlockemathlar was placed at their head. Tiger-Tail declined going, from indisposition. The party left Fort Brooke for Fort Clinch, on the Withlacooche river, eighty miles distant, determined to accomplish their object. On the second night after their departure, there was a manifest confusion and dissatisfaction in the camp of those remaining. The women and children were passing in and out with small bundles, which caused the officer in charge to suspect that something was in contemplation, and to satisfy himself as to the truth of his suspicions, he went to the tent of Tiger-Tail. He was not there, nor could he be found. He had fled, in spite of the watch kept over him, taking with him his wife and child, and all his baggage. The small packages which had been carried past the chain of sentinels, was his baggage, smuggled out by those participating in the plot, in such a manner as not to excite suspicion.

Though it was late at night, the camp was promptly surrounded by soldiers, and pursuit immediately given. This was so rapid and efficient, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, 8th infantry, and the zeal and activity of Lieutenants L. Smith, and A. T. Lee, that Tiger-Tail's wife, his son, and five women, were recaptured. Two of these were wives of his younger brothers, absent with the armed party. Three men, it was found, accompanied Tiger-Tail. Two of the number had come in with him the day before, having joined him, as he stated, when hunting.

They were doubtless messengers from Oetiarche. How far this disaffection extended, it was impossible to tell. No alternative remained, but to break it up without delay. Fears were entertained that the armed party were privy to it. Captain T. P. Guynn, 8th regiment, was dispatched with a mounted force to Fort Clinch, at which post Lieutenant-Colonel Loomis was in readiness to take the field. He was instructed to seize and disarm every Indian, and put them under guard, on board a steamboat in the river, and send them to Cedar Key, thence to Fort Brooke. Captain Guynn arrived at midnight. The entire war party were within the chain of sentinels. The officers, together with the sentinels on post, were at this hour attentively listening to signals on the opposite side of the river. This led to the belief that there was a concert of action between those who were giving these signals, and some of the armed party who were in camp, awaiting the appointed and opportune moment for action. Whatever may have been designed, it was now too late. Every Indian was required to come to the commanding officer's tent and lay down his arms, when what had transpired at Fort Brooke, and the escape of Tiger-Tail, was made known to them. To the innocent,

this was sufficient to excite the most bitter feelings; to the guilty, disappointment and chagrin. The chief, seeing in these movements the subtle and treacherous mind of his brother, restrained his anger, though at first much excited, and endeavored to allay the indignation among those who felt disgraced by being suspected of a participation in so infamous a plot.

Connecting the language and conduct of his brother on several occasions, particularly in the last council, he attributed to him the treachery of Octiarche, who had been induced to disregard his promises, and to become an instrument in putting him to death, and thus succeed in prevailing upon the Indians in camp at Fort Brooke to join the Creeks. The importance given to Nethlockemathlar since his surrender, in all the negotiations which had proved so successful, excited in the mind of Tiger-Tail jealousy and vindictive hostility. He felt humbled and mortified that he was so well understood, and determined to defeat, if possible, the efforts of his brother to pacificate and bring in the Creeks. He had a *talk* with Octiarche on the 30th of December, while the steamer lay at the mouth of the Withlacooche river, and was the cause of another day being appointed, and defeated the fulfillment of Octiarche's promises, by proposing measures which would add to his authority and prolong the contest. Not anticipating so bold a step on the part of his brother, he had not time to communicate with Octiarche, but made his escape as early as practicable, to put him on his guard, in the expectation that the women in camp would follow that night, when those of the armed party, finding themselves well provided, and their women free, would be induced to unite with the Creeks, and wage a successful warfare on the whites. The signals heard at Fort Clinch on the night of Captain Guynn's arrival, were made by Octiarche and his men, who were endeavoring to obtain an interview, to ascertain to what extent the proposals of Tiger-Tail had been successful. The warriors forming the war party, on their return, were put on board transports in Tampa Bay, and not permitted to land. Their women and children joined them, together with the remaining Indians in camp ready for emigration.

This placed them far beyond the reach of the influences of Tiger-Tail and his confederates, who, with his three men and the Creeks, no doubt relied upon adding to their numbers. Nethlockemathlar and his sisters were permitted to remain at Fort Brooke. Not a suspicion was entertained of him. The hostility of the Creeks was a sufficient proof of his fidelity to the whites.

To frustrate any violent acts, which might very naturally be apprehended from these treacherous proceedings, the utmost activity was given to the troops in all parts of the territory. Colonel J. H. Vose, now commanding the 3d infantry and the

western district, moved by land and water from Fort Stansbury, his head-quarters, near Tallahassee, towards the Suwannee, with two hundred men.

The following memorandum was sent to Colonel Vose for his guidance :

Information derived from the lame Indian who delivered himself up at Fort Fanning, December, 1841.

The band of Cotzar-Fixico-Chopko consists of nineteen warriors, including himself, Chitto-Hadjo, and Alpaté-Tustenuggee, and thirty women and children, in all forty-nine people. Five of the warriors are Mickasukies.

This band was assembled in December, in the hammock south of Fort Mitchell, running towards the Sho-elota Funka. As this hammock does not afford sufficient game for their subsistence, it was determined at the meeting that the band should separate, some remaining in the hammock, while others proceeded to Cook's hammock and the hammocks south of Fort Andrews, near the mouth of the Fenahallowa; but that none should be so far off as to be beyond the reach of rapid communication.

The band of young Octiate consists of twenty-four warriors and twenty-two women and children, in all forty-six people.

Memorandum by Colonel Garland, for information of Lieutenant-Colonel Vose. Supposed condition of the hostiles west of the Suwannee.

1. In the hammock east and south (near the coast) of Deadman's Bay, about five miles from the mouth of Esteen-Hatchee, a large scrub hammock.

2. About two miles south-by-east of Fort Mitchell, in the hammock running in a southerly direction, to the Sho-elota-Funka. Fort Mitchell on the southeastern branch of the Fenahallowa.

3. The Pumpkin hammock, a place much frequented by the Indians, about ten miles east of the falls of the Esteen-Hatchee, and about one and a half days' march from Fort Fanning. Northwest. Routes to the foregoing for 3d infantry: The most practicable land route for troops with baggage-train, is from Fort Pleasant, as a centre, by the ford of the Fenahallowa, below the junction of Rock Creek, twenty-two miles, thence to old Fort Andrews seven miles, thence across the Sho-elota Funka twelve miles, thence passing old Fort Halbert nine miles, to Fort Frank Brooke twenty-two miles.

Another route by land, without baggage-train, is from Fort Pleasant to Fort Mitchell, nineteen miles, thence to Fort Barker nineteen miles, thence down the Esteen-Hatchee to Fort Frank Brooke.

Distance from Fort Stansbury to Fort Many seventeen miles, thence to Fort R. Gamble seven miles, thence to Fort Ocilla six miles, thence to Fort Vose eight miles, to Fort Hamilton four miles, to Fort Noel four miles, to Fort Pleasant five miles.

Should the troops, or any part of them, go by water, the only point of embarkation is Port Leon, thence to Deadman's Bay and up the Esteen Hatchee, which is navigable for steamboats to Fort Frank Brooke.

Supplies may be thrown from Fort Fanning to the falls of the Esteen-Hatchee, the distance by land thirty-five miles :

Fort Pleasant is a good starting-point for baggage-train, being in a neighborhood where forage may be readily obtained; the whole country north of that point is a rich country, with good roads.

The buildings at Forts Mitchell, Barker, Halbert, Andrews, Frank Brooke, Griffin, and Downing, have been destroyed by fire.

Every part of the country was examined, but the enemy could not be found. Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, 4th infantry, co-operated from Fort Fanning, at the same time communicating with Lieutenant-Colonel Loomis, 6th infantry, who was scouring the Wacassassa hammock, and the swamps north and south of the Withlacoochee river. Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler, 7th infantry, moved with his detachments from Micanopy, Watkahoota, and Wacassassa, with the view of cutting off the retreat of the Creeks to the Wahoo Swamp. Commands of the 2d infantry from Fort King, were still in pursuit of Halleck-Tustenuggee.

Guards from the 2d dragoons patrolled the highways. Detachments of the 4th infantry from Fort Cross, in command of Major Staniford, *scouted* the Annutiliga and Chochate hammocks, and the scrubs and swamps around them. To capture the enemy, or instigate them to a fight, was not anticipated. To deter them from committing murders upon the unprotected, and to crowd them so closely and rapidly as to cause them to sue for peace, was all that the most sanguine hoped for or expected.

The operation in the Big Cypress Swamp had resulted, as was anticipated, in receiving the fire of a few scattering Indians, destroying the towns and fields, exploring the country, compelling the enemy to break into small parties, and flee for safety. The troops engaged in this service having been in the field three months, marching unremittingly, with their provisions on their backs, instructions were at last issued for an abandonment of further pursuit, and the entire command, excepting two companies, was ordered to Fort Brooke. Two companies of the 4th infantry were stationed at Fort Harvie and Camp Simmons, under Captain G. McCall, an efficient and intelligent officer. Major Belknap, with one company of the 8th infantry, Captain Montgomery commanding, and one of the 2d dragoons, Captain Kerr, together with the chief Alligator and friendly Indians, marched north, from Camp Simmons to Lake Istokpoga, where it was supposed the Indians retreating from the Everglades had secreted themselves. Here he succeeded in opening a communication with several sub-chiefs, formerly adherents of Bowlegs and the Prophet, and ultimately secured Tustenuggee-chopco, a sub-chief belonging to the band of Sam Jones, with sixty-seven followers, thirty-two of whom were active young warriors. These Indians could give but little information of others driven from the swamp. The last they had seen of Sam Jones was in the Halpatioke or Alligator Swamp, on the west side of Lake Okechobee, with seven men, and a large number of women and children. The Prophet and Bowlegs they supposed were secreted in the Everglades. Thus terminated the operations in the south,

west of Lake Oke-chobee, which were commenced on the first of November, and ended on the last of February.

The importance of military results and efforts in this contest, cannot in justice be measured by the number killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Nor can the endurance to which officers and men were subjected, be illustrated by the number of Indians seen or caught. The extent of country explored must be examined; its character, the climate, and the utter destitution of every thing but what a man could pack upon his back, should be considered and understood, before the citizen can appreciate the services of the soldiers, and participate with them in the disappointments so frequent in the prosecution of this hopeless contest. The country would have never been explored, had not the red man fled to this inhospitable region for safety. Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida, in January, 1522, might well have been intimidated, when, landing upon the southeastern shore, and crossing a strip of land two miles wide, he espied stretched out before him an inland sea, the Pay-hai-o-kee, or Grass-Water, known to us as the Everglades. The flowers were blooming in the month of January, and hence he gave the country the name of Florida.

The execution of general order No. 60, from Washington, October 9th, 1841, for the relief of the 3d artillery, having been postponed until after the campaign in the south, instructions were transmitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Gates commanding, to proceed to Cedar Key with his head-quarters, to which place two companies had been ordered from Fort Dallas and Lauderdale, *en route* to their stations on the Gulf. The posts abandoned were transferred to the command of Lieutenant McLaughlin, U. S. N., and garrisoned by marines.

The excitement incident to the attack upon the settlements of Mandarin, influenced by the garbled statements and exertions of those interested in the continuance of the war, or, in other words, the participators in government plunder, had become so loud, that even the authorities at Washington had serious doubts whether the Florida army had not been in a state of enjoyment and repose, instead of the field, in pursuit of the enemy. To allay this feeling, which these violent acts had excited, and which was increased in proportion as the interest and safety of citizens were involved, the following additional reports were transmitted to the adjutant-general of the army, on the last of January, as illustrative of what had been done by the troops in prosecution of the warfare; most of these were but a recapitulation of what had transpired for six months past. They might have been consolidated in a formula under the following heads—tracks seen, fields destroyed, country waded, troops exhausted, Indians gone:

List of papers sent to the Adjutant-General, January 17th, 1842.

No. 1.

- Reports from Major Belknap, of the 1st, 6th, 9th, and 10th January
 " Captain Wright, of the 31st of Dec. and 6th "
 " Captain Brown, of the 12th "
 " Major Childs, of the 7th "

No. 2.

- Reports from Captain Bonneville, of 28th September, 20th October, 1st December, and 1st January.
 " Major Fauntleroy, of 1st and 12th October.
 " Major Clintoek, of 2d, 9th, and 17th October.
 " Captain Burke, of 5th and 10th October and 3d November.
 " Captain Morris, of 8th Oct., and 1st, 3d, 9th, and 19th November.

No. 3.

- Reports from Major Childs, of 10th, 20th, and 28th October, and 4th, 13th, and 23d November.
 " Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, of 28th October, 3d, 10th, 15th, and 28th November, and 2d, 5th, and 27th December.
 " Lieutenant Hopson, of 10th and 30th November, and 10th, 20th, and 30th December.
 " Captain Wade, of 10th October.
 " Captain Fulton, of 8th November.

No. 4.

- Reports from Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler, of 22d November, and 17th and 22d December.
 " Lieutenant Ketchum, of 25th November.
 " Lieutenant-Colonel Gates, of 26th November and 10th December.
 " Lieutenant-Colonel Vose, of 26th and 30th November, and 3d, 16th, 20th, and 24th December.
 " Major Rains, of 1st December.
 " Captain Wright, of 3d and 4th December.
 " Major Belknap, of 9th, 12th, and 14th December.

P. S. To the adjutant-general, letter No. 101.

Within a few days we have secured twelve additional warriors, and several women and children; to that extent reduced the small number of the enemy. It is satisfactorily ascertained, those of the Creeks heretofore infesting Ocklocknee country, have not escaped the general pestilence, by which their numbers are much reduced.

W. J. W.

Instructions were sent on the 1st of February for the further relief of the 3d artillery, to the eight companies occupying the remaining post on the Atlantic coast, in command of Major Childs. The whole were concentrated at Smyrna. In detachments of two companies each, extending from the Atlantic to the St. John's river, moving north, the swamps and hammocks, recent retreats of Halleck-Tustenuggee, were re-examined, in the belief that, with his accustomed sagacity, he had returned there for safety. On reaching Palatka, on the St. John's, the command proceeded to Cedar Key by grand divisions, with intervals of one

day; there embarked for the stations assigned on the Gulf coast. The service of this regiment, the patient endurance and fidelity of the soldiers, the intelligence, zeal, and activity of its officers, and the successes which crowned its efforts, well entitle them to the trite but hard-earned eulogy, *that they performed their duty*. One hundred and fifty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven commissioned officers, fell victims to the climate and the incidents of the service. Three officers and thirty-five privates were killed in action.

Captain U. S. Fraser, Second-Lieutenant J. L. Klais, and Second-Lieutenant R. R. Mudge, were of Dade's command, which was attacked by two hundred Indians, when marching from Fort Brooke to Fort King, on the 28th December, 1835. They most gallantly stood their ground, and were among the last to cheer their comrades in the midst of a murderous fire. One hundred and two non-commissioned officers and privates, and eight officers, were shot down on the very spot where the action commenced; two men only escaped.

While this movement under Major Childs was in progress, the 2d infantry, in detachments, operated on the west side of the St. John's, regulating their marches to co-operate with the artillery. Fort Pierce, on the Atlantic, was re-occupied by Captain G. Wright, with two companies of the 8th infantry, having finished the examination of the islands in the Everglades and Malco river, in search of Bowlegs and the Prophet, without success.

The eight companies of the 8th infantry, as they arrived at Fort Brooke from the south, proceeded to the different posts, forming the cordon for the protection of the frontier of Georgia. The remainder of the force, so long subjected to the arduous service south, consisting of detachments of the 2d dragoons, the 4th and 6th infantry, took post at Fort Brooke.

The time had now arrived, when it was imperative that another embarkation of Indians should take place. The plot instigated by Tiger-Tail, so signally defeated, in which it was discovered that his two younger brothers were participators, had infused into the minds of the most friendly, ill-humor and discontent. The most restless were already on board the transport, but there were others in camp, who had become satiated with the restraint and monotony of their lives, and in their exertions to conciliate the Creeks, were more cautious and timid than ever.

On the 5th of February, two hundred and thirty Indians were embarked in the ship *Rosalind*. Sixty-eight of the number were warriors, comprising Seminoles, Creeks, Tallahasseees, Mickasukies, and Uchees. There were many among them who had been distinguished as *braves*, but there was no one recognized as a chief, or head-man.

They had roamed through the country, disregarding the advice or authority of any one. When grouped on the deck of the vessel, surrounded by those of their own color, whom they had spurned from boyhood, but, associated, had murdered and plundered in a war of self defence, they hung their heads in sullen and gloomy silence. Though sympathy might have been felt for them under ordinary circumstances, no one could see but with satisfaction, this motley group, so strongly marked by the characteristics of the different tribes, compelled, after having so long remained out against the advice and in contempt of the authority of their chiefs, to embark for their new home in the west, and thus terminate their career of plunder, devastation, and murder.

Captain T. S. Alexander, 6th infantry, was placed in charge, an officer in all respects highly qualified for the responsible duty intrusted to him. A company of the 3d artillery was also on board, by way of precaution lest these Indians might either fight among themselves, or combine against the whites. The old chief, Nethlockemathlar, who remained behind, visited them on the day of sailing, and enjoined good behavior, and obedience to the officer in command. Though there was gratification in seeing these remnants of so many tribes depart, there was but too much reason to fear, that in Arkansas, and in a more fruitful soil, the passions so long indulged would again have play, and the scenes enacted in Florida, be, ere long, repeated there, and that those who were now spectators and instruments in this last scene, would become participators in the outrages and encroachments yet to be apprehended. From the different bands, a sufficient number were retained, who, expressing an anxiety to find relatives and friends before leaving, gave some assurance of becoming useful in obtaining interviews with the Indians, now so unceasingly pursued in all parts of the territory.

Captain T. P. Gynn, with a detachment of the 8th infantry, examined the Wahoo Swamp and the country surrounding, with that fortitude and zeal distinguishing him in a long and arduous service in Florida. When wading the swamp, his men deep in mud and water, he was fired upon by a party of seven or eight Indians. Sergeant Seward, a faithful soldier of twenty years' service, was killed, and two others wounded. Pursuit was given and continued until the tracks were lost in the mud and water.

From the result of the movements of the 2d, 4th, 6th, 7th, and 8th regiments of infantry, supported by the five remaining companies of the 2d dragoons, east of the Suwannee, it was supposed that the Creeks had again taken refuge in Cook's hammock, and the scrub on the Esteen Hatchee river, west towards Tallahassee.

Colonel Vose was ordered to march one hundred men into this section of country, while Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler, 7th

infantry, with a like number, mounted and on foot, co-operated from the Suwannee. The enemy, though not seen, were heard from, while these commands were besieging their hiding-places. A war party, of some ten or twelve, under Octiarche, crossed the Suwannee river, and attacked an unprotected family, remote from neighbors, with barbed arrows; the mother and one child were killed, and three were left as dead. The eldest, seven years old, the others, two and four, were transfixed with arrows. In this condition they remained four hours, incapable of rendering each other assistance, until a traveller, accidentally passing the house, discovered their situation. But he, panic-struck and horrified at the sight of the mutilated remains of the mother and her infant, fled precipitately, giving the alarm in all directions. This caused others to fly, apprehending a similar fate, until the men of the settlements assembled in sufficient numbers to meet the enemy, and risk themselves where the outrage was committed. With vigor and resolution, they armed to a man, and so rapid and unceasing was the pursuit, that the Indians were obliged to abandon their plunder to avoid capture, which would still have befallen them, had they not re-crossed the Suwannee on a raft, leaving behind most of the articles obtained, corn, and bacon, &c., on the shore. Captain S. B. Thornton, 2d dragoons, with one company, took up the trail on the west bank of the river, with negro Jim as a guide, assisted by an Uchee Indian. Following the trail all day, towards night it entered a swamp, in which the guides said the Indians were encamped. Picketing his horses on the outside, he at midnight entered the swamp with twenty men. Without cracking a bush, or making the least noise, he penetrated to a secluded spot and discovered the palmetto sheds of the enemy, about an hour before daylight. The men, in whispers, received the order to surround them, and await the dawn of day. With breathless anxiety they laid quiet, until the appointed hour.

The commander, and Jim, the guide, stood within ten feet of six sleeping warriors, whose brawny limbs lay stretched before them, and whose hands were yet red with innocent blood. The women and children were grouped around them. An Indian arose, stretched himself, and looked at the stars; another sat up and gazed about as though, in imagination, the atmosphere was peopled with indistinct objects, hardly discernible. The first again stood up, evidently nervous, and with a troubled mind. He stirred the fire, rubbed his sleepy eyes, and, as though overcome with constant watching, sat down again, when his head, dropping upon his chest, he was asleep. A woman arose, and earnestly looked in his face, when he started, and grasped her garments. Another woman sat down by his side, while her child played with his listless hand. She stirred the fading embers, as if to raise a

flickering light to see the workings of a conscience excited by those foreboding feelings so peculiar to the race, and so often faithfully realized. That monitor within, or the instinct, which infinite wisdom has planted in the savage breast, and which, in the absence of cultivation, compels him to acknowledge the existence of a Great Spirit, gave serious admonitions to the leader of this banditti, Octiarche, that danger was around him. Gray dawn was just approaching, when the men, worn down by suspense, and anxious for the reward of their toils, became impatient. The noise increasing, alarmed the sleepers, who, with one bound, and a shrill whoop, as though their dreams were realized, cleared the entire command. The soldiers desisted from firing, as the women and children would have been the victims. The warriors escaped. Five women and several children were captured. That humane feeling, which has characterized officers and soldiers throughout the contest, here prevailed. Often has the soldier shared his tobacco and rations from his scanty haversack, with his Indian prisoners, after pursuing them day and night through hammock and swamp. Had every captive been hung upon the spot, the contest would have been brief. It is a high commendation to the officers and soldiers of the army, that, under every discouragement, under disappointments, privations, and disease, nobler principles prevailed. A commander, with these various scenes enacting around him, might well ask, when will this contest close? Troops were in the field five times the number of the enemy. Friendly Indians were endeavoring to aid, so far as they were capable, and had the courage; still the Indians held possession of the country, fully competent, though diminished in numbers, to commit murders, which no forecast, precaution, or military force could prevent or punish. The enemy, reduced to the few who had instigated the captured Indians to hostilities, were now driven to the alternative of acting for themselves, and fulfilling their determination to die upon the soil.

On the 10th of February, Colonel Worth proceeded to Tallahassee, and submitted to his excellency C. K. Call, then governor of the territory, the following communication to the commanding general of the army, Major-General Scott, in reference to measures necessary, under the peculiar situation of affairs, to bring the contest successfully, but gradually, to a close. In these views, generally, his excellency concurred.

*"Head-quarters of the Army of Florida, }
Tallahassee, February 14th, 1841. }*

"GENERAL—I believe there has been no instance in which, in the removal of Indians, some, more or less, have not been left. This unavoidably arises from their wandering life and habits; to

which may be added, in the case of the Seminoles, the peculiar character of the country.

"I have the honor to submit a statement of the whole number—Seminoles, Mickasukies, and Creeks, now at large; and their general range, and location. This statement has been carefully prepared from the examination of various Indians, chiefs, and others, of each and every tribe and band, and at different times. Generally, there has been a remarkable concurrence in the statements; nevertheless, in case of discrepancy, the highest number has been assumed. From this statement, it appears there are but three hundred and one Indians—men, women, and children, remaining scattered through the vast and almost boundless swamps of this territory; of whom, including the aged incapable of enterprise, and the younger yet unaccustomed to the use of arms, there are but one hundred and twelve men—a number, it is admitted, sufficient, if kept in a state of irritation by constant and fruitless pursuit, acting upon such and so sparse a population, to do much mischief. Of the number stated, one hundred and forty-three are south, who have never manifested a disposition to approach the settlements; and one hundred and twenty are Creeks, who were not original parties to the contest. It may be here re-asserted, that every diminution of numbers adds to the difficulty of taking the remainder.

"The operations since June conclusively demonstrate, to my mind, the utter impracticability of securing them by main force. The object must be attained by pacific and persuasive measures, or not at all. Every exertion of force, while it tends to make the enemy more wild in his habits and savage in his nature, places the object in view, his total expulsion, more remote; and yet the commander, with so large a force, who fails to give it the highest activity, disappoints an inordinate public expectation, while, by so doing, he defeats the object. The first step, in my judgment, towards closing the contest, if not finishing it, is to reduce the force; this is being done to the extent to which I have authority, and the immediate consequence will be, a diminution of five-sixths of the extraordinary expense. After the field operations (which are general) now going on shall have terminated, it is my purpose, unless otherwise ordered, to place the troops in position to give protection, and to limit myself to that object. Authority has been asked to order out the remaining companies of the 2d dragoons, and, by the 1st of May, one additional regiment of infantry may be dispensed with. There will then remain three entire regiments, and six companies of a fourth regiment. There is a supply of forage and subsistence in the country now, equal to the wants of the present force of man and horse for five months, which, on the reduced scale proposed,

will answer for eight or ten: and I beg that any further shipments may be suspended until especially called for; and also, if necessary, other than under such orders as I may give, that Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, head of the quartermaster's staff, may be instructed as to the manner of disposing of surplus—such as mules, horses, wagons, &c.

“I ask the instructions of the commanding general on these subjects; and, if my suggestions shall be approved, I then invoke authority to say to these people, through friendly Indians, that so long as inoffensive, they may remain where they are, and plant and reap in quiet—mean time, to permit the Arkansas delegates and one or two of the chiefs now in our possession, whose tribes and families have been sent off, to go among them, and at their pleasure reside with them, availing themselves of the proper time and occasion to reason with and explain to them their true condition, not doubting that in a few moons they will thereby be induced to come in, and ask to be sent to their new homes. Quiet is indispensable to their being made fully acquainted with their isolated position, and also of their weakness; for such has been their dispersion, that they are yet to be convinced that many of their proximate and confederate bands have been sent to the west; and also, that their strength consists in their power to elude, not to combat their enemies. If this authority be conceded, I propose further to grant them permission to come freely to any of the military posts, and trade without restriction. It is proper here to remark, that measures are in train which give fair assurance that we shall, within the next month, have in possession one-third of the small number stated as remaining out.

“While I am fully aware of the delicacy, I nevertheless feel it my duty, respectfully, but seriously, to submit to your consideration, whether it will be deemed public policy to prosecute this contest for results so uncertain, at expense so enormous; and whether the plan proposed would not accomplish the object with equal credit to the country, and more convenience to the treasury.

“I beg that the foregoing views and suggestions may not be considered as arising from any indisposition of the officers or men composing this army to prosecute the contest under any circumstances of duty or hardship; on the contrary, to be allowed to avail myself of this occasion to testify to the zeal and energy with which all have, under every circumstance of difficulty, and with singleness of purpose, devoted themselves to the attainment of the object.

“The main purpose of my coming hither, was to submit this subject generally to his excellency Governor Call; and I have much hope of his support and concurrence, generally, in the

foregoing views. As there are many points of detail connected therewith which would be inconvenient to embody in this report, as also the submission of some explanatory maps, I have deemed it of sufficient importance, and also that I may be more promptly and clearly advised of the views of the major-general commanding-in-chief, to dispatch Major Cooper, chief of the staff, to general head-quarters. That officer is fully possessed of my views and reflections upon the subject; and I request that entire confidence may be given to any statements he may make in relation thereto, and that, after executing this duty, he may be permitted to join me without delay.

"Treating of matters other than of military detail, I have taken the liberty, which I hope will be excused, of addressing this direct to the general commanding-in-chief.

I have the honor to-be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Maj. Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT, Commanding- }
in-Chief, Head-quarters, Washington. }

W. J. WORTH,
Colonel Commanding."

Statement of Indians in Florida accompanying Colonel Worth's letter of February 14th, 1842.

	Warriors.	Women and Children.	Total.	
Sam Jones's band; supposed to be about the head-waters of the Locha Hatchee, thence south.	15	31	46	Mostly Mickasukies. Some Seminoles.
The Prophet's, including Bowlegs'; supposed to be in the direction of the Mangrove Lake, south near Key Biscayne.	13	24	37	All Creeks but two.
Assinawas, including Chitto-Tustenuggee's, and several straggling Indians; supposed to be on or about the Kissimmee.	20	40	60	Seminoles; communication has been had with this party, and they will doubtless be with us in a few days.
Halleck-Tustenuggee; ranging in the direction of How Creek and Tomatka, thence south.	12	20	32	Mickasukies.
Powis Cockuchnies; range the same, and associated with Halleck.	6	4	10	Creeks.
The two Octiarches; between the Suwannee and the Withlacooche.	20	27	47	Creeks.
Hothle Peyee Tustenuggee, including Chitto, Hadjo, and Halpatter Tustenuggee; range in the hammocks of the Esteen Hatchee.	19	30	49	In equal numbers; Creeks, Tallahassee, and Mickasukies.
Oze-re-sa; range in the hammocks of the Ock-lockonnee.	7	13	20	Creeks.
	112	189	301	

"Of the above there are 120 Creeks, including 45 Creek warriors, dispersed among the several bands who were not a party to the original contest.

"From close examination, at different times, of Indians in possession, generally agreeing in results, and from information obtained from various other sources, the above table has been formed, showing the whole number of Indians remaining out. In the examinations there has been a singular coincidence of statement, but where there was a discrepancy, the highest number has been taken in forming the table.

W. J. W., *Commanding, &c.*"

This letter made a crisis in the Florida war. Some thought it a compromise of the honor of the nation, and of the gallantry of the army. The contest, it was said, had been commenced, and should be persevered in, so as to vindicate the potency and efficiency of our arms, and to illustrate the blessings of a bountiful treasury. This had already lavished millions, without obtaining either glory for the military, or satisfying the expectations and demands of the people, whose condition only became more critical and embarrassed, as money was appropriated and expended. Major Samuel Cooper, assistant-adjutant-general, was dispatched to Washington City, to submit this communication to the commander-in-chief. It was referred to the secretary of war, the Honorable J. C. Spencer, and by him laid before a council of officers of rank, who did not deem the measures proposed as politic, expedient, or judicious. Major-General Jesup, a member of the council, alone dissented. His experience in Florida gave abundant proofs of the necessity of the course recommended, as the only efficient method by which the conflict could be successfully closed. The suggestions, as submitted, were nevertheless carried out, and how far they were conceived in wisdom, policy, and justice, subsequent events must show, and the results speak for themselves.

Orders were issued laying out the ground of retrenchment, bringing the means for military operations within a compass corresponding with the object in view. Order No. 4 comprehends the general plan of reduction.

ORDER }
No. 4. }

"Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, }
Palatka, March 6th, 1842. }

"I. All public horses, other than those hereafter enumerated, will be forthwith turned in to the quartermaster's department, to be disposed of as Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting shall direct.

"II. For the purpose of expresses, and occasionally to mount troops, under orders of commanding officers, but to be habitually

in charge of the officers of the quartermaster's department, as follows: Fort Brooke, for the present, twenty; Micanopy, twelve; Fort Pierce, ten; Wacassassa, Watkahoota, Fanning, King, and the station at Charles Ferry, each, six; at all other places, four.

"III. The position of Fort Fanning will no longer be used as a depot. Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting will designate the posts on the Suwannee line to be supplied from the Gulf depot, and take measures to furnish the remainder from Palatka.

"IV. All guides and interpreters taken into service by authority of district or local commanders, to be discharged, and employed as occasion may render necessary.

"V. All hired clerks in the quartermaster's and commissary's departments, will be immediately discharged, except at the principal depots of Palatka and Cedar Keys, and for the present at *Fort Brooke*, Port Leon, and Micanopy, or where said clerks are employed in the quartermaster's department, in virtue of general regulations by authority of the quartermaster-general of the army.

"VI. Where the duties of commissary's and quartermaster's departments are performed by an assistant-commissary of subsistence, the assistant-commissary will call upon the commanding officer of the post for a suitable non-commissioned officer or soldier, as provided for in paragraph 1094, article 78, General Regulations, which requisition will be complied with.

"VII. The allowance to commissary-clerks at the principal depots will be reduced to that made to clerks in the quartermasters' departments.

By order of Colonel Worth,

J. T. SPRAGUE,

Lieut. and A. D. C., and Acting Assist. Adj. Gen."

The strength of the army had been reduced by the departure of the 6th regiment of infantry, 480 strong, on the 20th of February, for Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.

This regiment entered Florida in September, 1837. Its loss fully explains the character and importance of its service. Ten officers were cut off during its tour of duty, and one hundred and twenty-nine privates; four officers died on the field of battle, and nineteen privates were killed in action.

Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander R. Thompson, Captain J. Van Swearingen, First-Lieutenant Francis J. Brooke, and Second-Lieutenant J. P. Center, were killed in the battle of Oke-chobee, on the 25th December, 1837. Distinguished and beloved in private life, their memories are cherished by comrades who emulate their example, and by the army generally, as ornaments to their country and profession.

In the month of January, 1396 were reported taken sick, 14 died, and 13 discharged the service; during the month of February, 880 were taken sick, 21 died, and 5 discharged the service. The season of the year, by far the most healthy in this climate, was favorable to military operations. The country was much drier than at any period before or after; and the clear bracing mornings and evenings gave vigor to the feeble, and cheerfulness to the healthy.

It is remarkable, that of the large number taken sick during the unhealthy season, so few should have died. The diseases at first were of a mild type, but, by continued exposure, those once attacked were predisposed to another, much more formidable, that assumed a combination of symptoms, baffling the skill of the most experienced. If the number could be ascertained of those who died from disease contracted in Florida, during the contest and subsequently, and others whose constitutions were enfeebled and destroyed by the climate and exposure, it would nearly equal one third of the number reported by the medical director, from month to month, as "taken sick."

The total "taken sick" of the army, reported at the expiration of every month by Surgeon Harney, between the 1st day of June, 1841, and the 28th day of February, 1842, nine months, was 15,794 cases, 234 deaths, and 117 men discharged the service for disability. The strength of the army present in the territory comprised 4747 non-commissioned officers and privates, and 245 commissioned officers.

The mortality as exhibited in figures is small. Those who still suffer from the effects of the climate, and exposure incident to the contest, have had entailed upon them poverty, wretchedness, and wo. Many sought the service for glory, and others went through it with manliness and fortitude, determined to perform their duty. The attenuated frame, the sunken eye, and meagre countenance of many a soldier, hanging around his more hardy comrades for bread, tell a sad tale for his country, and a melancholy one for himself. Broken down by disease in performing his duty, or having grown too old in his country's cause for further profitable use, he is discharged, and thrown upon an uncharitable world, with no capital but his repeated stories of hard-fought battles and Indian scenes, whereby to obtain his daily bread. He may point to gaping wounds, and shattered limbs, and extend his emaciated hand, which for the moment excites the charitable, not to eulogize his country or urge her sons to deeds in her defence, feeling pride at every twinge of pain, but to display his misfortunes, with humility, in hopes of obtaining a scanty supply to cheer his solitary home.

There is no asylum connected with the army, none estab-

lished by the nation, to which the faithful soldier of his country can retire, after years of honorable service. These living records of history recall the exploits and illustrate the glory of a nation. They are living monuments inscribed with the scar-written deeds of their country, to which the youthful soldier may look with feelings of patriotism, and a kindred desire to engage in the service and promote the happiness of his native land. The republican maxim that a man's reward is in the hearts of his countrymen, may do well for him who is above the pinchings of want, and attended by the acclamations of the multitude; but the demands of the humble soldier are too often overlooked or discountenanced amid the plaudits of a crowd. Let an asylum, then, supported and nourished by the general government, be the home and resting-place of the faithful soldier, instead of the sepulchre which now receives them—the alms-house, and a scanty, secluded grave.

CHAPTER XII.

MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY, 1842.

A crisis in the affairs of Florida.—The army discouraged by the rejections of the proposed means to end the war.—The course pursued: Retrenchment, reduction of force, discharge of employées from the service.—The Prophet's and Sam Jones's influence destroyed.—Holatter-Micco, or Billy Bowlegs, proclaimed chief.—The scattered condition of the enemy.—The influence and conduct of Tiger-Tail among the Creeks.—The Indians assemble in the Wahoo swamp to concert means of safety.—Tracks seen.—Negotiation at an end; capture or death.—Embarkation of Indians for New-Orleans in charge of L. G. Capers, Esq., of the Indian department.—Departure of the chief Nethlockemathlar; his character and influence; his life.—Indians at New-Orleans.—The army in the field, in pursuit of Halleck-Tustenuggee; Peter, an Indian, sent to him; he never returned.—Combined movement of the army on the Wahoo swamp and surrounding country.—Detachments of the 2d, 4th, and 8th infantry enter the swamp; disappointment.—Farther preparations for pursuit.—The chief, Holattoche, baffled by the enemy; he rides around the country and discovers a single Indian track, leading to the Palacklakaha hammock, supposed to be a spy upon the troops.—The troops take up the line of march, and encamp at Abraham's old town.—Preparations made to attack the enemy.—Holattoche visits the commander's tent at midnight, and pleads for the life of women and children in the approaching conflict.—The troops on the march for the hammock; conduct of guides and negro interpreters.—Sagacity of Holattoche; a foot print discovered and followed three miles to the hammock.—Spirited attack upon the Indians in their camp, protected by logs and palmetto, led on by Col. Garland, 4th infantry.—Assailed by Colonel Worth, with a company of dragoons, cutting off the enemy's retreat.—The Indians separate into small parties, giving battle in all quarters.—Total defeat; troops in their camp.—Burial of Private Wandell, 2d dragoons; killed and wounded.—Detachments follow up trails leading from the hammock.—Capture of O-son-e-Micco (the Old Man of the Lakes), son-in-law of Halleck-Tustenuggee, who desires to take a talk to the chief.—He to return in five days and meet the command at Warm Springs.—The number of Indians engaged in the affair.—Embarrassments of the troops in advancing.—The appearance of Halleck-Tustenuggee in the fight.—Indians painted red; in a state of nudity.—Their last battleground.—Their fire concentrated upon the Indian guides and interpreters.—Interpreters Gopher John and Morris in the fray.—The appearance and valor of the chief Holattoche.—Indians' first discharge effectual; manner of loading in battle.—The spirit, gallantry, and forbearance of officers and men in the affair.—Colonel Worth's report.—The return of O-son-e-Micco to the camp at Warm Spring.—He reports Halleck-Tustenuggee, with his band, six miles off.—Halleck-Tustenuggee comes into camp with his two wives and children.—His appearance and reception.—Officers assemble to meet him.—Colonel Worth's private conversation with him.—He not inclined to leave the country.—His good feelings secured.—Sends five messengers to Oetiarche, the Creek chief.—Large demands for provisions.—Insolent conduct and language of Halleck-Tustenuggee and followers.—His fidelity much doubted.—Major Graham, Captain McCall, and Lieutenant Sprague, visit his camp, to reconnoitre, to surprise and capture.—From its position, deemed impracticable.—Other means resorted to.—The Indians become shy and suspicious.—The chief and his wives accompany Colonel Worth to Fort King; his object in going there to purchase powder and lead.—Orders left with Colonel Garland to seize the entire band in the absence of Halleck-Tustenuggee.—Colonel Garland effects the object, ties the Indians, and sends them to Tampa Bay.—The measures adopted to accomplish it, and the conduct of the Indians.—Col. Worth announces to Halleck-Tustenuggee, at Fort King, the capture of his band, and that he now was a prisoner.—His anger and appearance on the occasion.—Proceeds under guard to Fort Wacassassa.—Arrival there of the five messengers sent to Oetiarche.—They taken prisoners.—A midnight scene between Halleck-Tustenuggee and these five men, who upbraided the chief for selling his followers and land. His patriotism.—Meeting at Horse Key of both parties; their haggard appearance, arising from intemperance.—A sub-chief attempts suicide.—East Florida relieved from apprehension.—Indians guarded by one hundred and fifty men on Horse Key.—Halleck-Tustenuggee harmless.—The activity of the army, 7th and 3d infantry, in pursuit of the Creeks in Middle Florida.—Two months in the field; results.—A party of eight Indians attack the settlements under Halpatter-Tustenuggee; commit murders, and defeat six soldiers.—Closely pursued, overtaken, abandoning their plunder, and whipped.—They join Oetiarche, who disapproves of their conduct, as peace was restored.—Citizens abandon their homes, and flee for safety.—The army discouraged; no end to the war.—The approach of the summer; prospects of another summer campaign.—Movements of troops unavailing; calculated to exasperate the enemy, without capturing or defeating.—Usefulness of Halleck-Tustenuggee, who takes the terms of peace to the Creeks.—His reception and their promises.—The terms of peace.—The Creek Indians on the Ocklockonne river obtain an interview with Colonel Vose, through two white men.—The terms of peace accepted.—Assembling for emigration.—Departure of the 2d regiment of infantry for the north, its length of service in Florida, and efficiency.—Deaths of officers.—N. C. officers and soldiers.—Death of Captain Samuel Russell, by the enemy.—Orders issued for the departure of the five remaining companies of the 2d dragoons; character and length of their service in Florida.—Death of Officers.—N. C. officers and privates.—The sick report of the army for March, April, and May.—The Florida war approaching a close.—State of the army and prevailing feeling.

THE crisis in the contest with the Indians in Florida having arrived, perceptible to the most casual observer, the army looked with interest and anxiety for the confirmation, by the authorities.

in Washington, of the measures proposed for bringing the war to a speedy and final close. It was with feelings of surprise and regret that the intelligence was received, that the course recommended in the communication from the colonel commanding, of February 14th, was condemned. The success attending the vigorous and unceasing efforts of officers and soldiers during the past six months, gave no guarantee to the inexperienced and distant observer, that the opinions of those who were participants, were based upon reflection and dear-bought experience. The war was to be prosecuted while retrenchment was called for, and the expulsion of the Indian demanded. The citizen was to be protected, but the manner, as dictated by experience and a regard for the various interests involved, as well as the drain upon the national treasury, were unheeded, and the commander, unguided and uninstructed, was left to his own discretion; to bear the burden of rebuke, if unsuccessful, or to share with the government the meed of praise if good fortune crowned his efforts. Whatever course might be pursued, the approbation and reward, condemnation or censure, depended entirely upon results accomplished. How to close the affair, was an open question, left very much to the option of those into whose hands its management fell. Notwithstanding this peculiar situation of things, retrenchment, long since begun, was continued, cutting deep into the vitals, so long diseased, without the administration either of antidotes or restoratives. The appliances in the way of militia, increased means, and outlay of money, only tended to provoke the appetite, magnifying the numbers (by current report), the activity and cruelties of the enemy, relatively, with the necessities of the multitude depending upon public expenditure for support. Outposts were abandoned, the strength of the army concentrated, thereby reducing the means of transportation; horses, mules, wagons, and forage, were dispensed with; clerks, teamsters, wagon-masters, stable-keepers, mechanics, daily laborers, steamboats, and sail vessels, were discharged, thus confining operations strictly within the means of the military, adequate to the numbers and dispersed condition of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel H. Whiting, deputy quartermaster-general, stationed at Palatka, entered cordially into the measures so manifestly demanded, with that intelligence and scrutiny for which he had been distinguished during his long service in various departments of the army. The force in Florida now consisted of five companies of the second regiment of dragoons, the 2d, 3d, 4th (six companies), 7th and 8th infantry, numbering two thousand rank and file. The second regiment of infantry had already been recommended to be withdrawn. The number and energies of the enemy were much reduced and subdued. The Indians in the southern extremity of the Peninsula,

had broken the spell of the Prophet (Otulke-Thlocko), and had renounced the influence and authority of Arpeika, or Sam Jones. Holatter-Micco, or Billy Bowlegs, had been proclaimed chief, and Fuse-Hadjo elected his sense-bearer or lawyer. The enemy was scattered in parties of five and ten, wandering from one region of the country to the other. The military force, though much reduced, was as competent, and could act with as much prospect of success, as five times the number. Limiting the means of warfare to a scale corresponding with the number of the foe, induced the Indians to act in large bodies, and to be less cautious than when crowded by troops in such a manner as to intercept families fleeing to their secluded retreats for safety. The chiefs were inclined to keep their bands together, considering themselves strong enough to encounter successfully the troops they had seen in the field. The military were alike confident of success, with detachments of seventy-five or one hundred men. The cunning and vicious influences of Tiger-Tail, whose hostility was inflamed by his failure to defeat the exertions of his brother and put him to death, and thus place himself at the head of a band, now began to be felt and displayed among the Creeks, with whom he was living, and whom he excited to revenge and brutal acts upon the citizens and express-riders. *Tracks* and *trails* were seen in all quarters leading to the Withlacooche river and the Wahoo swamp, where, from the most authentic information, it was believed that a council was to convene of the various bands, to concert measures of safety and defence. The friendly Indians at Fort Brooke were told that negotiation was at an end. Hereafter it was to be "capture and death," as the repeated offers of peace and surrender had only been the precursor of treachery and delay. The Creeks had threatened to scalp them if caught in the woods. This was calculated to excite a retaliatory feeling, stimulating them to exertion and usefulness. Vigilance was enjoined upon commanders of posts, detached camps, and escorts, as it could not be known at what point, or in what numbers the enemy would first be heard from.

Added to these embarrassments, the pressure of public feeling in Florida was felt in Washington City, causing the secretary of war still to doubt the efficiency of the troops in the field. He required further information in regard to the unfortunate murders committed at Mandarin in January. In answer, the commander of the army transmitted the following communication on the 16th of March.

"Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, March 16th, 1842.

"On the 4th instant I had the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from Assistant-Adjutant-General

Thomas, made by order of the honorable secretary of war. Recurring to that communication, I have to state, all the facts of the case (Mandarin murders) having already been submitted to the adjutant-general's office, the special report which I am instructed to make will consist of copies of my reports and reference to those of my subordinates, the originals having been forwarded. Current reports of every circumstance in any way connected with this transaction, as also of the remedial measures, were promptly transmitted to the adjutant-general, after sixty days of uninterrupted pursuit and search. The enemy was tracked, attacked, and routed, with loss on both sides. (See Major Plympton's report.) Still continuing the pursuit, and making use of the prisoners as guides, the enemy was again encountered on the 26th ultimo, and a noted chief, Short Grass, with his own immediate family and connections, captured. The enemy then, notwithstanding the ample force around and about, on land and on the river, acting by his better knowledge of the country, managed to get across the St. John's. To this crossing he was trailed, the river passed, and the pursuit renewed; and I am informed this day that he has been *marked* to a crossing high up on the Ocklawaha. Several days since, detachments were thrown out from Forts King and Russell, in anticipation of his line of retreat towards the Withlacooche.

"The assistant-adjutant-general says, 'At present, the secretary does not see how a band of Indians could penetrate so far north as Mandarin settlement, commit depredations, and return south, unseen and unmolested by the troops;' nor will the honorable secretary make this discovery, until (which God forbid) he becomes more intimately acquainted with this country and the Indian habit and character. As to 'how they could penetrate,' &c., there was in the adjutant-general's office evidence which might, and, in justification to the troops, I must add, ought to have been placed before him, to show that the enemy did not escape unseen, ay, or unpunished too.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Gen. R. JONES, Adj. Gen. U. S. A., }
Washington, D. C.

W. J. WORTH,
Colonel Commanding."

The number of Indians assembled for emigration at Fort Brooke being larger than caution would justify, one hundred were embarked for New-Orleans on the 10th of April, in charge of L. G. Capers, Esq., disbursing agent of Indian affairs, an officer prompt and efficient in the discharge of the complicated and important duties of his department. Twenty-five men, with their families, remained behind, to act as *trackers* and guides. The

worthy old chief Nethlockemathlar, whose example, advice, and fidelity, had effected much good, was among the number, to whom all looked as their friend, protector, and chief. Stern and intelligent in council, calm and dignified in language and demeanor, he commanded and received the respect of Indians and whites. His farewell to Holartooche, with whom he had acted in concert in benefiting his race, was illustrative of the honesty and manly character of both. Each had fought bravely for his race and soil, but being overcome and subdued by a current irresistible, now surrendered, with the determination of abandoning those scenes so endeared from boyhood, with the hope of securing the peace and happiness of his own people congregating in Arkansas. Though not distinguished by the frequent repetition of his name, like many who had obtained celebrity in Florida, he was justly entitled to distinction for the sobriety of his habits, and sound, practical good sense. He had resisted with fortitude the advancement of the whites, but their rapid strides into his country, surmounting every obstacle, induced him to inculcate among the Indians a submission to the demands of his great father at Washington. The brutal effects of intemperance, so prevalent and so gross among the race, had not degraded his habits and intellect, but his exemplary sobriety gave to his acts and opinions a character for wisdom and forecast that commanded respect and obedience. By birth he is a Tallahassee, and was now about fifty years of age, six feet two inches in height, well-proportioned and erect, with a heavy rough countenance, small dark eye, heavy eyebrow, mouth large and lips compressed, indicative of firmness and resolution. When speaking, his manner is subdued, but warms into a high state of excitement as he approaches the interesting point of his subject.

His father's village, when he was born, was on the present site of the town of Tallahassee. He was a conspicuous warrior at the battle of Suwannee Old Town, in the conflict with the army commanded by General Jackson. Village after village was surrendered to the whites, from his birth-place to Tampa Bay, convincing the Indians who assembled to make treaties, that the admonitions so often repeated to them were true—"that surrendering one village to the whites was abandoning the whole." From boyhood he participated in councils, and was present at the treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832. It was his determination not to leave Florida, in spite of the strenuous efforts then made to effect the removal of the tribes: "I was opposed," says he, "to open hostilities, and, to avoid collision, moved with my band from one secluded place to another. My last town was in the Annutiliga hammock; I thought it secure, but the troops closed in upon us from year to year, depriving us of crops, and sub-

jecting our women and children to sickness and want. To hunt, fish, or plant, led to the discovery of our hiding-places. In the summer of 1838 I assembled my band at Fort Brooke, determined to emigrate; but through the means of the negroes, interpreters, and Spaniards, who supplied powder, dissatisfaction was created among the young men, who, concerting with the Creeks, caused them to enter the camp at night, removing forcibly our baggage, women, and children, and threatening us with instant death if we declined following them, or gave the alarm. This placed us again in a hostile attitude, and as the young men had obtained sufficient powder and lead, they disregarded my solicitations for peace. Our crops last summer were entirely destroyed, which never occurred before, and the approach of troops from all quarters scattered our people, separating husbands and wives, parents and children, for safety. From moon to moon we thought the soldiers would retire, but they continuing their destruction as fast as we could plant, there was no alternative left but to improve the first opportunity to surrender. Coacooche I knew when a boy; with his father Philip I had sat in council. The story he told us I felt assured was true. With us he had fought, until compelled to surrender. We took his word, and with him, as the moon was growing pale in the light of day, we smoked the pipe of peace, and sent to the white chief the words of our hearts. We came—surrendered. We have been treated well, and now leave our land forever.” The character of this chief-tain differs widely from that of Coacooche. He is distinguished for wise and deliberate counsels; the latter for the bold, daring, savage acts of the warrior. In the country which is to be the future residence of both, Nethlockemathlar will doubtless have the ascendancy. There they will be brought in contact with intelligent white men as counsellors, who, in their relative positions, will regard his opinions and example a surer guarantee of peace and good order, than the sagacity, shrewdness, and impetuosity of Coacooche. At New-Orleans, these Indians united with those who embarked in charge of Captain Alexander on the 10th of February, and proceeded to Arkansas, acknowledging Nethlockemathlar as their chief. The low stage of water in the rivers, the severity of the climate, when compared with Florida, added to the desire to be joined by the chief, had detained the first party there, at the U. S. barracks. Every opportunity was improved to impress upon them the power and numbers of the white men; an impression which yet will be found beneficial in its effects among the tribes west of the Mississippi river, and operate to deter them from violence. Their ignorance of our strength and consciousness of their own, might cause combinations, and instigate hostilities which could not be arrested until the country was laid waste.

The departure of this band, relieved the troops at Fort Brooke from the incessant duty of sentinels; and enabled them to take the field with the remainder of the army, already in active pursuit of the enemy. From the tracks seen in the neighborhood of Micanopy and Orange Lake, it was thought a blow was meditated upon the settlements in that quarter. Halleck-Tustenuggee was still the adroit and active chieftain he was when overtaken in February by the 2d infantry. An effectual rout of him would relieve the country of a foe, who, independent of his own activity, held communion with others, inducing them to unite in attacks upon the frontier. To quiet the country and give security, it was important to capture him; though from his duplicity, sagacity, and knowledge of the scrubs and swamps, the undertaking seemed a hopeless task. The detachments of the 2d infantry from Fort King, were seeking traces or *tracks* in the supposed haunts of this banditti. Peter, an Indian captured with Short Grass, was sent with a friendly message to this chief: he never returned. It was known subsequently, that he found Halleck-Tustenuggee, who laughed to scorn the offers of the whites, and defied their efforts to subdue him. The information obtained from this messenger, gave renewed courage to the chief and his followers, as he communicated the withdrawal of troops from the territory. They became satisfied that in going to and fro, setting fire to the woods, crossing and re-crossing their trails, they could elude the whites, as well as the Indian guides and negro interpreters.

To effectually scour the country in and around their favorite resorts, a combined movement was made upon the Wahoo Swamp, the Withlacoochee river, *the Cove*, Lake Panee Sufekkee, and the Charlo Popka Lakes. Two companies of the 4th infantry, comprising one hundred men, moved from Fort Brooke. One company took post at Fort Armstrong on the Fort King road, five miles from the Wahoo; the other, followed down the west bank of the Withlacoochee, to Fort Cooper; another company of the 4th took the right bank of the river, following up to the outlet of Lake Panee Sufekkee. Two companies of the 8th infantry, ascended the river in canoes to Jumper Creek and Boggy Hammock. One company of the 2d infantry took post near the head of Jumper Creek. Scouts of the 4th infantry from Fort Cross, were in constant activity in the section of country west from Fort Cooper to the Gulf coast. On the night of the 12th of April, these detachments were in position. Simultaneously, they entered the swamps and hammocks on the 13th, and penetrated them from every quarter, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland of the 4th; Major Belknap, 8th; Major Plympton, 2d; and Major Graham, and Captain McCall

of the 4th regiment of infantry, with three days' provisions on their backs. Every part was examined by land and water. Not the sign of an Indian was seen, but old camps and abandoned corn-fields. The colonel commanding being on the ground, the detachments rendezvoused at Jumper Creek on the 16th, to report and receive instructions for the further pursuit of the enemy; hopes being still indulged of reward for the toil and disappointment, as well as mortification experienced by officers and soldiers. The skill and sagacity of the old chief Holartooche, with five others, was baffled, a humiliation to which he was never before subjected by his own race. On the following day, he rode around the country, and returned at night, reporting that he had discovered *a single Indian track*, leading to the Palacklikaha Hammock, distant about twenty miles; and that by the movements indicated by the foot-print, he believed the man to be a spy upon the troops. The next day the command took up its line of march, and encamped at Abraham's old town, four miles from the hammock, in which it was believed the Indians were secreted. Preparations were made to move at the break of day, under the guidance of Holartooche, with three days' rations. The chief was satisfied the Indians were there. At one o'clock at night he sought the tent of Colonel Worth, and there privately, with deep interest and feeling, plead for the lives of women and children in the approaching conflict; and that the men, if taken prisoners, might not be hung. The fervent appeals of this old chieftain, at such an hour, could not but be regarded. "The Great Spirit," he said, "told him the Indians were there prepared to fight." Old as he was, his sturdy heart never failed him.

The impulses of a generous and honorable sentiment induced him to ask that the fate of his own color, hard as it was, might not be aggravated by cruelties; and the conflict rendered more deadly by the indulgence of violent passions, and shedding the blood of women and children. At the break of day, the column was in motion. The actions of the negro interpreters and friendly Indians denoted their feelings and expectations, as they quietly rode in advance of the troops. They re-loaded their rifles, carefully patching the ball, re-priming and pricking the vent, taking off the covering from the lock usually placed over it to prevent dampness—examined the quantity of powder in their horns, and arranged the bullets and patches about their persons, to be convenient in the haste of battle; and then gazed intently around, inspecting every twig and blade of grass, and soft places in the soil to discover traces of a footstep. The quiet, steady tread of the soldier shook the heavy dew from the foliage, as the breaking of day and the rising sun dispelled the moisture, and

gave to the mornings in this climate, at this season, a loveliness calculated to inspire the most feeble and weary. The officers noted inquiringly the Indians as they dismounted from time to time to remove the high grass, in hopes of finding a *track* to guide them direct to the camp of the enemy. "An Indian has just passed here," said the chief, much excited. How do you know? was the eager inquiry. "This blade of grass," he replied, holding it up, "was trod upon this morning: you see it is crushed; the sun, nor the light of day has not shone upon it—had either, it would have wilted—you see it is green, but crushed. Here are more—there is the print of a foot!" The column halted, when tracks were discernible at a great distance from each other. "He is running," said the chief, "to make known the approach of the troops." This foot-print was followed three miles, when the hammock in the distance was seen, in which it was not doubted the enemy were prepared to stand their ground, or it might be, what was too often found, a forsaken camp. A trail was now struck, leading direct through mud and water, from one to three feet deep. The hammock in full view, surrounded by water, looked like a mass of dark-green foliage, almost impenetrable. The detachments of the 2d, 4th, and 8th infantry, under Lieutenant Garland and Major Plympton, in extended order, charged the hammock at a rapid pace; first discharging a volley, which was responded to by the crack of rifles and the shrill, unceasing war-whoop. The soldiers returned it with redoubled energy by the rapid and steady advance of bayonets, backed by men determined to wreak their vengeance for the privations and disappointment so long and often endured. Yell after yell reverberated through the dense foliage; the crack of the rifle, the dull heavy discharge of musketry, the whoop, which became louder and louder until the shrill voice of the savage was lost in the repeated imitations and shouts of the soldiers.

Colonel Worth, with a company of the 2d dragoons, assailed their position in the rear, intercepting them as they retreated in small parties, giving battle in all quarters. For a time they stood their ground firmly, relying upon a partial breastwork of fallen timber and the thick undergrowth, which totally obscured the view of a man twenty feet distant. This was to be the desperate battle-ground of the band. The manly frame and voice of Halleck-Tustenuggee arose above the discharge of musketry, the crack of rifles, the smoke and foliage and his flying band, thrown into confusion by finding their retreat thus unexpectedly attacked by dragoons. He as well as his followers were in a state of nudity, their bodies painted scarlet, and the scalps, and other trophies from the whites, decorated the foremost in the fight. The steady advance of the troops, returning yell for yell, satisfied the

chief that further resistance was useless. To insure a safe retreat they broke into parties of four or five, leaving the soldiers in quiet possession of the camp, abandoning large quantities of dried deer-meat, dressed deer-skins, half-finished moccasins, axes, hoes, kettles, and articles of clothing. The position of the camp was selected with judgment and caution. Well-constructed bark and palmetto huts indicated a permanent abode. The women and children had left, the night before, in such haste, as to leave behind thimbles, needles, thread, and several highly-ornamented dresses. The trails from the hammock were taken up by the guides, but soon lost in water, which covered the country for two miles around. Two Indians were seen carried off by their comrades, badly wounded. The determination that neither the killed nor wounded shall fall into the hands of the whites, overrules all other considerations, even the chances of victory or plunder. Detachments followed the trails whenever a single print of a foot could be seen, without success, other than the capture of an old Indian, who proved to be the father-in-law of Halleck-Tustenuggee. He pleaded most earnestly that he might be allowed to carry a talk to his son, and that the troops would refrain from further pursuit. The enemy was dispersed, and whether this man proved faithful or not, it was the only chance, however doubtful, of ever getting Halleck-Tustenuggee within reach of negotiations or military authority. The old man started on his mission the ensuing morning, with the understanding that he was to meet the command at Warm Spring, near Lake Panee Sufeskee, in five days. This point was reached on the 23d. The enemy had been routed, two of their number killed, three badly wounded, and one taken prisoner. Private Augustus R. Wandell, K. company 2d dragoons, was killed; and Sergeant Theodore Bingham of the same company, private Thomas J. Roberts and private John Hitchcock severely wounded; private Joice, of G company 2d infantry, badly wounded. The band numbered forty active young warriors, having the advantage of position, protection from logs, the first fire, and knowledge of the ground; while the troops plunged through mud and water, thick foliage, and entangled grape-vines, to the muzzles of the Indian rifles, often so surrounded by the undergrowth as to prevent the soldier bringing his musket to his shoulder. In the conflict, comparatively bloodless for the number engaged, the men stood firmly by each other, separated, as the commands unavoidably were, from the density of the hammock. The discharge of rifles and muskets was continued, with slight intervals, about four hours. The light-infantry exercise which had been inculcated, taught the soldier that, in service of this character, his strength was augmented by having a companion whose drill enjoined the necessity of always being





Gopher John, Seminole Interpreter.

at his side. This being the case, when the soldier was unavoidably separated by obstructions, and unable to see hardly beyond the length of his musket, he could, with two or three companions, successfully encounter the Indians, secreted in small numbers in hopes of cutting off detached parties. In this manner, firing was continued in a hammock about two miles long and one broad. Companionship was here realized and appreciated, and that feeling predominant with a soldier, to give his comrade a decent burial under all embarrassments, prevailed in the resolution evinced by those who made the grave and buried the gallant and lamented Wandell. On their knees they dug a hole with their hands and tin cups, sufficiently deep to protect his remains, and wrapping his body in a blanket, deposited it in its lonely resting-place, disguising the spot in such a manner as to prevent disinterment by the Indians. His requiem was the distant yell of the savage, the discharge of musketry, and the shout of the victors.

The fire of the enemy was concentrated principally upon the Indian guides and negro interpreters. As the dragoons were skirting the hammock, a volley of rifles was discharged at Negro Morris. He immediately threw himself upon the opposite side of his horse in water two feet deep, and crawled into the high grass. His horse was wounded, and it was supposed he was killed, until after the action, when he made his appearance as the hero of the day, having been *nearly shot*, and successfully secreted himself during the entire conflict. Two friendly Indians remained beyond the reach of danger, and when called to an account for their absence, excused themselves, "as their horses' tails were so short, and the flies being so thick in the hammock, they would have found it impossible to ride them." The tall figure of the negro interpreter, Gopher John, his loud voice, and negro accent, the repeated discharge of his unerring rifle, well known to the Indians as he was, made him a conspicuous object of assault. The balls flew by him so thick, striking the trees around, that he suspected his courage was oozing out, when, pulling from his pocket a well-filled flask: "God-e, massa," said he to an officer by his side, "I feel all over, mighty queer, de Ingen fight so strong! I must take a big un;" and suiting the action to the word, he drained his bottle, reprimed his rifle, whooped, and was soon lost in the midst of foliage and smoke.

The friendly chief Holartooche, mounted upon his fleet and favorite pony, his breast bare, his sleeves rolled up to the shoulder, his long black hair, intermingled with locks silvered by time, streaming in the wind, and raised in his stirrups, with his rifle waving in the air, gave his piercing whoop, while his onward, rapid, and fearless charge, told the enemy that that voice, which once cheered the Seminole in battle, and that heart, which had

pleaded in their behalf, was still as loud and stern as when dictated by the reckless impulses of his youth. Foremost in battle, he was the first in peace to seek forgiveness of his race, and to alleviate their sufferings. The fire of the enemy, though continuous, with slight intervals, was ineffectual, doubtless owing to the thickness of the foliage, and the rapid, unexpected charge of the troops, driving them from safe and chosen positions, from which they expected to make havoc among those advancing. The first discharge of an Indian rifle is generally fatal; afterwards they load carelessly and hurriedly. The weapon, to be efficient, must be charged with care; but the Indian fills his mouth with bullets, pours the powder from his horn into the barrel, then spits the ball into the muzzle, causing it to roll down without patch or ramrod, then, between whoops and frantic gestures, seeks an opportunity to fire.

The conduct of officers and men throughout, was beyond praise. Bravery is a common quality, but the spirit, calmness, perseverance and forbearance displayed while wading in water three days, with scanty food on their backs, destitute of blankets, without a murmur, was an evidence of qualities which would add lustre to our arms in a higher cause, or in defence of the nation's rights and honor. Colonel Worth's reports award to all just praise.

“ *Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,* }
Palaklakaha, April 21, 1842. }

“SIR—In following out the movements, by detachments, upon several points on the Withlacoochee, indicated in a former report to take place on the 13th instant, the enemy was finally brought to action in a strong position, on the morning of the 19th, situated southeast from this, in the direction of Ahapopka lake; and after a spirited attack and well-sustained defence, thoroughly routed and dispersed. Our loss is, one private killed, one sergeant and two privates wounded, of Kerr's company, 2d dragoons, and one private of E company, 2d infantry, wounded; the enemy, one killed, two wounded, and one prisoner. The latter I have used to open a communication with the chief, Halleck, who commanded the party encountered, from which favorable results are anticipated.

“It is due to the officers and soldiers that at a moment of leisure I make a more detailed report.

“Very respectfully, I have the honor to be, your ob't serv't,

The Adjutant-General U. S. Army, }
 Head-quarters, *Washington.* }

W. J. WORTH, *Col. Com'g.*”

“Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,
Camp Wandell, Warm Springs, April 25, 1842. } ”

“SIR—I have the honor, in further detail, to report that, in obedience to instructions of the 28th ultimo, on the morning of the 13th instant, each detachment was at its appointed station with admirable precision. All the points on which this movement was directed, were most thoroughly examined, without discovering any thing exhibiting the recent presence of Indians. The boat detachment, under Major Belknap, composed of J and K companies (Montgomery’s and Gates’s) of the 8th, much reduced in numbers, was ordered, after entering and thoroughly examining Parrasuffkee lake, to descend the Withlacoochee as low as Camp Izard, thence pass the boats into the waters of Charla-a-popka; detachments of the 4th, under Captain Buchanan and Lieutenant Alvord (companies B and I), to pass around the west side, examining all the swamps, &c., on the border of the lake; detachments of the 2d (Casey’s, Long’s, and Lovell’s), under Major Plympton, to do the same on the south side; the remaining force, Graham’s and McCall’s companies of the 4th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, and Reeve’s company (B) of the 8th, to move directly on this point, a rendezvous common to all. At the same time, friendly Indians were sent to the southeast to search for signs; they rejoined me in the evening, reporting a solitary track in the direction of Ahapopka; whereupon the detachments were advanced about fifteen miles on the evening of the 18th, and as soon as there was sufficient light on the morning of the 19th to detect signs, this track was recovered and pursued through several inferior hammocks, in each of which planted fields were discovered, until it led to the principal hammock, where the enemy was found in force, in a well-constructed town. The enemy was as speedily overcome as the difficulties of the ground permitted the troops to close in upon him; every trail made in the flight was taken and pursued until dark, and the whole of the next day; the detachments marching on each day, some twenty, some thirty miles. On the next morning it was discovered that the general tendency of the trails, although often doubling, was in the direction of the great Okeehampkee Swamp, lying about nine miles northeast of this position. With a view to refresh the troops, but more especially from information received, by a person coming from the enemy, of a disposition to submit, the detachments were directed upon this point, the value of which has been stated.

“In respect to the affair, I have already made brief, but sufficient report; that officers and soldiers evinced the highest spirit and gallantry in the presence of an enemy is a matter of course; but all exhibited, under every circumstance of continued fatigue

and of privation of food, the higher excellence of patient and unrepining endurance.

"I am much indebted to the zealous support and exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, of the 4th, Major Plympton, of the 2d, Major Belknap, of the 8th, and Captain Kerr, of the 2d dragoons; the two first and the last gave a fine example in presence of the enemy; the third, as before stated, had been detached in a different direction.

"On this as on all other occasions, I have received the zealous and intelligent support of Major Cooper, assistant adjutant-general, and Lieutenant Sprague, aid-de-camp to the command.

"I submit herewith a list of killed and wounded, and in connexion would add, that Assistant Surgeon Simmons, present with the troops, has evinced high and intelligent activity in the field, and given prompt professional attendance to those needing his assistance.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

The Adjutant-General U. S. Army, }
Head-quarters, Washington. }

W. J. WORTH."

"*List of killed and wounded in the affair of the 19th instant, with the hostile Indians, in the Big Hammock* of Palaklakaha.*

"*Head-Quarters, Army of Florida, Camp }
Palaklakaha, April 25, 1842. }*

"*Killed*—Private Augustus R. Wandell, company K, 2d dragoons.

"*Wounded*—Sergeant Theodore Bingham, K company, 2d dragoons, severely, in the breast and right arm; Private Thomas J. Roberts, K company, 2d dragoons, severely, in the left arm; Private John Hitchcock, K company, 2d dragoons, slightly; Private ——— Joice, E company, 2d infantry, severely, in the left side.

S. COOPER, *Assistant-Adjutant-General.*"

The return of the old man, O-son-e Micco (the King of the Lakes), to the encampment at Warm-Springs, upon whose fidelity so much depended, was hailed as the harbinger of favorable results. He reported that Halleck-Tustenuggee was with his band six miles distant, and that he would be in the following day. But instead of coming in himself, as was anticipated, he sent a sub-chief, with a request for provisions and a shirt for the chief, as in his recent flight he had been deprived of a decent and becoming dress. Two messengers came the next day for a supply of whisky and tobacco, and apologized for the chief "that he was sick and lame." These proceedings savored too much of

* The largest of a succession of dense hammocks.

that characteristic duplicity and cunning, which gave him influence among his adherents, and made him a formidable foe. To encourage this course of conduct, was the only means whereby he could be captured. He once secure, his band could be easily controlled. On the morning of the 29th of April, to the surprise, but much to the gratification of all, he came boldly into camp on horseback, accompanied by two wives, and two children—ten and twelve years of age. He passed the sentinels, giving them a graceful salute, and scanned minutely every thing around him. He dismounted at the commander's tent, from whom he received a cordial welcome. His children were overcome with fright; it was the first time they had ever shaken hands with a white man. The officers assembled in a body to meet him, as an evidence of good feeling; but more to see a man who for nine months had so successfully eluded their vigilance. As it could not be known at what moment some sudden freak or suspicion might destroy the chances of securing the chief, Colonel Worth with an officer and interpreter, improved that afternoon to sound his feelings upon a final surrender and emigration. The conversation as indicated at that time, better conveys the result of this interview, clearly showing that he had not the most remote idea of leaving the country.

Conversation between Colonel Worth and Halleck-Tustenuggee upon his first arrival in camp, at Warm-Springs, Florida, on the 29th of April, 1842: old Primus, interpreter.

Colonel Worth—"Say to the chief, I am glad to meet him; and now take him by the hand in friendship. We have long been fighting against each other, but now the rifle and hatchet are buried deep in the ground. Ask the chief what he wants for himself and his people; tell him to speak out the true words of his heart—we have met like brothers, now let us talk like brothers, disguise nothing, but talk with a true heart and one tongue. Let him tell me what he wants, then as a true friend and brother I will give him my advice, what I think is best for the happiness and contentment of the red man."

Halleck, in reply, said—"I will talk to you like a brother; you sent me the five fingers (white flag, with the white and red man's hand clasped, in token of friendship), we have met and taken each other by the hand: the road is now clear and white—the strings of our hearts are white, even our eye-brows—all is white; and the road is clear, so that the red and white man can shake hands in friendship. I will talk to you like a brother—I will tell you the truth—from my heart I will tell you, I have held out a long time for my country—I have fought hard for it. I had always lived here, and when a boy travelled over the country

with my bow and arrow : here my father was buried, and I thought I might as well die here as to go to another country and die."

Colonel—"The chief has spoken like a brave and true man—a warrior ; I honor him for it. I know he loves his country, and has fought hard for it ; but would he not be happier and his people better off, where he will not be molested by the whites ? they are coming all around him. Your old fields are occupied by whites ; and my fears are, that though you and your people may be disposed to peace, the bad white men, which you know we have, will crowd in upon you, and make war. There are not many of you—your head men have gone, your old friends and relatives are also gone—why remain here alone ?"

Chief—"I know there are but few of us left—we are almost alone. Large trees have grown up around me, they have decayed and fallen. A sapling may grow up—as it grows the root strikes still deeper in the ground—as it increases to a large tree the top may bend, even break in the wind ; but after awhile the roots will rot, it stands alone, and must fall. The white people are coming in all around us. I know it is difficult for the white and red man to live together ; we have bad men among us, as you have—they will do mischief. I am now the head man of all the Indians out. Octiarche I can bring in, and can quiet the whole country. My people are wild, and start at the cracking of a bush ; they live in the swamps, and will always live there as long as your troops pursue them. I want the word of peace sent to them, when I can get them all around me, and talk to them like men. I do not say we will not go to the new country : when we come together we shall find our friends and relatives gone ; our fields taken up, planted by the white men,—give me time to get these people together when they can listen to your talk and mine ; when, I have no doubt, there are many who will say—we have no place to live, no fields to plant, no friends and relatives to talk with, our wives and children are gone—let us go with them. If I send my word now to come in, and go to Arkansas, they will laugh at me—say it is my scheme to make money ; but if I tell them there is peace, they will come here and listen to my talk, to your words, and the words of our friends from the new country. I will send runners to Sam Jones and Octiarche ; I know they will come when I tell them, and join us in making peace which no red man shall break. I have said before, there should be peace, but the bad Indians broke it : now there are few, I am the head of the whole, they will do as I tell them. Let the road be clear—the sun to-day is bright and clear, and what I tell you is from my heart ; I have given you my hand,

and now my heart, in friendship, and what I have said shall be done."

(A true copy)

J. T. SPRAGUE,
Lieutenant and Aid-de-Camp.

Though this conversation gave but little encouragement, the first important object was obtained by securing his confidence, and allaying his vindictiveness. This guarantied at once the security of settlers in East Florida. He left for his camp before dark, gratified with his reception. Holartooche and negro Primus, the interpreter, accompanied him. The ensuing morning he returned with five men, the messengers he had promised to send to the Creek chief Octiarche. To these men, in the presence of the commander and several officers, he gave his talk, of which they were to be the bearers. It was a manly and undisguised expression of his wish that hostilities should cease; but no allusion whatever was made to emigration. They left the same day, promising to be at Fort Wacassassa at a certain time. To the officer commanding there, they took letters explanatory of their duties. The men, women, and children came into camp daily, and returned without molestation; visiting the soldiers' tents, receiving kindness and attention. The demands for fresh beef, corn, flour, and whisky increased, and became exorbitantly large; much more than the number of Indians could possibly consume. These were made by the chief in a most haughty, insolent, and overbearing manner; and if not complied with instantly, his language was imperative and insulting. This was endured, as the day of retribution was fast approaching. Major Graham, Captain McCall, and Lieutenant Sprague visited his camp, three miles distant, under the pretext of shaking hands with the old men and women; but mainly to reconnoitre the position, and ascertain the practicability of surprising and surrounding them by troops. This was found impracticable, with the least chance of success. It was situated upon elevated ground, overlooking the pine-barren two miles around; and in the immediate vicinity, was a deep swamp. As the officers approached, the women and children gathered their pots and kettles and ran into the swamp; but the voice of Halleck-Tustenuggee soon brought them back. To capture this band by surprise, was clearly impossible. Other measures had to be adopted—and that soon, as the conduct of the chief and many others, was audacious and insulting. The continued demand for subsistence, betokened a disposition to obtain all that was possible; and when refused, to return in a body to the woods, abundantly supplied. They began to visit the encampment in small parties, and with many precautions. Colonel Worth invited the chief to accompany him to Fort King, with

his wives. To this he readily acceded, as there a supply of powder and lead could be purchased, which together with the provisions, would enable him again to take the field with a fair prospect of success. These reflections were indulged, as subsequently known, by himself and those around him, to such a degree as to cause merriment; at the same time ridiculing the credulity of the officers and soldiers. The young and old contributed their last pence for the purchase of powder and lead. This game had heretofore been played with success, but the last throw of the dice was in hands too skillful to be thus deluded and disgraced. The commander, with his companions, departed for Fort King, leaving instructions with Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, on whom the command devolved, to adopt such measures as he deemed expedient and effectual, to seize the entire band, tie them hand and foot, and send them to Tampa Bay; and when this was effected, to dispatch an express to Fort King. It was a duty surrounded by many embarrassments. The Indians were shy, and distrustful; and came within the chain of sentinels, in small parties, eagerly watching the expression, words, and actions of officers and men. The absence of the chief, added materially to the successful accomplishment of the project. Colonel Garland's experience with the Indians, and good judgment, enabled him to execute his orders. Games, dances, ball-plays, enough to eat and to drink, fascinated the most suspicious. The women and children flocked into camp to participate with the men, who in the absence of that vigilance inculcated by the chief, were indifferent and thoughtless. On the third day it was agreed that a feast should be prepared, complimentary to Halleck-Tustenuggee, whose return was expected by them that evening. The preparations and ceremonies were on an extensive scale, corresponding with the reception, and with the respect professed for their leader. Early on the appointed day, the entire number assembled, much gratified with the arrangements. At twelve o'clock, M., those present being carefully counted by a sub-chief, who said all were in, Colonel Garland addressed them in a calm and quiet manner; explained how important it was that perfect security should be given to the country, and how much gratified he was that the Indians and whites could shake hands in friendship. "You have," said Colonel Garland, "caused much trouble, you have been false in all your intercourse with officers, you have promised, and you have violated every thing: you have procured food, powder and lead, then taken to the swamps, and then murdered women and children, whenever found unprotected. You are now all present, and I take this opportunity to say, that you are prisoners; and that on to-morrow morning you will be sent in wagons to Tampa Bay, thence to Horse Key (an

island), where you will in due time be joined by your chief." At so unexpected an announcement, the dispassionate terms of the speaker, the complacency of the officers, no confusion, and no evidences of imprisonment, they began to laugh—thinking it a joke—and to look about for the force to keep them in custody. They rose confusedly from their seats, evidently surveying the distance to the pine-barren beyond the camp, and revolving in their minds the chances of escape. The shrill blast of the bugle sounded, when, from the hammock in the immediate vicinity, one hundred armed men rushed forth and surrounded the council-house. Their captivity was painfully realized. The men trembled with excitement and fear, and the women and children screamed, believing they would be instantly put to death. Assurances of kind treatment soon quieted them. Five women were sent to bring their baggage from the camp, as well as the rifles.

Each man described where his rifle was hid. Some had placed them in hollow trees, some under logs, others wrapped in moss and buried, others secreted among the palmettoes. Twenty-five excellent rifles were found, well charged. The provisions obtained were discovered securely stored in the swamp, protected by palmetto leaves. At night, twenty-five warriors were tied hand and foot, and guarded by fifty soldiers. The women were forbidden any communication with them. An express was dispatched to Fort King, to announce the successful result, and make Halleck-Tustenuggee feel that the sceptre had fallen from his hand. Colonel Worth was seated with the chief in front of his quarters, when the express rode up. He looked eagerly and inquiringly at the man and then at the package. The excitement of the rider and the haggard appearance of the horse, indicated the announcement of something important. The chief was induced, from the manner of those around, to ask the news, when he was informed that his band were taken prisoners, and on their way to Tampa Bay, and that he himself was a captive, and would not again be permitted to return to the woods. The haughty spirit and hardened heart were broken. He stood erect, quivering with excitement, brushing his fingers through his long black hair, his eyes sparkling with fire, his breast heaving in agony, as though about to grasp and tear in pieces the perpetrators in this closing act. The presence of a guard of soldiers quieted these boisterous passions.

The calm and unconcerned deportment of the spectators made him realize the impotency of his own arm. Such exhibitions of anger, when he was surrounded by his vassals, made the witnesses quail, and caused the defenceless prisoner to know and feel that his hours were numbered. Silently he sank uncon-

sciously upon the ground, trembling with exhaustion, his head drooping upon his bosom, his arms hanging listlessly by his side; at length, the intensity of feeling gave way to sobs and tears—the savage had become a child. Under guard he accompanied the commander to Horse Key, at the mouth of the Suwannee river, where his band, by the way of Tampa Bay, were to meet him, in compliance with orders left with Lieutenant-Colonel Garland. At Fort Wacassassa the five messengers sent from the camp at Warm Springs to Octiarche, had arrived, bringing the concurrence of this chief to the proffers of peace, but protesting against emigration. They were surprised to find Halleck-Tustenuggee at this post, but still more so when informed of the capture of all, and their departure for Tampa Bay, and that they were prisoners, and would proceed in the morning to Horse Key. The transaction seemed to them like a dream more than reality. Treachery was cautiously whispered among themselves. When seated around their fire late at night, revolving the events of the past ten days in their minds, which had so materially changed their mode of life, they upbraided the chief for selling his followers and land. The words were barely uttered, when, springing to his feet with a yell, he prostrated two who stood beside him, two ran beyond his reach, the fifth, a stout athletic man, he struck in the breast with both feet, then, grasping him by the throat, thrashed his body upon the ground, and seizing his ear in his mouth, severed it close to his head. Dilating his sinewy frame, extending both hands to heaven, with his eyes and nostrils distended with rage, he ground the ear in his teeth, like a mastiff, then, spitting it upon the ground, and clearing his mouth of coagulated blood, screamed, with savage delight and vengeance—"Tustenuggee! Halleck-Tustenuggee!" The scene was one of fearful interest. The silence of the garrison, thus broken at that time of night by a hideous yell, the flickering light of half-extinguished brands, the trembling, commanding figure of the actor in the scene, as he stood over his prostrate and bleeding antagonist, caused a thrill of horror to pass through the crowd assembled to quell the noise. The deed was done; it was the work of a moment; and the chief was led away, almost helpless from over-exertion and excitement. His two wives witnessed this revolting scene, but with the modesty and quiet submission of the Indian female, they sat in the distance and wept.

Whatever sins may be laid to the charge of this Indian chieftain, or however diabolical the instinct of his nature, his land was dearer to him than life. For it he had fought boldly and unceasingly; and had adopted the alternative of the feeble, treachery, against the strong, to maintain his inheritance. Confidence in himself and those within his influence, allowed no question of

policy, expediency, or necessity, to alter his resolution, or to restrain him from predatory and cruel acts upon the defenceless and unoffending. If this trait in the savage be patriotism, Halleck-Tustenuggee's name should stand eternally side by side with the most distinguished of mankind.

At Horse Key the band were united, much to their surprise, as those by the way of Tampa Bay believed the whites meditated their total destruction, by casting them overboard when out of sight of land. But little gratification was manifest. Their faculties were benumbed by excessive indulgence in drink, which among this race is invariably resorted to when in the midst of difficulties and affliction: "Now," said an aged warrior, when on his way to Arkansas from Florida, "give me a jug of whisky, I have lost sight of the last hammock on my land!" The appearance of the chief, as well as his subordinates, was haggard in the extreme. Their faces were scarified by scratches and blows, received in the frequent broils caused by their accusing each other of being instrumental in thus subjecting the band to captivity. The whole proceeding was so rapid and unexpected, and so complete, that they believed that treachery was the only means by which it was effected. Noke-suck-Tustenuggee, a sub-chief, on his way up from Tampa, attempted suicide. With his daughter, about three years of age, he lay enveloped in his blanket, apparently asleep. The loud and repeated screams of the child, who from the struggles of her father realized his situation, brought others to the spot, when he was rescued, almost in the agonies of death. He had placed a noose around his neck, and fastened the end to his foot, drawn close to his body. He then extended his leg, and thus drew the cord so tight as to stop his breath, when the convulsive exertion of his limbs nearly effected the purpose. By timely assistance he was extricated, and, as reason began to return, he asked anxiously, if the white men were gone. The band, consisting of thirty-two warriors and thirty-eight women and children, were placed on Horse Key, an island three miles from the main land, and surrounded by a guard of one hundred and fifty men. East Florida was now relieved from all apprehension of Indians. The master-spirit, whose tactics and skill, whose intrepidity and valor, habit of command, and fidelity to his country, deserved a better fate, was rendered harmless. Two years' pursuit, unremittingly, by troops and by friendly messengers, had been of no avail. His own game, practiced with corresponding adroitness, had at last subdued him, and the territory was relieved from the barbarities of a savage who regarded no sex, age, or condition, in the infliction and gratification of his undying revenge.

The activity of the army in every part of the country, under

instructions "to keep the field so long as a track could be discovered," had entirely suspended negotiations. The opportunity of surrendering was given to the hostiles, with the assurance of kindness, provided they rendered assistance in inducing others to submit, either through friendly intercourse, or by acting as guides to the troops. The season was favorable to vigorous measures. To the Indians the most important, as their crops were to be planted, upon which reliance was placed for the year. The forest and rivers gave an abundant supply, but they could not fish or gather wild vegetables without the hazard of discovery, nor could they hunt, destitute of powder and lead. Simultaneously with the movements resulting in the capture of Halleck-Tustenuggee, the 7th and 3d regiments were in motion in small detachments, sweeping Middle Florida in all directions. Detached camps were thrown out from all points, and vigilance enjoined in reconnoitering the haunts and accustomed crossing-places of the enemy, as well as a constant supervision of the most frequented routes travelled by citizens and others. A command of two hundred men, of the 3d infantry, with one company 2d dragoons, under Colonel Vose, examined the country west from Tallahassee to the Ocklockonnee and Appalachicola rivers, while a command of forty men, in boats, ascended the former, to ferret out and intercept the enemy in crossing at well-known fords. Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler, with two hundred and fifty men, took post on the Esteen Hatchee river, from which detachments were dispatched, adopting the habits of the Creeks, supposing them to remove their camps at night. These commands were in the field two months. Zeal, intelligence, and forbearance, characterized officers and men. Numerous fields, just planted, were destroyed; palmetto huts were razed; a few tracks of four, six, or eight Indians were seen, but soon lost in water, or destroyed by burning grass. Two Indians were killed, two squaws and three children captured. This exasperated the Creeks. Those declining to sue for peace, were resolved on retaliation. Driven from favorite haunts, and from fields just putting forth with a prospect of an abundant harvest, they resorted to a populous section of the country, marking their route by fire and blood. A war party of Creeks, under Halpatter-Tustenuggee, crossed the Suwannee river and continued east to the neighborhood of the town of Newmansville. Here they assailed an unprotected family, and murdered one woman and three children, plundered and burnt the house and violated the bodies of the slain. Continuing south, they crossed the highway at Blue Peter Spring, seven miles from Fort Watkahoota, and intercepted a detachment of the 7th infantry, firing upon it from the high grass, within twenty feet of the road. Two soldiers were killed. Captain Seawell, 7th infantry, with forty men, with

one company 2d dragoons, was close upon the trail. The Indians travelled night and day, anticipating pursuit. A command moved at once from Fort Wakahoota upon the return of the detachment, and after burying the mangled remains of the two soldiers, took up the trail leading towards the Withlacoochee river. Lieutenant F. Britton, with a detachment of twenty-eight men, 7th infantry, from Fort Wacassassa, encountered the marauders near Clay's Landing, on the Suwannee river. They received the spirited discharge of the soldiers with a volley of rifles, whooping and yelling, in hopes of intimidating them, giving various intonations of the voice, so as to magnify their numbers. Two of the command were badly wounded. One Indian was wounded and carried from the ground by his comrades. The party, having been so closely pursued, they abandoned, from day to day, heavy articles, to facilitate their movements. These men, finding themselves besieged west of the Suwannee, disencumbered themselves of women and children, to unite at once with Octiarche, in the Wacassassa hammock, and with his warriors make an effectual stand for the protection of their planted fields. Much to their surprise, Octiarche was found to be strongly inclined to peace. This caused dissatisfaction, particularly when reproached for intruding upon the settlements, and committing acts which, the chief said, would renew the war. A council convened, when the necessity of refraining from hostilities was understood, as the same destruction of crops was now in progress, which had impoverished and distressed them the year previous. The *talk* of Halleck-Tustenuggee, received from the five messengers, had been acquiesced in, and the determination prevailed to refrain from hostile measures. The depredations of this small party of Indians, in so thickly settled a part of the territory, alarmed the most resolute. The prospect of peace had induced many to return to abandoned plantations, and invited the emigrant to seek locations offering reward for slave labor and industry. Such bold and bloody acts deterred settlers, and caused households to be broken up, and safety sought for at the nearest military camp. To the commander, and to the army generally, these events were disheartening. If this number of Indians could thus cause such wide-spread confusion and apprehension, the Florida war might with propriety be considered interminable. Wading through swamps and hammocks in search of six, eight, or ten Indians, was like hunting a wolf, who at night would look into your camp, and follow your footsteps at noonday. The time was approaching when active operations would be accompanied by scenes enervating to the heart of a soldier, more especially to those who had already encountered them. Being again subjected to the summer

season, to lingering disease and privations unparalleled, without finding or punishing the enemy, was enough to unnerve the stoutest heart. Discouraging as it was, the course heretofore steadily pursued, resulting in success in one quarter, and defeat in another, was continued. Peace and war went hand in hand. Every day's experience showed to the most idle observer, how futile the efforts of troops must be in subduing such a foe. Instead of effecting the object it exasperated them, instigating attacks in small parties to wreak their vengeance. To quiet malignant passions, which had been cherished for five successive years, in the belief that the *Great Spirit* would support and prosper the cause, was not the work of a moment; nor could it be accomplished but through the advice and example of those who once had been a party in the conflict. Halleck-Tustenuggee had become highly useful in this respect. He and his sub-chiefs were sent to Octiarche, who received them kindly, and consented to come in to Cedar Key, the head-quarters, and talk with Colonel Worth. The state of the moon announcing their approach would be about the 4th of June. In the intervening time, the Indians were to assemble on the Wacassassa river, and there, unmolested, were to counsel upon the terms of peace as communicated by Halleck-Tustenuggee. These were, "that all hostile acts towards the whites should cease; that those who wished to join their friends and relatives in Arkansas would be received with kindness; and that others who wished to remain, must go at once below a line south of Pease Creek, sixty miles from Fort Brooke, where they would be permitted, *for the present*, to hunt and plant, and that the chiefs would be held responsible for any violation of these terms, and that friendship and good feeling must now be cultivated between the whites and red men." It was further understood, that if these terms were disregarded, pursuit would instantly follow, under the guidance of Indians; when men, women, and children, would be indiscriminately slaughtered. The character of Halleck-Tustenuggee was well known. What he stated was believed, and they all felt that should he become united with the whites in measures against them, no section of the country would insure a safe retreat.

The Creek Indians on the Ocklockonnee river, under the chief Pascoffer, finding themselves intruded upon, sought an interview with Colonel Vose, through two citizens who had been suspected of holding with them constant communication. The influence of these men, when properly directed, was of great importance. The terms of peace were accepted, and the two white men were brought to participate with the military in restoring quiet to the settlers. Communication was constantly had with Pascoffer, who

gave repeated assurances that no hostile* demonstrations should be made, and that in due time he would assemble his band for emigration.

The second regiment of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel B. Riley, embarked at Palatka for Savannah on the 27th of May, thence to proceed north to the Niagara frontier. This regiment had served in Florida since June, 1837, participating with fortitude in the toils incident to the service. Two commissioned officers and one hundred and thirty-one N. C. officers and privates, fell victims to the climate, and to the rifle of the enemy. Captain Samuel Russell was shot by a party of Indians secreted on the margin of the Miami, near Key Biscayne, when landing from his boat, on the 28th of February, 1839.

That intrepidity and resolution which cost him his life, and which had distinguished him in the service of his country, was sustained by an undisguised and undeviating adherence to the principles of the Christian religion, making him the soldier and the man. His home was made happy by the most tender ties of affection, and by children nurtured under the influences of his precept and example. The five remaining companies of the 2d dragoons were ordered, on the 29th of May, to rendezvous at Mount Vernon Arsenal, and proceed to Baton Rouge. The regiment had served in Florida since its organization, June, 1836. Its duties were laborious and incessant, accomplishing all that could be expected, to reward the officers and men for their zeal and enterprise. The peculiarity of the service required them to act in detachments, giving their duties a partisan character, which were performed at all times in such a manner as to merit from commanders the highest commendation.

Two officers were killed in action; First-Lieutenant James F. Izard was killed at Camp Izard, Feb. 28th, 1836; Second-Lieutenant J. W. S. McNeil, at Musquito, September 11th, 1837. Both fell gallantly in the presence of the enemy. Five commissioned officers died from the effects of the climate, twenty non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, were killed in action, and one hundred and ninety-two died from disease incident to the service.

This reduction of force diminished materially the monthly sick reports. The season of the year, by far the most healthy in Florida, was calculated to make disease mild in character, and to give vigor and spirits to those who, from time to time, were prostrated by over-exertion and indulgence. During the month of March 880 men were taken sick, 21 died; in April 560, 11 died; in May 420, 29 died.

The prospect of relief from a summer's campaign was indeed

flattering. The general health of the army was good, and the posts occupied guarantied its continuance. Cheerfulness, good feeling, discipline, and sobriety prevailed; and the approaching month of June was looked to with interest, when the Florida war, signalized as it was by prodigal expenditures, by defeat, mortification and disgust, poverty, sorrow, and burdensome unrequited toil, seemed about to be brought to a close.

CHAPTER XIII.

JUNE, JULY, AND TO THE 17TH AUGUST, 1842.

Instructions received by Colonel Worth to bring the war to a close.—Message of the President of the United States to congress upon the subject.—Letter of instructions from the secretary of war to Major-General Scott.—His views upon the subject.—The measures for a time postponed.—Treachery of Halleck-Tustenuggee and dissatisfaction of Oetiarche.—Their designs.—Holartooche proceeds to Oetiarche's camp with twenty armed Indians.—Their meeting, and the promises of the chief to surrender.—Halleck-Tustenuggee, finding his plans unsuccessful, prepares for emigration.—Wounded Indians brought in.—Runners dispatched to bring in the plunder of the band.—A messenger sent to the southern Indians.—Holatter-Micco or Billy Bowlegs made chief, who sends an emissary to the whites to obtain peace.—The embarkation of Halleck-Tustenuggee and band for Arkansas.—Their appearance and feeling, and the anger of the chief.—Departure of Holartooche and the Arkansas delegation for their homes.—Halleck-Tustenuggee; his age, character, and qualities.—His first appearance in council.—The 7th infantry relieved from duty in Florida.—Its service and loss.—Death of Lieutenant Sanderson.—Lieutenant Sherwood's death.—His gallantry, and the conduct of Private L. Burlington, in protecting the remains of Mrs. Montgomery.—Arrival of Bowlegs and others at Fort Brooke, to make peace.—The influence and authority of Sam Jones and the Prophet disregarded.—They accompany the commander of the army to Cedar Key, and proceed to the camp of Oetiarche.—Oetiarche and Tiger-Tail return with them.—Peace determined upon.—The appearance of Tiger-Tail.—Orders promulgated announcing that hostilities with the Indians in Florida had ceased.—Troops remaining in Florida concentrated.—Retrenchment and reduction in all departments.—Stations and strength of the 3d infantry, of the 8th infantry, and six companies of the 4th.—The loss and service of these regiments in officers and men.—Death of Lieutenant J. H. Harvie, and Lieutenant J. A. Reill, 8th infantry.—Colonel Worth ordered to proceed to Washington City.—He relinquishes the command of the ninth military department to Colonel Vose, 4th infantry.—Correspondence between Colonel Worth and Lieutenant J. T. McLaughlin, in closing up the contest.—Lieutenant McLaughlin's instructions to Lieutenant Henry, who succeeded in command of the Florida squadron.

ONE year having elapsed since the change of commanders in Florida, and the adoption of military operations at all seasons, the month of June was looked to with confidence for the termination of the war, and consequent withdrawal of the troops, or the assignment of those remaining to permanent healthy stations for the summer. Past events justified these anticipations.

The future, though bidding fair for a realization of hopes so often illusive, could not be looked forward to without some apprehensions, dependent, as all results were, upon the dilatory and treacherous action of a few roaming Indians, against whom military exertions were of no avail, other than to aggravate and prolong the war.

The authorities at Washington, justly appreciating the state of affairs, and having found that the measures proposed by the colonel commanding, in his communication of the 14th of February, were salutary, now resolved to terminate the contest effectually; accordingly, on the 11th of May, the president of the United States transmitted to congress his views, in the following special message.

“TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :

“The season for active hostilities in Florida having nearly terminated, my attention has necessarily been directed to the

course of measures to be pursued hereafter in relation the few Indians yet remaining in that territory. Their number is believed not to exceed two hundred and forty, of whom there are supposed to be about eighty warriors, or males capable of bearing arms. The further pursuit of these miserable beings by a large military force, seems to be as injudicious as it is unavailing. The history of the last year's campaign in Florida has satisfactorily shown, that, notwithstanding the vigorous and incessant operations of our troops, which cannot be exceeded, the Indian mode of warfare, their dispersed condition, and the very smallness of their number, which increases the difficulty of finding them, in the abundant and almost inaccessible hiding-places of the territory, render any further attempts to secure them by force, impracticable, except by the employment of the most expensive means. The exhibition of force, and the constant effort to capture or destroy them, of course places them beyond the reach of overtures to surrender. It is believed by the distinguished officer in command there, that a different system should now be pursued to attain the entire removal of all the Indians in Florida; and he recommends that hostilities should cease, unless the renewal of them be rendered necessary by new aggressions; that communications should be opened by means of the Indians with him, to induce them to a peaceful and voluntary surrender, and that the military operations should hereafter be directed to the protection of the inhabitants.

"These views are corroborated by the governor of the territory, by many of its most intelligent citizens, and by numerous officers of the army who have served and are still serving in that region.

"Mature reflection has satisfied me that these recommendations are sound and just; and I rejoice that, consistently with duty to Florida, I may indulge my desire to promote the great interests of humanity, and extend the reign of peace and good will, by terminating the unhappy warfare that has so long been carried on there, and at the same time gratify my anxiety to reduce the demands upon the treasury, by curtailing the extraordinary expenses which have attended the contest. I have therefore authorized the colonel in command there, as soon as he shall deem it expedient, to declare that hostilities against the Indians have ceased, and that they will not be renewed, unless provoked and rendered indispensable by new outrages on their part; but that neither citizens nor troops are to be restrained from any necessary and proper acts of self-defence against any attempts to molest them. He is instructed to open communications with those yet remaining, and endeavor, by all peaceable means, to persuade them to consult their true interests by joining their

brethren at the west. And directions have been given for establishing a cordon, or line of protection, for the inhabitants, by the necessary number of troops.

But to render this system of protection effectual, it is essential that settlements of our citizens should be made within the line so established, and that they should be armed, so as to be ready to repel any attack. In order to afford inducements to such settlements, I submit to the consideration of congress the propriety of allowing a reasonable quantity of land to the head of each family that shall permanently occupy it, and of extending the existing provisions on that subject, so as to permit the issue of rations, for the subsistence of the settlers for one year. And as few of them will probably be provided with arms, it would be expedient to authorize the loan of muskets and the delivery of a proper quantity of cartridges, or of powder and balls. By such means, it is to be hoped that a hardy population will soon occupy the rich soil of the frontiers of Florida, who will be as capable as willing to defend themselves and their houses, and thus relieve the government from further anxiety or expense for their protection.

Washington, May 10, 1842.

JOHN TYLER."

The letter herewith, from the secretary of war to Major-General Scott, is more minute in the details as to the method of closing the affair :

" War Department, May 10th, 1842.

"SIR—The communication of Colonel Worth, of the 14th February last, and the suggestions of the major-general commanding the army, contained in his letter of the 27th ultimo, in relation to the state of affairs in Florida, and the continuance of hostilities there, have been maturely considered, and I have now to communicate to the major-general commanding the army, the views of the president upon the subject.

"The very reduced number of the hostile Indians now in Florida, believed not to exceed two hundred and forty, including probably eighty warriors, would seem to indicate that all has been accomplished which can be effected by the employment of a large military force in offensive operations. Unless such operations are to be continued until the last Indian in the Peninsula shall be destroyed or captured, there must be some period when they should cease. That period, it is believed, has now arrived, and the protection of the inhabitants must be secured by other means, which it is believed can be effectually employed for that purpose.

"The season is approaching which forbids the active and

energetic movements which have distinguished the army in Florida, particularly during the last year, and the course of measures intended to be pursued, must now be determined.

“The communication of the governor of Florida, of many of its intelligent citizens, and of various distinguished officers of the army, corroborate the views expressed by Colonel Worth, of the propriety of terminating the present system of hostilities with the few Indians remaining in that territory.

“Anxious to curtail the extraordinary expenses incident to the warfare, and sincerely desirous of promoting peace, the president directs that Colonel Worth be authorized, as soon as he shall deem it expedient, to declare that hostilities against the Indians in Florida have ceased, and that they will not be renewed, unless provoked by new aggressions on their part. And they will accordingly cease until their renewal be authorized by the proper authority. But this is not to be understood as forbidding any act of self-defence, either by the troops or by citizens, against any attempts of Indians to molest them.

“Such a reduction of the military force in Florida as may be made consistently with the protection of the inhabitants, will, therefore, immediately be made; and the troops ordered out of the territory will be stationed as the exigency of the public service may require. But it is deemed advisable that a force equal to at least two regiments be retained, to form a cordon, or line of protection, for the frontier settlements. The action of congress will be invited to aid in the defence of the territory, by the settlement of our citizens there, and offering to them inducements for such settlements, by gratuities of land, by allowing them rations for subsistence, and by the loan of arms. Until the decision of congress is had on the subject, it is desirable that the settlements to be made should be within such line of protection as shall be established by Colonel Worth, who will take the necessary measures to effect this arrangement.

“He will also use the means he possesses of communicating with the Indians yet remaining, and inducing them to consult their true interest, by joining their brethren at the west.

“Shipments of forage and subsistence to Florida will be suspended until expressly called for by the officer in command there.

“The quartermaster-general will instruct the senior officer of his department in Florida, as to the manner of disposing of the public property that may not be required for use under the arrangements now directed, such as mules, horses, wagons, &c., subject to the orders of the officer commanding the army in Florida.

“Colonel Worth will be informed that the naval force on the coast has been directed by the secretary of the navy to with-

draw, whenever the commanding officer in Florida shall declare the cessation of hostilities, and shall deem their services no longer necessary.

"The major-general commanding the army will please communicate these directions to Colonel Worth, and give such further and other orders as may be necessary or proper to carry into effect the views of the president.

To Major-General Scott, }
Commanding, &c., *Washington, D. C.* }

J. C. SPENCER."

Major-General Scott transmitted this to Colonel Worth, accompanied by suggestions and instructions and the expression of his hearty concurrence to the measure, the wisdom and necessity of which he had urged in February, when the course was first proposed and submitted to a board of officers. The negotiations in progress at the moment when these orders were received, caused their fulfillment to be postponed for a time, as the meeting of Halleck-Tustenugee and Octiarche, on the 4th June, was not as satisfactory as was anticipated. Obstacles were interposed to avoid the surrender of the band, and the latter chief expressed his fears that should he come within reach of the military, he would not be permitted to return. The absence of some young warriors, he said, whom they had not succeeded in finding, induced him to await their arrival. They not knowing that peace was declared, would, on finding him among the whites, be led to doubt his fidelity, and in revenge to commit atrocious acts. In the mean time peace and friendship was to prevail. Halleck-Tustenugee returned from his mission, dissatisfied with the conduct of the Indians, and at the same time indulged in most abusive language towards the whites. His whole deportment was changed, resulting from disappointment and chagrin. Before starting, he had used every artifice and argument to have his wives and children accompany him. He urged, as one reason, that the space upon the island was too confined, causing sickness and dissatisfaction. The sub-chiefs corroborated this, and created murmuring and discontent. These requests were sternly refused. The chief, having promised to meet Octiarche, felt obligated to fulfill his engagement, not doubting, at the time, but that he would be permitted to take his family with him. He started with manifest reluctance, and returned disappointed in the accomplishment of his design. With his wives and children, he expected to join these roving bands, and by renewed outrages, take revenge; but he was, so far, outwitted, in spite of his duplicity and cunning. Octiarche had become confused by different stories, and the proposal of Halleck to join in open hostilities, perplexed the Indians, leading them to doubt the sincerity of the terms of peace. An-

other attempt was made by the chief Holartooche, to seek an interview, accompanied by twenty Indians, well armed, as Halleck-Tustenuggee had reported that the chief declared to him his determination to put to death any messenger. The party met the enemy assembled in the Wacassassa hammock, when the brief and friendly explanations of Holartooche gave a different aspect to affairs. Octiarche expressed his want of faith in the conduct of Halleck-Tustenuggee, as he at one time came with assurances of peace, and at another expressed his determination to improve the first opportunity to escape. The talk first sent, he said he accepted, and that so soon as the young men were found, whom it was feared would commit murders, the band would come in at Cedar Key, to settle permanently the future intercourse between the white and red men.

The subjoined report of Colonel Worth explains the embarrassments encountered in pacifying the enemy, and his expectations in respect to them, as also his plan for the protection of the country.

“ *Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,* }
Cedar Key, June 14, 1842. }

“SIR—I have succeeded in establishing a communication with the Creek Indians, who have heretofore so sadly afflicted Middle Florida; but time and patience will be sorely taxed ere the work be consummated; shy and suspicious, their confidence is only to be won gradually; runners, however, have been sped with the orders of the chiefs, in all directions, to stay the hand of violence, and yet, before the messengers could have reached the remote wandering bands, one atrocity has been committed, and others (I pray not) may be heard of. As yet I have used the authority conferred by the president, in a limited degree, still cherishing the hope, that by management, all may be induced to emigrate: failing in that, I shall unhesitatingly go to the full extent, as the only means of pacifying the country, and assign them, temporarily, planting and hunting grounds, but far south of any settlements that now are, or like to be for centuries.

“In the present circumstances, I have felt free to commence the movement of the 7th: five companies, including two for Tampa: one each for New-Orleans, Fort Pickens and Pike, *en route*. Should my anticipations in respect to the pacification of the country be realized, when reduced to two regiments, or the equivalent, (as will be the case with two companies of the 3d artillery, two of the 7th infantry, six of the 4th and the 3d infantry), they will be disposed as follows: two at Fort Brooke, two at Fort King, two at Palatka, two at St. Augustine, and for the present two at Fort Pierce, five of the 3d infantry in West Florida, placed, as

far as is consistent with the object in having them at all, in view of convenient economical supply; and five at Cantonment Morgan, on the Key seaward of this, in readiness to be advanced south should there be necessity, or to be rapidly thrown elsewhere. These positions will, it is believed, give adequate protection to the settlements, if the Indians are not molested, and hold in check any insubordinate disposition they may manifest. The latter position may acquire a future importance in controlling the harbor for medium vessels between St. Marks and Tampa.

"I take the liberty to suggest, that two of the smaller vessels of the naval force, now on the coast, be continued, with a rendezvous at Indian Key, to give aid and assistance to wrecked vessels, and also to guard against illicit traffic with the Indians from Cuba, which has doubtless been carried to a very great extent during this contest. For this purpose they will need but slight crews and appointments. The stations selected are comparatively healthy, and furnished with sufficient covering, not requiring the outlay of one dollar beyond expenditure on ordinary service.

I am, &c.,

General JONES,
Adjutant-General U. S. Army. }

W. J. WORTH, *Col. Commanding.*"

Halleck-Tustenuggee, finding his plans to effect an escape defeated, resolved at once to make the most of his position, and prepare for emigration. He was still treated with kindness and consideration, as the time was fast approaching when his malicious and vindictive spirit would have another field in the country allotted as his future home. To allay these feelings and the pang of leaving his birth-place, was not only the dictate of policy, but humanity. The absent members of his party, respecting whom he had been silent, he was anxious should join before embarking. Five men had not been seen since the rout of the 19th of April; five others were still secreted in the swamp, severely wounded. He had allowed them to remain out in the belief, that not many weeks would elapse before he and some of his followers would effect their escape. This had failed, and runners were now dispatched to bring them in. On the sixth day they returned with their comrades. The wounded were deeply mortified when brought into camp, at the curiosity of the soldiers, and secreted themselves immediately, under the pretence of sickness. It was admitted, that in the affair which broke the league, two men were killed and five wounded.

Three men were dispatched over the St. John's river to Haw Creek, near Dunn's Lake, to bring the plunder of the band, which had been accumulating there for years. Each hiding-place was

minutely described; as holes in the earth, hollow trees, small palmetto sheds in the midst of the swamps, &c. Large quantities of cloth, cottons, blankets, and calico were brought in; as also five canisters of powder, which the chief said he buried two years previous to the war. He saw the contest approaching, and from that time forward improved the opportunity to obtain powder and lead. These articles being secured, the absent and wounded brought in, and the amusements in camp having become irksome and monotonous, much anxiety was expressed by all ages to leave the *prison island* as soon as possible. The return of an Indian, who had been dispatched on a mission to the Southern Indians, deterred for a few days the embarkation. Since the dispersion of Sam Jones and followers, in February last, from the Big Cypress Swamp, they had been perfectly quiet; and it now became important, that they should know of the surrender of various bands, and be allowed the privilege of conforming to the proffers of peace. Holatter-Micco or Billy Bowlegs, a young intelligent Seminole Indian, had been appointed chief. The movements of two companies of the 8th infantry from Fort Pierce west to Lake Oke-chobee, the destruction of camps and crops, led these Indians to believe that the approaching season would be as disastrous as the former. Talmus-Hadjo was dispatched upon the hazardous experiment of seeking an interview with the whites, and ascertain in what manner the Indians would be received. On his way to Fort Brooke he met the messenger sent from Horse Key, from whom he heard of the capture of Halleck and band, and that a friendly feeling now existed. At Fort Brooke he was received with kindness, and returned with messages to Holatter-Micco, who was invited to join other chiefs in securing for themselves a permanent peace. The return of the messenger enabled the band of Halleck-Tustenuggee to embark, on the 14th of July, for New-Orleans; from thence they were to proceed to Arkansas. Lieutenant E. R. S. Cauby, 2d infantry, was designated to take charge of the party, accompanied by Assistant-Surgeon Bailly, U. S. A. Forty warriors, and eighty women and children, comprised the entire number. Not a feeling of regret was experienced by any one, in seeing this desperate banditti take its departure. They had been the source of toil and vexation to the military, and the cause of much poverty and affliction to the settlers. They were sullen and morose; nothing but the presence of a company of the 7th infantry on board the boat, caused them to refrain from giving vent to their savage and revengeful passions. The chief indulged in one of his fiendish gusts of indignation, so peculiar to him, at not having received from Colonel Worth, as he had expected, a letter "acknowledging that he had been a brave warrior, and had

fought for his land to the last moment." "I have been hunted like a wolf," said he, "and now I am to be sent away like a dog." The ferocity of his manner to the officer addressed, his tone of voice, and threatening gestures, caused the soldiers to surround and seize him, fearful that in his ravings he would draw his knife, and assail all within his reach. When the paper was now read to him, and he found he had been mistaken, his passions subsided, and he wept like a child. Holartooche, with the five remaining Indians of the Arkansas, left in the same boat.

This chief had been useful on several occasions, giving the strongest evidence of friendship, as well as an ardent desire to benefit his race. The others, from timidity and indolence, were worthless; often embarrassing negotiations by giving contradictory opinions of Arkansas; and frequently frustrating military enterprises by their obstinacy and pretended ignorance of the country, and affected apprehension of danger.

Halleck-Tustenuggee was gone. Those to whom his safety was intrusted on Horse Key, felt as much relieved as did the inhabitants of East Florida. Intellectually, he was a remarkable man. The ruggedness and waywardness of his nature had not been softened, or his mind guided by cultivation. In his intercourse with the whites, he spurned their advice and example; and delighted in the gratification of his savage heart, which never knew an impulse of sympathy or affection. By birth he is a Mickasukie, about thirty-five years of age, proud and haughty; claiming that his tribe were the original proprietors of the soil. He is six feet two inches in height, with a slight sinewy frame, well formed and erect; modest and unassuming in his general deportment, and with a smile mild and bland, it seems impossible that he should be the victim of such violent passions, or the perpetrator of cruel and reckless murders. In May, 1839, he was present when Major-General Macomb, commanding the U. S. army, effected an arrangement with the Indians at Fort King. Forty warriors were at the council, and when the general ceased addressing them, silence pervaded the assembly. No one, they said, was authorized as a chief to speak in reply. After a short consultation, it was determined "that Halleck-Tustenuggee should say the words of their hearts." He modestly acknowledged his inability to speak in council, and disclaimed any hereditary right to act for those around him. He acquitted himself, however, with much ability; evading with tact and shrewdness all inquiry as to the numbers and location of the principal chiefs who had been sent for, and on whose account the council had been postponed from day to day.

Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler, commanding the 7th infantry, embarked at Cedar Key with his regiment on the 20th of July,

to take post at Forts Brooke, Pickens, Pike, Wood, and New-Orleans Barracks. The regiment had served in Florida since May, 1839. Two of its officers fell in battle, and two were victims to the effects of the climate; and twenty-eight rank and file were killed by the Indians. Resolutely and unflinchingly assailing the enemy in the field and in ambush, they sustained the reputation of the regiment, and did honor to their comrades, who, more fortunate, still survive to revere and shield their memories. One hundred and sixteen rank and file died from disease incident to the climate and service.

Lieutenant James S. Sanderson, on the 19th of April, 1840, fell at the head of his detachment of thirteen men, when charging a party of forty Indians, secreted in a hammock. Wounded when quite young, at the battle of Bridgewater, he subsequently passed through all the non-commissioned grades; and was appointed a second-lieutenant on the 1st of November, 1838, upon the unanimous recommendation of the officers of his regiment. His conduct in battle illustrates his character as an officer and a man.

The melancholy fate of Second-Lieutenant Walter Sherwood, excited deep sorrow and regret far beyond the circle of his regiment and associates in arms. On the 28th of December, 1840, he started from Micanopy with eleven men, for Watahoota, distant eight miles, as an escort to Mrs. Montgomery, wife of Lieutenant Montgomery, 7th infantry. When half way, he was attacked by a party of thirty Indians. Mrs. M. and four men were killed by his side. Upon the first appearance of the enemy, he rallied his command, and with coolness and intrepidity assailed them; he was soon overpowered. He fought hand to hand with the Indians as they advanced, wounding one mortally (says an Indian of the party), until exhausted by the loss of blood from wounds in the back and arms, he fell grappling with his foe, in the last agonies of death.

Young and brave, his private virtues gave him a high standing among his companions, and imparted a lustre to those heroic qualities, which led him to risk all for the succor and protection of the defenceless. The conduct of private Lansing Burlingham of C. company, demand, and should receive, the highest praise. Alone, and mortally wounded, he protected the body of Mrs. Montgomery from the merciless barbarities of the savages, who gathered around her, determined to gratify their diabolical revenge. "Lieutenant," said he (addressing Lieutenant Montgomery who had arrived), "I fought for her as long as I could; but they were too strong for me,"—his voice here faltered—"but I did my duty." These were his last words. His ear was deaf to the repeated thanks of his officer, from a heart already overburdened with grief.

The arrival of Holatter-Micco (Billy Bowlegs), with his sub-chief, Fuse-Hadjo (the Lawyer), and No-co-se-mathlar (the Bear King), at Fort Brooke, on the 5th of August, perfected the arrangement with all the chiefs of bands within the territory. The colonel commanding was at Fort Brooke upon their arrival. Bowlegs came empowered by the Indians occupying the southern part of Florida, to make such arrangement as would allow the planting of their fields. His hereditary right as a chief, and his known intelligence, and the arrangements made in council before leaving, guaranteed that whatever engagement he made would be faithfully complied with. Arpeika or Sam Jones had become a child from age, and was living on Lake Oke-chobee, with twelve men. The Prophet or Otulke-Thlocko, from his timidity and falsehoods, had lost his influence, as it was believed that his tricks and superstitions, upon which they heretofore relied, had led them into misfortunes and dangers. These men accompanied the colonel commanding to Cedar Key, from which place they proceeded to Wacassassa hammock, and returned on the 9th of August, with Tiger-Tail and Octiarche. In council the next day, the terms of peace were debated, explained, and fully understood. The chiefs were required to hold themselves responsible for the conduct of all Indians belonging to their bands, and made to understand that upon the slightest violation of the terms agreed on, the individual or individuals so offending, should be surrendered to the military for punishment. Bowlegs returned to his camp on Lake Oke-chobee, satisfied with his success, and confident of the integrity of the commander. Octiarche promised to move immediately south, within the line established, but said he was apprehensive that the young Indians would cause delay. These, from the length of the contest, were brought up to pursue a white man as a proscribed enemy, and were naturally shy and mistrustful, requiring forbearance and kindness to disarm them of the spirit of retaliation. If incursions were made upon the frontier, it would be by such characters, who were informed that they would be sought for if aggressing, and be punished. This was the fourth time that Tiger-Tail had escaped and returned to the military. He was indifferent to the past, greeted his friends among the officers with cheerfulness, believing that his treachery was forgotten or forgiven. No allusion whatever was made to it. He still exercised an influence among the Creeks. His knowledge of the habits of the whites, and ability to speak English, attached to his opinions and actions much influence. He was treated with marked kindness, and his influence was secured; but the time was not distant when he would find his own destiny involved with those whom he had endeavored to betray.

A large number of women and children visited the head-quar-

ters at Cedar Key, participating in the dances and games. Octi-arche and Tiger-Tail returned to hasten the departure of those preparing to proceed south.

The entire country being now free from alarms, and the chiefs and sub-chiefs of each band having acceded to the terms enjoined to secure friendship and intercourse between all classes and colors, the commander of the army, on the 14th of August, promulgated the following order:

ORDER }
No. 28. }

"Head-Quarters, Ninth Military Department, }
Cedar Key, Fla., August 14, 1843. }

"I. It is hereby announced that hostilities with the Indians within this territory, have ceased. Measures are taken to pass the few remaining, within certain limits—those in the far south, immediately; those west of the Suwannee, in a few days; who, meantime, there is every reasonable assurance, will conduct inoffensively if unmolested in their haunts. The lands thus *temporarily* assigned as their planting and hunting grounds, are within the following boundaries, to wit: From the mouth of Tallock-chopco or Pease Creek, up the left bank of that stream to the fork of the southern branch, and following that branch to the head or northern edge of Lake Istokpoga; thence down the eastern margin of that lake to the stream which empties from it into the Kissimmee river, following the left bank of the said stream and river to where the latter empties into Lake Oke-chobee; thence down due south through said lake and Everglades to Shark river, following the right bank of that river to the Gulf; thence along the Gulf shore (excluding all islands between Punta Rossa and the head of Charlotte's Harbor) to the place of beginning.

"The foregoing arrangements are in accordance with the instructions of the president of the United States.

By order of Colonel Worth,

S. COOPER, *Assistant-Adjutant-General.*"

The troops remaining in Florida, the 3d and 8th regiments of infantry and six companies of the 4th, were at once concentrated for economy and convenience. Detached camps were drawn in, posts abandoned, and corresponding reductions promptly made in all staff departments. The head-quarters of the 3d infantry were at Fort Stansbury, twelve miles from Tallahassee, Captain J. B. Clarke commanding. Its aggregate strength six hundred and ninety-one men. Three companies were stationed at Cantonment Morgan, Horse Key, and one company at each of the following posts, viz.: Fort Pleasants, Fort Robert Gamble, Fort Hamilton, Fort Stansbury, Fort Ocilla, and Fort Brooke. Two companies of the 4th infantry were posted at Fort Brooke, one at Fort Fan-

ning, Wacassassa, Walkahoota, and Micanopy : aggregate strength, four hundred and twenty men.

The 8th regiment of infantry, seven hundred and thirteen strong, head-quarters Palatka, commanded by Brevet-Major Belknap, took position as follows : four companies at Palatka, two at Fort King, one at Camp Brown, Fort Moniac, North's Station, and Micanopy. Two companies of the 7th infantry were stationed at Fort Brooke, numbering sixty-eight men. The six companies of the 4th, had been recommended to be withdrawn.

Eighteen hundred and ninety-two men now constituted the command denominated the 9th military department.

The troops remaining in Florida had borne their part with the same alacrity and hardihood in the prosecution of the contest which had just terminated, as other corps. Being the last ordered into the campaign, according to military usage, they were the last to go out. The 3d regiment arrived during the month of October, 1840. It lost three officers by disease, and sixty-five privates.

The 4th infantry participated, at an early period, in the melancholy and disastrous events which aggravated and prolonged the conflict. This was its second tour of duty in Florida.

Brevet-Major Francis L. Dade, commanded the detachment of one hundred and ten men, comprising details from the 2d and 3d artillery and 4th infantry, which was massacred near the Wahoo Swamp, on the main road from Fort Brooke to Fort King, on the 28th December, 1835. To award him praise, professionally or privately, is unnecessary ; his fate, and that of his companions in arms, insure them immortality, and their memory a place in the heart of every soldier. Five officers died from disease contracted in Florida and from other causes in discharge of their duties, together with one hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates. Nineteen of these fell in battle.

The 8th infantry entered Florida in November, 1840, from an extended tour of service, leaving Sacket's Harbor, N. Y., on the 1st of May ; thence passing up the lakes to Green Bay, Fort Winnebago, Prairie du Chien, Jefferson Barracks, New-Orleans, and thence to Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay. Four officers died from disease, sixty-six non-commissioned officers and privates fell victims to disease and incidents of the service, and two sergeants and two privates were killed in action. First Lieutenant John H. Harvie, died on the 7th of September, 1841, regretted by a large circle of relatives and friends. Hastening in execution of his duties from Port Leon to Fort Brooke, he embarked, though indisposed, in a small fishing-boat, in expectation of reaching a port the following day. But adverse winds detained the craft at sea four days, where, destitute of comforts or attention, his disease ran its course, and terminated fatally at Cedar Key, six hours after his arrival. Enthu-

siastic in the love of his profession, he served his country with fidelity, leaving among his associates a cherished recollection of his manly and generous qualities.

Second Lieutenant John A. Riell, died at sea, on his way home to the city of New-York. He left Florida extremely debilitated. Agitated with anxiety to reach his destination, his enfeebled frame sunk under the excitement. When within sight of the port, he stretched himself upon his couch, and calling for the flag of his country, wrapped its folds around him, and expired without a struggle.

Colonel Worth was instructed to proceed to Washington City, after making his final arrangements, where, in conjunction with the proper authorities, further measures could be concerted to continue peace in Florida, and thus relieve the treasury of the nation from the exorbitant demands to which it had been so long subjected. The president of the United States desired an opportunity to express to Colonel Worth his high appreciation of the zeal and ability which he had evinced during his brief but arduous service, as well as to bestow the merited praise upon the officers and soldiers of his command.

On the 17th of August he relinquished the command of the army of Florida (now the ninth military department), by the following order, to the officer next in rank, having performed the duties thirteen months and seventeen days, and repaired to Washington City.

ORDER }
No. 29. }

"Head-Quarters, 9th M. Department, }
Palatka, Fa., August 17th, 1842. }

"The undersigned surrenders the command of this military department to Colonel Vose, 4th infantry, the officer next in rank.

W. J. WORTH,
Colonel 8th infantry, U. S. Army."

Upon reaching Washington, Colonel Worth, with his staff, waited upon the president of the United States, conducted by the Honorable J. C. Spencer, secretary of war, when the president handed to him the commission of a brevet brigadier-general, conferred by the senate of the United States, in consideration "for gallantry and highly distinguished services as commanding the forces in the war against the Florida Indians."

Mr. Tyler, in a brief and appropriate manner, expressed his appreciation, and that of the country, of the fidelity with which all grades in the army had discharged their duty in Florida.

General Worth, in acknowledging the honor conferred upon him, said he would improve this opportunity to express his earnest desire that the claims of his comrades in the contest just

ended might not pass unnoticed. For their activity, promptness, and endurance, under all circumstances of exposure, privation, and danger, the country was indebted; and that in their intelligence and patriotism he had confided, and had ever found officers and soldiers equal to and prepared for every emergency.

The correspondence of Colonel Worth with Lieutenant McLaughlin, commanding the Florida squadron, subjoined, together with the instructions of the latter, preparatory to a fulfillment of the wishes of the president of the United States, in suspending hostilities, shows in what respect retrenchment was carried out in the navy, as well as the measures taken for the defence of the coast of Florida.

The endorsement of Colonel Worth upon the letter of instructions of Lieutenant McLaughlin to Lieutenant Henry of July 8th, explains a nice point in the arrangement made with the Indians in Florida.

Lieutenant McLaughlin supposed that the country allotted the Indians was for them to *live upon forever*. This was not the case. They were made to understand that the arrangement was *temporary*.

“Head-Quarters Army of Florida, }
Cedar Key, May 23d, 1842. }

“SIR—Herewith I have the honor to forward copies of instructions from the honorable secretary for the department of war and the major-general commanding-in-chief the army, inviting your attention to that part where the secretary refers to the honorable secretary of the navy, &c.

“Recent successes, and results arising therefrom, will enable me, in a few weeks, to make the announcement authorized by the superior authority, when, I am fully persuaded, not a foe will be left to molest the citizen, between Carlosahatchee and Tallahassee. A very small band, supposed to be upper Creeks, are, doubtless, roving west of the latter place; south, there is Sam Jones, with his band of nine or ten, and the mixed band, in the Cypress or thereabouts, under the Prophet, of about twenty. The two latter are, and doubtless will remain, in respect to the settlements, quite innoxious. Indeed, it is well known, that since the arrangement of General Macomb, they have acted only on the defensive, except probably in case of wrecked vessels. The papers are herewith submitted, in order that you may, in your judgment, take such preliminary steps, as the instructions of the secretary of the navy may require or authorize, in respect to the disposition of your force. Perhaps you may find it expedient to discharge hired vessels, if any you have, and otherwise commence a curtailment of expenditure.

I have the honor to be, &c., your obedient servant,

Lieutenant J. T. McLAUGHLIN, }
Commanding, &c., Coast of Florida. }

W. J. WORTH, Col. Commanding.”

“*Head-Quarters, Army of Florida,* }
Cedar Key, June 21st, 1842. }

“MY DEAR SIR—You will herewith receive a copy of my report to the adjutant-general, of the 20th instant. On parting with your young and accomplished comrades, I beg you to convey and make acceptable to them, the high professional and personal respect I have the honor to entertain for each. The commendation of an old soldier can do no harm, and it is for me only to regret the humbleness which gives no warrant for a more decided expression of all that is due to their gallant and uncalculating devotion, in a service as painful as thankless.

May God protect, and your country promote you, is the sincere prayer of most truly,

Your friend,

Lieutenant J. T. McLAUGHLIN, U. S. Navy, }
 Commanding Florida Squadron. }

W. J. WORTH,
Colonel Commanding.”

“*Flirt, at Indian Key, June 7th, 1842.*

“COLONEL—I have had the honor to receive your communication from Cedar Key, of the 23d ultimo, with its enclosures.

“Awaiting only the arrival of the mail, which reached me a few hours previous to the receipt of your communications, to visit you or transmit the dispatches, which would advise you of our recent operations in this quarter, I shall now proceed forthwith to Tampa, or elsewhere, to find you, to place before you in detail the result of our operations here, with a chart of the southern end of the Peninsula, deduced from the most careful and extended observation. For the moment, I will say, that during the last month, my entire force has been in the field, from latitude 26° 40' N., on the east coast, to latitude 26° 30' N., on the west, covering the entire intermediate strip of land between the sea and interior, including the coonti grounds. The result of our labors has been the destruction of twelve fields of corn, vegetables, and fruit, and the routing of large parties of women and children from the coonti grounds, within five miles of Fort Dallas, between Little River and Arch Creek, where, from the extent of their cultivated tracts, and the appearance of their settlements, they have been residents for quite two years.

“The Indians further south, on the southern extremity, have quitted their position there, and, but the signs of two, none were found to have been north of Fort Lauderdale for a month.

“The only hired vessel in this command was discharged from the service at the close of the last month, in view of the course you had projected for the conclusion of hostilities, which although it had not reached me officially, yet came to me in a shape sufficiently authentic, knowing your views upon the subject, to in-

duce me to act, when the efficiency of my command would not be impaired by her dismissal.

"In the earnest hope that I may have the honor of an interview during the coming week, I have the pleasure of tendering you my earnest and cordial congratulations upon the successful issue to which your laborious and skillful efforts have brought, in the shortest time, the longest war known in our generation.

I have the honor to be respectfully, sir,

Colonel WORTH, }
Commanding Army of Florida. }

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN,
Com. Naval Forces, Coast of Florida }

"Flirt, at Indian Key, July 8th, 1842.

"SIR—The government having determined upon a pacific policy for the restoration of amicable relations with the Indians of Florida, all further offensive operations against them will cease, and the vessels of the Florida squadron, except the Wave and the Phoenix, will be immediately withdrawn from the territory. These will be left on the coast under your command, with a rendezvous and hospital at Indian Key, for purposes of general protection, to aid and assist wrecked or distressed vessels, and to guard against any intercourse with such Indians as may remain in the southern extremity of the Peninsula, and the people of Cuba. In connection with this portion of your duties, your attention is respectfully invited to paragraphs I. and II. of the circular of December 31st, 1840, enclosed to commanders of vessels, which is still in force, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

"In the discharge of these duties, you will keep one vessel on either side of the Peninsula, with instructions to the commander, to communicate and exchange information with the commanding officer of each of the military stations on the coast; and you will convey with the least possible delay, to the military commander in the territory, any information you may obtain, which it would be important to him to be possessed of. A frequent communication with him on your part will facilitate, and possibly add much to, the usefulness of your general operations.

"Interpreters will be furnished you for the purpose of communicating with the Indians, and you will endeavor, by every means, to open an intercourse with them, when you will seek to impress upon them, that it is the president's wish, that hereafter the red and white man shall live in friendship in Florida, and cultivate together the arts of peace; that he desires to GIVE TO THE RED MAN a portion of the territory TO LIVE IN FOREVER, and to permit him to trade with the whites after his own manner, and for any thing he may require, whether it be for provisions, for powder, or for clothing; that Colonel Worth is empowered

to make all these arrangements for them, and awaits their coming to him at Tampa Bay or Cedar Key, to have a talk with him, and determine together what portion of the territory shall be their home.

"Although hostilities are discontinued, yet, in all your intercourse with the Indians, you will ever be on the alert for treachery, and prepared to resist and resent it.

"Your command will be supplied with rations by any of the commissaries of the army in Florida, from whom you shall require them; and the duties of purser for it will be discharged by Acting Lieutenant-Commandant C. R. P. Rodgers.

Respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be,

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN,

Lieutenant HENRY, U. S. Navy.

Lieut. Com. Naval Forces, Coast of Florida."

Circular.

"Florida Expedition, Flirt, at Key Biscayne, }
December 31st, 1840. }

"II. You will prevent any communication with the coast, of any nature whatsoever, unless in connection with the operations in Florida, or at points settled and inhabited by white men. These instructions are not designed to interfere with the fisheries on the coast, but to forbid any communication with the shore, under penalty of seizure of their vessels, and imprisonment of themselves, to any persons who shall land in contravention of this order.

"III. You will cause the second paragraph of this order to be made public at all points of the coast where you may touch, for the information of those whom it may concern.

Respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be,

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN,

Lieut. Com. Expedition."

Endorsement.

"Army of Florida, July 18th, 1842.

"Captain McLaughlin having obligingly favored me with a copy of his instructions to govern the commanders of the schooners of war left on the coast of Florida, and having on the withdrawal of the squadron, left, it is presumed at my suggestion, the said vessels, it is proper I should make the following memorandum:

"That it is the president's wish that hereafter the red man and white man shall live in friendship in Florida, and together cultivate the arts of peace; that he desires to give to the red man a portion of the territory to live in forever, &c., &c."

"Now I do not so understand the views of the president, as

communicated by the secretary of war through the commanding general, but as conceding, as a matter of expediency and policy for the moment, the boon to hunt and plant for a while on certain grounds which have been defined by the undersigned, and in connection with certain information that the larger portion, so soon as released from the fear of their leaders, actually desire to join their kindred in the west. So far from the president's having signified any consent that they, the Indians, should remain possessors *forever* (as the alienation of soil has all the forms and of course obligations of a treaty), such a course would be as palpably beyond the power, as it doubtless would be beyond the desire of the president; the whole arrangement being expedient and promissory.

W. J. WORTH, *Colonel Commanding.*"

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM AUGUST 17, TO OCTOBER 31, 1842.

Colonel Vose in command of the 9th military department.—The Indians annoyed by encroachments and aggressions of the whites.—Southern Indians within the boundary: none but Creeks without.—Apprehensions of Tiger-Tail and Octiarche realized.—Attack upon settlements.—Citizens killed.—Pursuit by Colonel Bailey, and citizens.—Indians overtaken and punished.—Complaints among citizens.—Facts not known or understood.—Arrival of Tiger-Tail and Octiarche.—Excitement in the country.—Complaints of citizens to the governor of the territory, and to the authorities at Washington City.—Orders received by Colonel Vose to take the field.—Colonel Vose postpones the execution.—His reasons.—The Indians' camps plundered.—Officers of the army sent to the camps.—The Indians doubt the sincerity of the commander and his officers.—Delay and debauchery of the Indians.—Large demands for liquor.—Embarkation of the six companies 4th infantry.—The effect upon the Indians.—The gale at Cedar Key.—Indians refuse again to visit the island.—Agree upon Fort Brooke as the future place of meeting.—Effects and continuance of the gale at Cedar Key.—Loss of public and private property.—A council of Indians to be held at Fort Brooke, on the 1st of November.

THE command in Florida, now designated as the 9th military department, devolved upon Colonel J. H. Vose, by recent promotion the colonel of the 4th infantry.

Thirty years' faithful service in the army guaranteed a judicious administration of affairs. His experience among the Indian tribes on the western frontier, peculiarly fitted him for the delicate and responsible duties intrusted to his charge. The Indians were to be carefully watched and prevented by military vigilance and skill from violating their obligations, and at the same time dealt with in justice and humanity; keeping in view the main object—peace, and the security of the inhabitants of the territory. The Indians, naturally stubborn and dilatory in their movements, were greatly embarrassed in their efforts to move in a body south, from fear of the citizens, who improved every opportunity to intimidate and annoy them. The military was looked to for protection, in the belief that they were vested with full power to control; while the inhabitants, actuated by retaliatory and malignant feelings, and disbelieving their promises to keep peace, sought opportunities to harass, plunder, and threaten small and detached families preparing to join the main body on the route to the prescribed boundary. The Creeks were the only Indians remaining. The few Seminoles and Mickasukies, under Holatter-Micco or Bowlegs, were already within their limits, dispatching messengers to others without the line to hasten their movements, fearful that delay or some imprudent act might be committed by the younger portion which would cause a withdrawal of the terms to which they had acceded. The apprehensions of Octiarche and Tiger-Tail, in regard to the reckless conduct of warriors who had not received *the talk*, was too truly and painfully realized. On the 11th of August, the day when the chiefs were negotiating

at Cedar Key, a war party of ten attacked the settlements in the neighborhood of San Petro, killing two citizens. Pursuit was immediately and most gallantly given by twenty men, volunteers, commanded by Colonel Bailey, who, overtaking the party in a hammock, killed two and wounded five of the number. The orders of Colonel Worth, of the 14th instant, "announcing that hostilities had ceased," reached this section of country and Talahassee on the 16th, causing much dissatisfaction and reproach. Such open defiance on the part of the enemy, and injudicious assumption of power (as was thought in ignorance of the facts) in the recent and now absent commander, was calculated to exasperate the people; and occasioned them to doubt, for the first time, the forecast and ability of the officer, who, in so short a space of time, had rid the country of its most numerous and formidable foes. The details of the negotiation at Cedar Key were not known, nor could the numerous and perplexing difficulties in controlling a race so illiterate and savage, be understood or explained, so that justice might be awarded to those whose acts were unsatisfactory.

The inroads of these roaming bands were apprehended, and every means was adopted that the military and Indian chiefs could devise to avert them. The intelligence reached Colonel Vose at Cedar Key, on the 22d. Tiger-Tail and Octiarche came in without delay, to ascertain if it was known, as the party had arrived at their camp giving a confused and unsatisfactory account of what had transpired. They solicited that it might not interrupt the harmony existing, as those who had committed the act, were ignorant that hostilities had ceased. The necessity of moving south, was apparent. Scouting parties of citizens, were sweeping the country to the Suwannee river. The renewal of barbarities in so populous a part of the territory as Middle Florida, created excitement, and induced loud appeals to be made to the governor for protection.

These, sustained by the clamor of those who saw the conflict drawing to a close, and by others inimical to the military, caused in Washington City corresponding feelings; creating a doubt whether the instructions of the president of the United States, as made known in his message, might not have been injudicious and ill-timed. The trials surrounding a commanding officer, in governing a class of men by nature treacherous and vindictive, who for years had been participating in bloody deeds, could not be understood or explained to higher authority so remote from the scene of action. Orders were accordingly received by Colonel Vose, on the 22d of September, to take the field, muster into service a militia force, and push vigorously such operations as would punish and capture the enemy.

These instructions, if carried out, were calculated to defeat, beyond redemption, all hopes of peace, and to aggravate the Indians by apparent duplicity, and thus render them no longer manageable by military means or by negotiation. This state of affairs was unfortunate, as the Indians were assembling in good faith, preparatory to going within the boundary prescribed. Colonel Vose, guided by his own good judgment, and accurate knowledge of the chiefs and their followers, postponed the execution of his orders, first giving to the war department his reasons for so doing. Though temporarily relieved from this embarrassment, difficulties accumulated in all quarters through the dilatory movements of the Indians, and the interference of whites, who molested and plundered their camps, when left exposed, or protected only by women and children. Confiding in the assurance of peace, they disregarded those precautions which had heretofore relieved them from insult and aggression. Officers of the army were dispatched to the various camps, to allay excited feelings, which had become rife among the head men, who had been outraged in the midst of assurances of friendship, protection, and peace. The forbearance manifested under these provocations, gave the strongest evidence of their good faith and integrity, and determination to adhere to their arrangements.

Such a state of things, however, could not long exist. Doubts were entertained of the sincerity of the commander and his officers. Their assurances and exertions, which had assuaged the vindictiveness of the most incredulous, was fast losing its effect. Officers of the army, when visiting the camps, were upbraided for duplicity, in thus holding out protection, when the whites insulted and threatened them in the execution of the terms of peace. From these causes, towards the end of the month of September, the visitors at Cedar Key began to diminish; whisky was eagerly asked for, and when obtained, only caused murmurings and dissatisfaction that a larger quantity was not given. Scenes of debauchery stupified their faculties, and weeks were passed in drunken revels. When the liquor was exhausted, a party was dispatched for more, instructed in what manner to deceive the commanding officer, who, annoyed at their procrastination, urged and besought them, for their own safety, to hasten within the designated boundary, as the scouting parties of citizens were in active pursuit. Their demands became so exorbitant, that further supplies were refused; as the abundance with which they had been supplied, had caused slothfulness and indifference to a prompt execution of promises. The six remaining companies of the 4th infantry, stationed at Cedar Key, embarked for New-Orleans, thence to Jefferson Barracks, on the 30th of September. Their departure satisfied the Indians that farther pursuit by soldiers was

at an end. This quieted their fears, and renewed, in a measure, the assurances of peace. The violent gale at Cedar Key, on the 4th and 5th of October, deterred them from again visiting that post, as they superstitiously regarded it as an expression of anger by the Great Spirit, and an omen of misfortune.

Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, was agreed upon as the future place of rendezvous, at which point a council was to be held on the 1st of November. Cedar Key, from the disastrous effects of the gale, was abandoned. The loss sustained, both public and private, was large. The wind commenced blowing, on the afternoon of the 4th, from the south, and continued and increased in violence, until midnight of the 5th. The water rose twenty-seven feet, carrying every thing before it, and driving the occupants of the island to a small spot in the centre, upon which stood the hospital, which was blown from its foundation. Two steamboats and a sloop broke loose from their moorings, and were driven ashore upon the opposite key, total wrecks, and were followed by the wharf, three hundred feet long, which was shivered to atoms.

The quartermaster and commissary store-houses, in which were deposited large supplies, were torn to pieces; the waves making a breach through the buildings, carried the contents to sea. The sutler's store, and four dwellings, shared the same fate. Ropes were extended from tree to tree, to enable those who were endeavoring to secure the property, to keep their feet. At sundown on the 5th, the wind increased with the rising tide, when those inhabiting the island were grouped at midnight on the last dry spot, watching with intense anxiety the raging sea around them, threatening inevitable destruction. Inch by inch the waters encroached upon the last foothold, as ascertained by numerous sticks, arranged by the anxious spectators, until one o'clock, when the tide ceased flowing, and the wind abated. Tierces of clothing, barrels of pork and flour, were afterwards picked up five miles in the interior of the country. It was not within the knowledge of the oldest fisherman upon the coast, that this key had been inundated; though the deposits in the centre bear strong indications of it, which caused much doubt when it was chosen as a depot, and a suitable spot for the general hospital, as to the judiciousness of the selection. Horse Key, three miles distant, to the south, seaward, the outmost of the cluster, was exempt from inundation. In a military point of view, this key is an important position, commanding as it does the Suwannee Bay, and accessible for vessels drawing twelve feet water.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1842, TO DECEMBER 31, 1845.

Brevet Brigadier-General Worth resumes the command of the 9th military department.—Colonel Vose, at Fort Brooke, to meet Octiarche and band.—Objects attained during his temporary command.—Fears of Octiarche, and the threats of the Seminoles.—Major Seawell, 7th infantry, ordered to seize the band of Octiarche, at Fort Brooke.—His success.—The reasons for such a step.—Tiger-Tail at Cedar Key.—His conduct and infidelity.—Officers sent to reconnoitre his camp.—Position of his camp, and his condition.—Instructions to Captain J. M. Hill, to secure Tiger-Tail.—His success.—Lieutenant Jordan, 3d infantry, dispatched to surprise the camp.—Brings Tiger-Tail into Cedar Key on a litter.—He confined to Horse Key.—Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Hitchcock, commanding 3d infantry, to take the field.—His operations.—Surrender of Pascoffer and band.—The doubts and fears of the Indians, and quiet of the country.—Embarkation of Octiarche and Tiger-Tail with their followers, for New-Orleans, in charge of Lieutenant Britton, 7th infantry.—Departure of Pascoffer and band, in command of Lieutenant W. S. Henry, 3d infantry.—Creeks, Seminoles, Mickasukies, and Uchees, leave Fort Brooke for New-Orleans.—The character, feeling, and condition, of the Indians assembled at the New-Orleans Barracks.—Death of Tiger-Tail at the Barracks, New-Orleans.—His last words.—His birth, character, and intercourse with Colonel Gamble's family, in Florida.—His intelligence, influence, and infidelity.—Octiarche.—His birth, and character in battle and in council.—General Worth's report, in regard to the number of Indians in Florida, of November 17th, 1843.—Captain Sprague's letter to the citizens of Florida, in reference to the relation of the Indians towards the whites.—The number of Indians in Florida, December 31st, 1845: their condition and feelings.—The character of the chief and sub-chief, and future prospect of emigration to Arkansas.

On the 1st of November, Colonel Worth (now brigadier-general by brevet) resumed command of the 9th military department. He met Colonel Vose at Fort Brooke, at which place he was awaiting the arrival of Octiarche and other Indians, *en route* to the section of country temporarily assigned them as hunting and planting grounds.

The great object of the policy pursued during the command of Colonel Vose, had been accomplished. The Indians had been pacificated, their numbers and location accurately ascertained, and the prevailing disposition in reference to emigration well understood. With this information, a commander could make arrangements to act offensively or defensively, as circumstances might render most prudent or effectual. Octiarche came to Fort Brooke on the 10th of November, with a few men, dissatisfied with the conduct of the Seminoles, who, still cherishing the feud (which years past had caused a separation of the tribe), had threatened to put him and his followers to death, as soon as they came within the Indian boundary. Holatter Micco, or Bowlegs, the chief of the Seminoles, was asserting his right to control the Creeks, as the Seminoles were the owners of the land, and now more respectable in numbers and character. It was evident opinions and prejudices of this kind would soon terminate in bloodshed. Efforts to allay these contending passions, only tended to make each party more open and vindictive in their threats and actions. Ill feelings, thus created and fostered, no confidence could be placed in the assurances of peace, as their dissensions

among themselves engendered a desire for a more extended sphere of rapine and murder. Captain Seawell (now major by brevet), 7th. infantry, commanding Fort Brooke, was directed by the commanding general, to improve the earliest opportunity to seize Octiarche and his band, and send them at once to Horse Key. Under other circumstances, this might have been deemed injudicious and unjust; but the peculiar situation of affairs, a proper regard for the interest of the citizens of the territory and the general government, imperatively demanded it. Infidelity and treachery were at work somewhere; when and in what manner it would first be seen and felt, could not be foretold, and they could not justly complain of our adopting the system of tactics so often practised by themselves. Emigration was seldom alluded to; on the contrary, the most remote steps, preparatory to the assembling of any number, caused suspicion and dissatisfaction among both men and women.

Octiarche was watched by his followers, to see if he wavered in his determination to carry out what he had pledged in council—to *die upon the soil*. Confiding in him, they ventured within the chain of sentinels, looking cautiously about, lest some ingenious scheme might be devised to entrap them, while they improved with industry every opportunity for purchasing powder and lead. The head-quarters of the army were transferred to Cedar Key, for a short time, where it was reported Thlocklostusenuggee, or Tiger-Tail, was sending messengers from his camp, nine miles distant, for whisky and provisions. Disregarding his promises to remove south, with others, he had idled away his time, indulging in the most brutal intoxication. This was in consonance with his general conduct. By promises, treachery, and cunning, he had been the principal instrument in protracting the war three years, and by his counsel and advice had added to its sanguinary character. His plea now was, indisposition of the women and children who were to accompany him. Excuses of the kind were too common with him, and too often resulted in a renewal of hostilities. Surgeon Wright and Lieutenant Sprague, U. S. A., visited his camp, under the conduct of a squaw, to ascertain his condition, as also the practicability of taking him by force. He was found in the midst of a scrub, stretched on a bear skin before a small fire, surrounded by six men and eight women, and several children. He was evidently in a bad condition, not from sickness, but bruises received in drunken revels, by which he had been maimed to such an extent as to be unable to travel. He could not see from the effects of blows, and his face had been severely scratched and bitten. From the position of his camp, he could be surprised, which was the only method of ever securing him. Captain J. M. Hill, assistant-quartermaster, then in

command at Cedar Key, by a judicious system of negotiations and intercourse, executed the duty intrusted to him with complete success. Lieutenant T. Jordan, 3d infantry, was dispatched with a detachment of twenty men, instructed to bring Tiger-Tail to the post. This officer, by an alert and decided movement, surprised the camp, and in spite of arguments and threats, effected his purpose. This chieftain, the reckless violator of every promise and obligation; the active instigator of cruel acts from the commencement of the war, and the artful diplomatist, was brought to Cedar Key on a rude litter, borne by the men of the detachment, accompanied by six men, and thirteen women and children. He was transferred to Horse Key. The territory was thus relieved of an insidious, daring, and intelligent foe.

The band of Creeks under the chief Pascoffer, on the Ocklockonnee river, was causing much apprehension along the border of West Florida. Lieutenant-Colonel Hitchcock, commanding the 3d infantry, stationed at Fort Stansbury, was ordered to besiege the country by land and water, with boats, mounted men, and footmen, and, if possible, secure the co-operation of the whites in that quarter, known to have intercourse with the Indians.

The vigorous measures pursued during the month of November, gave renewed confidence to the citizens, and left the small bands of Indians, roaming in all directions, in doubt as to whether they would be considered as friends or enemies. This depended very much upon the opportunities offered to secure them in numbers. If they remained quiet, and kept away from where they might be captured, they were treated as friends; but if they came in at Fort Brooke, dissatisfied and suspicious, they were looked upon as enemies, and secured without delay.

Indulgence and kindness had made them impudent and slothful, and they, so far, had played their part with intelligence and cunning, disdaining authority or control. The advantages of a truce had been mutual, and it now became imperative that the military should be remunerated for months of tiresome and vexatious service. On the 20th of December Major Seawell, at Fort Brooke, by well-concerted means, secured Octiarche and his entire band. They had loitered into the garrison as customary, indulging in excesses of all kinds, when the commander invited them to his quarters, to hear a talk in which all were interested. While explaining to them the peculiarity of their position and their relation to the Seminole, and his suspicions of their infidelity, and the necessity of undoubted peace, the four companies of the 8th infantry on drill, in command of Captain R. B. Screven, by a preconcerted signal, formed a cordon enveloping the whole party. The movement, so complete and unexpected, left no time

for the expression of anger. Confounded and humbled, they looked anxiously about, to see if a worse fate awaited them, as many expected to be put to death. The chief privately expressed his gratification, as his position daily became more critical from the ill-nature and restlessness of the younger class of warriors.

This band, together with Tiger-Tail and his few adherents, embarked for New-Orleans Barracks, La., in charge of Lieutenant F. Britton, 7th infantry. The suddenness of their capture, the transition from a roving life to the limits of Horse Key, and their immediate departure, left no time to mourn over their fate, or to express regrets in parting from the land upon which they had, in council, declared their determination to die.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hitchcock's operations on the Ocklockonnee river, were characterized by skillful and energetic steps, and were seconded by the zealous exertions of the officers of his regiment, and resulted in the surrender of Pascoffer and his band, on the 9th of January.

This chief, finding himself so closely hemmed in by the position of troops, mounted, on foot, and in boats, and influenced by the white men, who had held intercourse with him for years, hastened, with his followers, to sue for peace, as delay he saw would involve much distress, and ultimate capture. The band, comprising fifty-one souls, twenty-nine of which were warriors, were received by the commander at the mouth of the Ocklockonnee, and shipped immediately to the well-known prison-house, Horse Key. On the 26th of January they set sail for New-Orleans Barracks, La., under the direction of Lieutenant W. S. Henry, 3d infantry. This last capture relieved Middle and West Florida entirely of Indians.

On the 22d of February, sixty-two Creeks, Seminoles, Mickasukies, and Uchees, embarked from Fort Brooke for New-Orleans, under Parsackee, a faithful sub-chief. These men had been employed the year past as guides and negotiators.

The number assembled at the Barracks at New-Orleans, preparatory to starting for Arkansas upon the rising of the waters, comprised two hundred and fifty souls; some of each tribe that had ever been in Florida. Here were Seminoles, Creeks, Tallahassees, Mickasukies, Uchees, and Hitchitees, the larger portion destitute of wives, parents, children, or relatives of any kind, and with no one to whom they could look as an adviser or as a chief. They were without any ties whatever. They had heretofore lived in harmony for mutual protection, and to wreak vengeance on the common enemy, the whites; but now, regardless of this object, they turned upon each other, and indulged in the gratification of their vicious and savage passions.

Old feuds were renewed, and but for the vigilance and in-

terference of the officers in command, they would have resulted in the most revolting crimes. Captain H. McKavitt, 8th infantry, conducted the party to Fort Gibson, Arkansas, thence to the country allotted them, where they may indulge their animosities so long smothered, and so fiercely cherished, and be guided and punished by their own laws. The known ability and fidelity of the officer in his duties, to whom they were intrusted, guarantied to the government and to the Indians all that could be desired.

Tiger-Tail, the most prominent chieftain among the number, died at the Barracks soon after his arrival. From the time he left Florida, his health failed rapidly. He was gloomy and reserved, and had no communication with any one but a sister, who strenuously exerted herself to cheer his spirits, and add to his comfort. Two days prior to his death his mind was gone. He occasionally muttered a *talk*, repeating the names of Indians and familiar spots in Florida, terminating with an Indian song, to which he kept time with his hands and feet. On the day of his decease he asked to see the sun as it set. In a reclining posture, he gazed at it intently, continually opening and shutting his eyes, and shaking hands with those around: "I see," said he, "the sun for the last time!" As it sank, he folded his arms, closed his eyes, and, while its rays lingered upon the horizon, his spirit fled. Thlocklo-Tustenuggee, known as Tiger-Tail, was dead.

At the commencement of the war this chief resided in the neighborhood of Tallahassee. The house of Colonel Robert Gamble, at Warcula, was his home. This hospitable family not only gave a cordial welcome to the officer and soldier of the army during the war, but, for years previous, fed, clothed, and protected the humble Indian. A redeeming trait in the character of Tiger-Tail was his remembrance of the kindness received from the members of this family, and his active efforts to protect them, in opposition to the wishes of others, and to the hazard of his own life and influence. Frequently, members of the household had been exposed on the highway, and the plantation in many respects invited attack, but the interposition of his authority shielded the family from harm. The officer and soldier of the United States army entertained a corresponding grateful feeling, a partial requital in return for the undeviating and unaffected hospitality extended them in sickness and in health. Tiger-Tail's early associations were identified with this section of country. The village of his father occupied the present site of the town of Tallahassee, deriving its name from a tribe of Indians to which he belonged. When hostilities became inevitable, he bade his friends farewell, and joined the enemy, remembering, however, with grati-

tude, those he was compelled to leave, frequently, ever after, reverting with pleasure to the many acts of kindness and attention bestowed upon him. He was forty-five years of age, six feet in height, erect and well-proportioned. His mouth and nose were remarkably large, complexion very dark, and his face deeply furrowed with wrinkles, and his countenance altogether striking and prepossessing. From long association with the whites, he could speak English fluently, and had imbibed habits and manners far above his companions. These qualities made him a formidable foe, enabling him to influence and guide others by his advice, in planning attacks, and designating the hour when the whites were most likely to be off their guard. In these he was never known to have been an actor, but, for his opinion and instruction, always received a share of the plunder. Intelligent, artful, and politic, he gained the confidence of all the tribes around him. His conversation was sprightly, at times witty and humorous. The Great Spirit he appealed to with reverence, scrupulously regarding the Sabbath, by dressing in a clean and becoming garb and abstaining from amusement and dissipation. The recurrence of the seventh day he knew by notches upon a stick, made as each day passed, and which he wore suspended from his girdle. In the domestic relations, he partook of the feelings of civilized life, regarding his wife and children as companions more than beasts of burden or domestics. In council he was quick and comprehensive, condensing and arranging his ideas with conciseness and judgment. The appellation of Tiger-Tail was given to him at the treaty at Fort Moultrie, in 1823. In the ball-play, in which different bands contended for the prize, he was distinguished by the skin of a tiger attached to his belt, hanging down some distance, which, when running, made an amusing and ridiculous figure. Ever after he was called Tiger-Tail.

With a few followers he, in 1837, settled on and cultivated an island in the Charlopopka Lakes. Here he erected a few temporary sheds, and continued to reside unmolested. In June, 1841, a company of dragoons discovered the settlement, when he fled to the saw-grass with his family, and from a high tree saw them tear up his field, and burn his houses. The command bivouacked in the vicinity, and after the sentinels were posted, he, with his followers, passed within sight of the camp, and proceeded to the Annutiliga Hammock, where he joined his brother Nethlockemathlar. On the second night of his retreat, a company of regulars encamped on the margin of the hammock, so near as to hear the sound of their axes. He cautiously approached and counted their number. It was proposed to attack them, but on learning their strength desisted, and before the break of day, on the fol-

lowing morning, moved into a swamp beyond discovery, fearing the command might be following their trail, which they in fact did. Though not regarded as a warrior, being more timid than otherwise, he was yet received and treated with distinction by the principal chieftains, as he was politic enough to identify himself with the interests of all. With Halleck-Tustenuggee, Octiarche, Pascoffer, and Nethlockemathlar, he suggested and matured plans to attack and elude the whites. At the meeting during the month of November, 1840, near Fort King, between General Armistead, commanding the army, and Halleck-Tustenuggee, he was the adviser, and urged him to accept the general's offer to accompany him to Fort King, and after a sufficient quantity of provisions were obtained, as well as many presents, he named the time when the number assembled, professing peace, should return to the woods, entertaining those around him with the jokes passed between himself and the officers, in reference to the war, and the probability of the Indians surrendering for emigration. In the great council held by the various bands in the Cove of the Withlacoochee, during the month of June, 1841, to devise measures to protect their families and crops, he bore a conspicuous part. He established scouting parties by a detail from the young men, who were relieved every twenty-four hours, and required them to extend their observation ten miles around. If troops were seen, they were to follow them to their encampment for the night, to ascertain their numbers and position, and return and report. His knowledge of the customs of soldiers enabled him to magnify these reports to suit his purposes, gaining great credit for sagacity and forecast with his countrymen, who blindly followed his advice. Three times he had surrendered to different commanders in Florida, as it was supposed in good faith, for emigration. After enjoying for months the comforts and distinction usually bestowed upon so important a personage, he would suddenly decamp at midnight, taking with him a large number, whom he imbued with increased distrust and additional malignity towards the whites, by fabricating accounts of schemes entertained by the officers to put them to death, and which he assured them he had overheard detailed in conversations at different times. His speaking English, the free intercourse between himself and officers, and the credulity of the Indians, gave to these fabrications the desired effect, and caused those who thus returned to the swamps to renew the contest with increased cruelty and vigor. Like the rest of his race, he was addicted to intemperance, which reduced him to a most degraded state; when intoxicated he was savage and quarrelsome. The white man at all times he looked upon as fair game, and his promises and obligations to them of every kind were unheeded. Open,

flagrant violations of his word were made a source of amusement and laughter, by which he illustrated to his comrades his ingenuity and skill in deluding those who heaped upon him presents, and fed and clothed his women and children. The obligations he had assumed in conjunction with Nethlockemathlar, in the interview with Coacooche, he never designed fulfilling, and with this understanding accompanied his brother to Fort Brooke. But disappointed in his confidence in him, he sought an opportunity to put him to death, and thus obtain control of the large number in camp at that post. In effecting this, it was to be ostensibly the work of the Creeks, hoping by this means to secure himself from reproach among the Tallahassees. In this he signally failed, and subsequently met his reward. Without any claim to distinction, his name became more noted than that of any other chieftain in Florida. It carried with it none of the feeling inspired by bold and gallant acts performed in defence of the soil, and was only the dread of the defenceless, who feared him less than those whom he might treacherously send to plunder or murder them. On leaving Florida his spirit was broken. He died far removed from the ashes of his ancestors, without a follower to sing the *death-song* over his grave.

Octiarche, the last and most noted of the Indian chiefs emigrated from Florida, is a Creek by birth. His father's village, when he was born, was near West Point in the state of Georgia, on the Chattahoochee river, thirty miles up from Columbus. He is forty-four years of age, six feet in height, with a frame remarkable for symmetry and strength. His countenance is rugged and stern, in manner calm, courteous, and dignified. In habits and intelligence he is far above those with whom he was associated, never indulging in dissipation so far as to demean himself, and never giving advice or expressing an opinion without mature reflection. The encroachments of civilization he lamented, but was satisfied it was unavoidable, and with wisdom adopted every means to avoid collisions with the whites, but when closely pushed and encroached upon, deemed it a virtue to contend for his liberty and land.

Upon the breaking out of the Creek war in May, 1836, he with sixty men, thirty women, and twenty children, crossed the Chattahoochee river, twenty miles below Columbus, Georgia, determined to seek a secluded spot in Florida. The second day after crossing, the party was overtaken by a detachment of militia. A vigorous attack and defence was made, in which one man was wounded, and two women killed. Thus annoyed, they pursued their route, striking the Okefenoke Swamp; thence continuing south to Cook's Hammock, near the Esteen Hatchee river, eighty miles from Tallahassee. Here, and in the neigh-

borhood, the band resided ; and in co-operation with the Seminoles and Mickasukies, participated in the depredations committed throughout the territory. Having deserted their own country, they saw the necessity of taking decided measures to defend this last foothold, and of encouraging those who were already in open hostilities to energy and activity, fearful that their subjection might involve their own destruction. Messengers were at once dispatched to the various chiefs occupying the country, tendering a hearty co-operation in numbers, as well as a supply of powder and lead. The pipe of peace was sent, which was to extinguish the fire of discord and revenge, ignited thirty years before ; but which, from their wide separation, had been smouldering to the present time. To find themselves suppliants upon the land of the Seminoles, a tribe driven by their ancestors from the soil they had just forsaken, and compelled to ask for their co-operation and aid, was a humiliation which nothing but a consciousness of feebleness would have warranted their chieftain in submitting to. Octiarche openly and fearlessly advocated the most vigorous measures of defence, if it became necessary ; but urged the policy of remaining quiet within their haunts, if unmolested. Necessity, however, had compelled him to head war-parties in self-defence. In this manner the Creeks, for three years past, had the direction of the contest in their own hands. The tall, commanding figure of Octiarche had been often seen by the officers of the army in various encounters ; and his loud voice was heard to resound through the hammock and swamp, nerving many a faltering heart to the combat. He was usually distinguished by one side of his face being painted black, the other scarlet, and his bare breast variegated with colors. In action, he was bold and dauntless ; in council, reflective and dispassionate. Among his companions, enterprising and resolute, commanding within his band perfect obedience ; exercising a salutary influence by his integrity, consistency, and sobriety. Had he been permitted to have remained in Florida, he would doubtless have been a firm friend to the citizens ; but the antipathy of the Seminoles, and the struggles between himself and Holatter-Micco (Bowlegs) for ascendancy, would have caused constant feuds, and resulted in bloodshed among themselves, in which the border-settlers would have been soon involved.

Florida was free from the most inveterate of her foes, those who had been considered both by whites and Seminole Indians, as intruders. The military force was reduced in all respects to the regular establishment. On the 24th of March, companies C and F, 7th infantry, at Fort Brooke, embarked for Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The 3d infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hitchcock, at Fort Stansbury, took shipping at Port Leon on the

5th of April for New-Orleans; thence to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, nine miles below St. Louis. The 8th regiment of the U. S. infantry constituted the regular force remaining in Florida, so posted as to keep in check the Indians, and, if necessary, give adequate protection to the settlements. The Indians lived within the boundary temporarily assigned them, and were permitted to frequent Fort Brooke for the purpose of trade. Idle reports were constantly in circulation of their contemplating, or having made, hostile movements. These were fabricated and industriously promulgated by the lazy and profligate, who saw with regret the approaching closure of the war, and who had artfully and covertly interposed every obstacle to its termination.

The following extract from General Worth's report to the adjutant-general, gives clearly the state of things at this period; and which has continued, with but slight alteration, to the present time.

*"Head-quarters, 9th Military Department, }
St. Augustine, Fla., Nov. 17, 1843. }*

"SIR—In compliance with your instructions of September 28th, the following statement of Indians remaining in Florida is submitted, viz.: of warriors, Seminoles, forty-two; Mickasukies, thirty-three; Creeks, ten; Tallahassees, ten—ninety-five—including women and children, three hundred. Holatter-Micco (Billy Bowlegs), nephew of Micanopy, is the acknowledged chief; Assinwar, Otulke-Thlocko (the Prophet), sub-chiefs. The foregoing has been obtained from many Indians at different times during the past year; and it is believed to be correct—quite as likely above as below the real number. As yet, few have manifested a disposition to emigrate; and the time has not arrived to effect their removal by coercive measures, as they are somewhat shy and distrustful of the whites. All have visited Fort Brooke, except a few of the very aged; but in parties of ten or fifteen only. These apprehensions, under the policy pursued, will soon wear away, when, if considered desirable, advantage may be taken of a favorable occasion to send off the whole: precipitancy will occasion much and vexatious difficulty—when done, it must be thoroughly and effectually done; for if ten of these warriors remained, maddened to a spirit of hostility, they would suffice to break up and scatter the entire line of new settlements, although tenfold their numbers."

"Since the pacification of August 14th, 1842, these people have observed perfect good faith, and strictly fulfilled their engagements; not an instance of rudeness towards the whites has yet occurred. They plant and hunt diligently; and take their game and skins to the trading establishment or Fort Brooke,

procure the necessaries they desire, and return quietly to their grounds.

W. J. WORTH,
Brigadier-General commanding."

Peace was at last granted to suffering Florida, which for seven years had been the scene of rapine and murder. The inhabitants had been driven from their homes, and many had seen their families massacred by the light of their burning dwellings. Industry and enterprise had forsaken the land; and the savage roamed triumphant in the midst of devastation, poverty, and sorrow.

A letter, recently published by the officer left in charge of Indian affairs in the state, on General Worth's departure for the new seat of war, gives a detail of the relations now existing between the whites and Indians, as well as the recent action of the president of the United States in adding twenty additional miles in breadth to the boundary defined by General Worth in his arrangement with the Indians, on the 14th of August, 1842.

"Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, Fla., Sept. 16, 1845.

"SIR—In passing through the interior of the country, I found much interest manifested in reference to the relation now existing between the settlers and the Indians remaining within the limits of the state. The withdrawal of the troops to more active duty, renders it necessary that a perfect understanding should exist, to continue the friendly intercourse which for three years past has given confidence and security, in all respects, to the most remote settlers on the frontier. The number of Indians in Florida, does not exceed one hundred men capable of bearing arms. The *temporary* arrangement made with them by General Worth, in August, 1842, permitted them to plant and hunt within a boundary thus defined:

"From the mouth of Pease Creek up the left bank of that stream to the fork of the southern branch, and following that branch to the head or northern edge of Lake Istokpoga; thence down the eastern margin of that lake to the stream which empties from it into the Kissimmee river, following the left bank of said stream and river to where the latter empties into Lake Okecho-bee; thence due south through said lake and the Everglades to Shark river, following the right bank of that river to the Gulf, thence along the Gulf shore to the place of beginning, excluding all islands lying between Santa Rosa and the head of Charlotte Harbor. Within the boundaries herein described, no settlement can with safety or propriety be formed; any person in making settlement within those limits, will be subject to removal. The

foregoing temporary arrangement being in conformity with the instructions of the president of the United States.'

"On the 19th of May last, the president of the United States directed that a strip of the public lands, twenty miles in width, around the district set apart for the use and occupancy of the Seminoles in Florida, should be reserved from survey and sale; and the necessary instructions (says the communication from the commissioner of the general land-office) were this day (20th of May, 1845,) sent to the surveyor-general of Florida, and the land-offices at St. Augustine and Newnansville, in Florida.

"As near as this boundary can be defined, without actual survey, it can be traced on the map of Florida published in 1839 by order of General Taylor: commencing at the north point of Boca Gasparilla, on the Gulf coast; thence northwest to within five miles of Fort Gardner; thence southeast to the head of Cypress Swamp; thence south, *via* Fort Lloyd, to the southern extremity of the Peninsula, terminating in Barnes's Sound. These points have been given to the Indians, within which they must confine themselves for all purposes—conditioned, clearly explained and understood, upon their cultivating at all times and under all circumstances, a friendly feeling with the whites. To this they have adhered, ever since the first boundary was defined, with the most scrupulous fidelity. So far as their acts and feelings are concerned, this can be continued without detriment to the public good, or the sacrifice of principle or of honor.

"The citizens of the state and those now exploring it with a view of settlement, numerous as they are, hold their destiny in their own hands. If in the prosecution of these designs, they by the most trifling or thoughtless act induce the Indians to shun them, or lead them to believe that that protection given them three years past is withdrawn, the life and property of every settler is jeopardized; and the country will ere long again become the scene of rapine, desolation, and distress. One hostile act, from timidity or imprudence, inducing the Indian to shun the white man, or the white man the Indian in the woods, will be sufficient to make a breach, widening from day to day, until both parties become arrayed in open hostility. At present, no danger need be apprehended from the Indians; but there is material within themselves, and vicious influences enough without, to inflame their passions to violent and overt acts.

"Upon this, as upon all Indian borders, there is a class of men destitute of property and employment, who for excitement and gain, would recklessly provoke the Indian to aggressions, and in the midst of which, escape detection and punishment, leaving the burden to fall upon the honest and industrious. The Indians are incapable of drawing a line of distinction in the character

and conduct of whites ; and are as ready to believe the idle tales and threats of the vicious and degraded, as they are at all times disposed to rely upon the assurances given them by the officers of government. The fabrication of reports and stories, though divested of the least probability, gradually and effectually alienates their feelings until the spirit of retaliation is abroad, resulting in collisions and bloodshed. The hardy and industrious settler, who by frugality and prudence has accumulated around him a competency, is induced to abandon his cultivated fields from fear of an enemy, made strong by their limited numbers and mode of warfare, assailing his defenceless home at a moment when individual exertion avails but little in protecting a wife and children.

“It then becomes the duty of every citizen, looking to his own security and the prosperity of the state, to eradicate the spirit of recrimination actuating so many toward the Indian ; and by example and advice put down, either by exposure or intimidation, those who would by any means, however remote, destroy the harmony and security now guarantied to the settlements along the frontier. A wholesome state of public feeling can alone continue it. Policy and prudence for the general good, should overcome the lurking spirit of retaliation so natural and just among a people who for years have been smarting under atrocious deeds, carrying sorrow, poverty, and want, into almost every household in the land. If this enemy could be crushed, annihilated, there would be enough to participate ; but as they are, ninety may be secured, and the remaining ten would sweep the frontier from one extent to the other, assailing at any moment men, women, and children, in the prosecution of their daily occupations.

“The Indians within the boundary are remnants of the Seminole, Mickasukie, Creek, and Uchee tribes, driven there by military force, and continued there in peace through the instrumentality of the officers of the government. A number of them have risen from boyhood to manhood since the commencement of the Florida contest—bred to war ; and nothing but the zealous and judicious policy adopted, has deterred them from the committal of atrocious acts, familiar from childhood. The advice and example of the chiefs and sub-chiefs, more advanced in life, has been salutary ; and will continue so, if unprovoked, until the time arrives when the measures now in progress will induce them to leave the country. Threats, provocations, hostilities, will deter more than advance emigration ; ten thousand efficient troops, instead of expelling or exterminating, or even intimidating, would prolong difficulties and turn the cultivated fields of Florida into brambles, driving the Indian, after satiating his appetite upon

the innocent and unprotected, into adjoining states, where, in revenge, their activity and brutality would be redoubled.

"It is the policy of the general government to remove these remnants of bands to Arkansas by the only means which can effectually accomplish it. First, to locate them where they can be found and numbered: let them enjoy the comforts of peace, which will subdue the instinctive love for blood and plunder, when they can be approached through kindness and regard to their wants, which in time tames their habits and suspicions, and induces them to consider the government and its agents as friends, interested in their welfare and happiness. Then emigration can be successfully urged, and enforced by quiet and conciliatory measures: they will see that the encroachment of whites, and their settlements, subject them constantly and unavoidably to feuds and vexatious annoyances; whereas, in Arkansas, with relatives and friends, they can live in the enjoyment of their customs and habits. This must involve time, but it will effectually succeed; while a hostile attitude on the part of the government or citizens, will turn the country into an extended hunting-ground, existing so long as there remains a hostile Indian in the woods, or a settler comes, dependent upon his own arm and his family around him for defence.

"The withdrawal of the troops from Florida, has caused anxiety among the Indians for their own security. They have been told, that the government had abandoned its policy toward them; and left them to the inroads about to be commenced by the citizens, to drive them from the land. This, if a hostile feeling was predominant, would have been sufficient to provoke a corresponding feeling; on the contrary, they sought the officers of the government, in whom they had confidence, from three years' association, expressed their fears, and asked for protection—but, said they, 'if war is to come, we are prepared for it.'

"The Indians I have met here, return to their villages with renewed assurances on the part of government of protection, at the same time *advising* and admonishing them to think well of leaving the country, as the surest means whereby they can enjoy their homes, and follow uninterruptedly their vocations and habits.

"To prevent their passing through the settlements, a trading-house has been established at Charlotte's Harbor, one hundred miles south of this post, to which they can resort; where the agents of the government will meet them at certain periods, and enforce *judiciously* the necessity of emigration. The subject is now discussed among them; time and circumstances will remove the objections urged by the younger class, and many will be induced to emigrate.

"To carry this out successfully, the co-operation of public sentiment is necessary: if peace and emigration is urged in one quarter, aggression and bloodshed enacted in another, Florida will involve her destiny in that of the Indian.

"Peace with these bands of Indians now costs but little, without the sacrifice of blood, property, or homes; but hostilities will be at a higher price, without ameliorating the condition of the savage, or accomplishing the desired end.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. T. SPRAGUE,

Capt. U. S. A., in charge of Indian affairs, Fa."

To the Editor of the St. Augustine Herald.

Very recent intercourse with the Indians remaining within the limits of the state, has enabled those upon whom the duty devolved, to ascertain correctly the number, and the disposition manifested in regard to peace and future emigration, as well as their present condition. There are now one hundred and twenty men capable of taking the field, consisting of fractions of various bands, viz.: Seminoles, 70; Mickasukies, 30; Creeks, 12; Uchees, 4; Choctaws, 4. Of this number, seventy have grown from boyhood to manhood since the commencement of the contest. The remainder do not exceed forty years of age, excepting Arpeika (Sam Jones), and Assinwar. The former is ninety-two years of age, the latter sixty. The women and children average two to a man, making two hundred and forty; of this number one hundred and forty are children. The total number of Indians, of both sexes, is three hundred and sixty. Holatter Micco, or Billy Bowlegs, is thirty-three years of age. He speaks English fluently, and exercises supreme control. He being the nephew of Micanopy, Old Bowlegs, and King Paine, his royal blood is regarded, thus enabling him to exert his authority in such a manner as to govern the reckless and wayward spirits around him. By judicious laws and periodical councils, he has instituted a system of government, salutary and efficient. Arpeika, or Sam Jones, is a sub-chief. This dignity is accorded to him in consideration of his age, more than for his opinions or assistance. He has become childish, and so feeble that he is dependent upon the young men and women for subsistence and care. Assinwar, another sub-chief, is a smart, active man. He gives a cordial support to the chief in his exertions to introduce wholesome laws, and to continue upon amicable terms with the inhabitants. Otulke-Thlocko (the Prophet), who so long held a commanding position, is dead. The perseverance of the troops, and their penetrating certain points when least expected, caused his advice and opinions to be treated with contempt, as his incantations and prophecies were

found to be impositions practised upon their ignorance and credulity. The Indian villages are located upon the Carlosahatchee river, extending from Charlotte's Harbor up to Lake Oke-chobee. The country, the larger portion of the year, is nearly inundated with water, so much so, that the Indians have been driven to the coast for safety. Game of all kinds abounds. The skins of the deer, when dressed, afford comfortable clothing; and the meat, when dried, is palatable and nourishing the year round. Bears are killed in great numbers. Oysters and fish are to be obtained in any quantities, at all seasons. They have horses, cattle, hogs, and some poultry. By planting a small lot of ground, they are enabled to raise corn and vegetables sufficient for consumption. Occasionally a few come in to Fort Brooke to trade, but they generally confine themselves to the trading-house within the boundary. Towards the whites an amicable feeling is entertained and encouraged, more from the apprehension of being encroached upon, than from any sentiment of generosity or affection.

In time, when the agents of the government have received their confidence, many will emigrate. Now they are shy and distrustful. If unmolested, they will be harmless. Forbearance and kindness, with the judicious policy of the general government now in operation, will relieve Florida entirely of Indians. Any steps to the contrary will again make it the battle-ground for the lion and the wolf.

No state or territory in the Union from which the Indian has been expelled, has had the good fortune to find so few of these natural enemies to civilization remaining in their midst, as the state of Florida. Other parts of the country have been annoyed with remnants of bands lingering about them, disgusting objects of compassion; but the Indians in Florida, from the prolific resources of the soil, and the deliciousness of the climate, so well adapted to their habits and wants, are placed far above the demands of charity or sympathy.

CHAPTER XVI.

QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT—COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT— SETTLEMENT OF THE TERRITORY.

The quartermaster's department of the army.—The efficiency of its officers, and their importance in the discharge of duties in the field.—The concurrence given by General Jesup in carrying out retrenchment in Florida.—Officers on duty there.—The manner in which duty was discharged.—Report of retrenchment made by Lieutenant-Colonel T. F. Hunt, deputy quartermaster-general of the army of Florida.—The subsistence department.—The importance and good effect of the log-hut in defeating the Indians, and deterring them from aggressions.—Exertions made to induce settlers to occupy the interior of the country.—The efforts for a time successful.—The act of congress of February 1st, 1836, for the relief of distressed inhabitants.—Instructions from the president of the United States under its provisions.—Major D. S. Wilcox, 5th infantry, intrusted with the duty of settlements and issuing of rations.—His instructions from the commander of the army.—Death of Major Wilcox.—Lieutenant Patrick, 2d infantry, ordered to assume the duty.—His instructions in reference to the discontinuance of government supplies.—The total failure of establishing permanent settlements.—The conduct of those who professed to occupy the country and draw rations.—Lieutenant Patrick's final report of settlements, the number of persons, ages, &c.—Steps taken to cause citizens drawing rations to re-occupy their plantations.—Success.—Abuse of the act of congress in issuing supplies.

THE efficiency and experience of the officers belonging to the quartermaster's department of the army, on duty in Florida, aided materially in perfecting the system of retrenchment begun and carried out in the midst of active operations. Closing the war cut off the drain upon the national treasury, furrowing deep from year to year, at the rate of twelve hundred thousand dollars per annum. Large amounts of money and public property were intrusted to the officers of this department, and scattered throughout the territory, in depot and in the field, for which they were responsible, being charged with both its safe custody and its judicious application to the wants of the service. Their varied and complicated duties require unceasing activity and attention, and an intimate acquaintance with all branches of business, civil and military. The rigid accountability enjoined by the government in the execution of vouchers and returns, imposes a laborious task, requiring care and method, more resembling the order and regularity of a bureau, than a place where duties are to be performed with brevity and dispatch. It is necessary that an officer, in the discharge of these functions, should combine an intimate knowledge of the practical duties of the soldier, in and out of the field. Without it, commands are embarrassed at every turn, as their mobility and efficiency materially depend upon the promptness and judgment exercised by the assistant-quartermaster in the execution of his orders. The transportation of supplies of all kinds is dependent upon his experience and ability.

A commander unable to superintend the details of service, relies upon the staff-officer for a faithful co-operation and aid, and those of the quartermaster's department being more numerous

and complicated than any other, involving pecuniary responsibility, renders it imperative that the officers of this corps should possess the highest qualities both of the soldier and the citizen. He has at stake the honor of his country in the efficiency of the soldier, as well as being a trusty sentinel over the coffers of the nation.

Major-General T. S. Jesup, quartermaster-general of the United States army, eminently qualified by his experience in and out of the field, gave a cordial support to the measures put in execution to perfect retrenchment in Florida.

Twenty-five officers of his corps, from the rank of colonel down, have performed a tour of duty in the territory, participating in the toils of the service, and guarding, at the same time, the public interest with zealous care, and in a manner honoring to themselves and to their profession.

Colonel T. Cross, assistant quartermaster-general, when on duty there in 1839, saw the evil of large expenditures of money, and by vigorous measures endeavored to arrest plans then in contemplation to augment demands upon the government, which would not have added to the efficiency of troops, or have contributed to terminate the contest. Lieutenant-Colonel H. Whiting, deputy quartermaster-general, in relieving Colonel Cross, met the current sweeping throughout the country with vigor, firmness, and justice, bearing his full share of the odium heaped upon the colonel commanding the army of Florida, for taking measures calculated to deprive many of lucrative employment.

From the 1st of June, 1841, retrenchment was commenced, and carried vigorously and steadily onward from month to month, in the midst of active operations, without embarrassing or retarding the vigilance of troops. On the 12th of March, 1842, Lieutenant-Colonel T. F. Hunt, deputy quartermaster-general, relieved Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, his tour having expired, and continued the reduction, which, from the manifest conclusion of hostilities, was increased from day to day.

The regiments on service in Florida were fast approaching their regular establishments, requiring no more than when in garrison in other parts of the country. Expenses heretofore required were cut off, confining the labor of mechanics and clerks to the regular soldier, duties which had before been executed by hired citizens. The ability and precision of Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt, united to a scrupulous and unwearied zeal in the performance of his duties, gave to the means in force rapid execution and effect, breaking up, by kind and judicious steps, the combination by which the livelihood of deserving men and their families were involved. On the 23d of June, 1842, he submitted his re-

port of retrenchments in the quartermaster's department, connected with the army of Florida. It embraced a period of twelve months, commencing on the first day of May, 1841, to the 30th day of April, 1842. This exhibits a saving to the government, within that period, of \$174,923. Add to this further reductions between the 1st of May and the 14th of August, 1842, when the announcement of peace was made, of \$9000 per month, gives a total of \$206,423, comprising fourteen months and a half, which, upon an average, made the reductions about \$14,500 per month. No further estimates were made after the first day of May, to prosecute the war. The proceeds of property sold, together with the supplies at the several depots, was sufficient to defray the expenses of the army. The withdrawal of the 1st and 6th infantry, 3d artillery, and five companies of the 2d dragoons, between the 1st of August, 1841, and the 30th of March, 1842, created a saving of \$90,665. This was effected by dispensing with the necessary means of transportation for supplies of all kinds, causing the discharge of stable-keepers, teamsters, harness-makers, blacksmiths, &c., and the sale of horses, mules, wagons, &c., and the discontinuance in service of hired steamboats and sail-vessels. The proceeds from the sale of animals was \$47,897, reducing the number to 820. The amount received for damaged public property was \$3056 60. The discharge of clerks, mechanics, teamsters, &c., lessened expenditures under this head, \$15,333. Two companies of Georgia militia, ordered out by the governor of Georgia, and by the authority of the general government mustered into service for three months, were at once discharged. This force would have cost \$17,971, a moderate estimate for three months' service, independent of the claims, which accumulate and increase with wonderful rapidity in the lapse of time.

The subsistence department, under the efficient and economical administration of its affairs by Captain J. B. Grayson, commissary of subsistence, subsequently by Brevet Major R. B. Lee, of the same rank (both officers having been distinguished in the line of the army at the commencement of the war), was undergoing in its various details and expenditures, though more limited, a reformation and reduction.

The return of settlers to their homes in Florida, and the establishment of citizens from adjoining states, at exposed points throughout the country, it was believed would promote economy as well as render an essential aid in intimidating and subduing the enemy. Could this have been effectually accomplished, it would have advanced the interest of the territory and added to the numbers and respectability of its population. The Indian fears the log-cabin. It carries with it, most generally, a sturdy

heart, resolution, and industry, and defiance to the native and punishment to his intrusions, from its hardy inmates. Always in the advance of civilization, from the first settlement of Plymouth, west to the Rocky Mountains, the log-cabin, with its tenants armed with the rifle and the Bible, has ever been the bulwark of the frontier, one which the savage seldom dared to assail, and in the establishment of which he saw and felt his destiny. In Florida it was thought primitive settlements, if encouraged, might deter the Indians from aggressions, and induce them to sue for peace, and at the same time relieve the army from the duties of detached camps and distant posts. Colonel Worth, immediately on assuming command, began the work, aided by officers and citizens competent in all respects. The system commenced encouragingly, but the spiritless execution, after the lapse of a few months, discouraged all hopes of effecting any thing other than the consumption of government supplies.

Congress, on the 1st of February, 1836, passed the following law :

“Be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled: That the president of the United States be authorized to cause rations to be delivered from the public stores to the unfortunate sufferers who are unable to provide for themselves, and who have been driven from their homes by Indian depredations in Florida, until they can be re-established in their possession, or so long as the president may consider it necessary.”

Its provisions had been liberally complied with up to the present time, though not so generously as now authorized by the president of the United States, who, through the secretary of war, informed the colonel commanding, that the relief “contemplated under the act of February 1st, might properly embrace the case of those in a necessitous condition, who may penetrate for settlement such portions of Florida as have been infested and desolated by the enemy, and thus deprived of the supplies essential for the support of settlers during the necessary preparations for raising the means of subsistence at their selected homes.”

Major D. S. Wilcox, 5th infantry, was ordered, on the 24th of June, 1841, to discharge the duties in reference to settlers, and to adopt at once strenuous efforts to induce settlements. He was directed to encourage those who had fled from their plantations, to return, giving them subsistence and protection. The same was offered to citizens from adjoining states. To those who accepted the terms, rations were issued on the day of starting for any designated point, and delivered thereafter monthly, at the

most convenient place, by the assistance of steamboats and wagons.

Arms and ammunition were issued to every male in the settlement, white and black. The troops erected block-houses within the village, as a place of rendezvous and defence if assailed by the Indians. The full army ration was allowed each white person, and half rations to each slave. This was promised until the next crop season, when it was expected, that by ordinary prudence and industry, enough would be raised for subsistence the ensuing year. Major Wilcox died at St. Augustine on the 5th of January, 1842. He was a loss to the service, possessing merit and untiring devotion to his duty. During the seven months he was in discharge of the duties intrusted to him, he had perfected a system of operations well calculated to give citizens a cordial support in seeking and maintaining a new home. Lieutenant Patrick, 2d infantry, succeeded to these duties, in the discharge of which he carried vigilance and good judgment.

He was enjoined to impress upon settlers, that rations would not be issued after the next crop season, probably the last of August or September. Every exertion was made to stimulate those who had accepted these proposals to cultivation, and the erection of buildings for comfort and convenience. The months of April and May passed with little or no preparations for planting, and without the necessary tenements for the protection of families or crops. Again they were reminded, that the months of August and September were rapidly approaching; still the same apathy was evinced, and the only reward for the liberality of the government and the labors of its agents, was slothfulness and the want of exertion. A few, however, cultivated with industry, determined to make a new home in a climate where the seasons afforded the choicest blessings, combined with a delightful temperature the year round, and with a soil spontaneously sustaining even the ignorant and idle.

On the 6th of June Lieutenant Patrick was directed, "with the least practicable delay, to cause rations to be issued to settlers, and others drawing rations as distressed inhabitants, to the 31st of August; and to give notice that this issue was the last to be made from the public stores, unless there should be further orders in reference to the subject from the government."

Exception was made to certain widows, and orphan children, and maimed persons, made so by the war. This period was near at hand, and the orders being imperative, many saw and began to feel the effects of idleness and procrastination. The supplies were accordingly issued, and those who had been enjoying the bounty of the government for years past, under the pretext of settling the country, took their portion, and immediately left for

their homes in Georgia, defraying their expenses, in many instances, by the sale of provisions.

Lieutenant Patrick submitted his final report on the 13th of June. Nearly one year had elapsed since the commencement of the undertaking. Though more successful in obtaining numbers than was anticipated, the good citizens, looking to the future prosperity of the country, were sadly disappointed in the character of those who came professedly with a determination to cultivate the soil and make permanent abodes. The statement of Lieutenant Patrick shows the number, age, &c., of those to whom subsistence was issued :

Final Statement.

ROLLS, ETC.	WHITES.			BLACKS.			WHITES.		BLACKS.		
	Males over fourteen years.	Females over fourteen years.	Children.	Males over fourteen years.	Females over fourteen years.	Children.	Over fourteen years.	Under fourteen years.	Over fourteen years.	Under fourteen years.	Under fourteen years.
Persons forming new settlements,	360	210	308	103	61	82	571	308	164	82	
Persons returned to plantations,	86	39	40	71	34	43	125	40	105	43	
Suffering inhabitants, not classed,							138	204	22	36	
Total,							834	552	291	161	

There were comprehended in this thirty-two villages, or settlements, as they were familiarly called, extending from St. Augustine west to within thirty miles of Tallahassee, and advanced into what might be called the Indian country, as far as thirty miles south of Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay. This was Colonel Reid's settlement on the Manatee river, now one of the most thrifty villages in Florida.

The act of congress, February 1st, 1836, greatly relieved the citizens of the territory. Driven from the plantations by the incursions of the Indians, they were deprived of food, or the means of obtaining it, and in many instances were destitute of clothing or shelter. A liberal construction of the law was demanded, but this had become so munificent, that the list of suffering inhabitants comprised some of the most opulent families. Like all expenditures connected with the contest, time and circumstances had sanctioned it, until the government ration was considered a right and as an inheritance. A rigid scrutiny was at once had

into this overgrown and diseased administration of an act intended for the *relief* of the distressed, and not for their profit or continued support. While good resulted from it in many instances, it caused in the end accumulated evils to the country. The slightest pretext induced many to flee from their plantations, and a still slighter cause deterred a much larger number from returning to them.

The spirit of enterprise was gone. The interior was a wilderness. Indolence and timidity were sustained and encouraged by the supplies afforded from the government stores. This system was now put an end to. The deserving and industrious were protected and encouraged, and required to rely upon their own exertions, while the profligate and idle were compelled to forsake long-indulged habits, and return to honest labor to earn their daily bread. The beneficial effects of this policy were soon realized. Large numbers re-occupied their plantations, free from danger, and after the lapse of a short time, were surrounded with every comfort, and rendered independent of the charity of the government.

APPENDIX.

Circular, Orders, &c., connected with the erection of a Monument in Florida, to the memory of those who have fallen in the contest.

CIRCULAR.

ON or before the conclusion of the Florida service, it is proposed to gather the remains: 1st, of the officers and soldiers who fell with Major Dade; 2d, of other officers who may have been killed in battle, or died on this service. Preparatory thereto, the colonel commanding has caused the remains first mentioned, and those of several officers within reach, to be transferred to St. Augustine, with a view to interment, with proper ceremonies, on the grounds attached to the public buildings. Others, which it has not yet been convenient to reach, will be added to the number. It is further proposed, over these remains, to place plain but durable slabs, on which will be simply recorded the names, rank and corps of the individuals, and the occasion, if in battle, on which they perished; not doubting that this mark of respect will be acceptable to the service. It is also believed, that it will be equally agreeable that there should be a general participation in the slight expense incident thereto. If correct in this view, it is suggested as the most convenient form, that each officer and soldier serving with corps now in Florida, consent to set apart one day's pay proper, which will probably be fully equal to the sufficient but unostentatious memorial proposed to be erected. Commanders of corps are invited to take the sense of their officers and men upon the subject and measures, that any funds resulting therefrom may be retained by the paymaster, and by him transmitted to the quartermaster at St.

Augustine, subject to disbursement by such persons as shall be designated in orders.

At the proper time orders will issue for the ceremony, in which every corps will be represented, and as far as practicable, every grade of those to whose memory is designed this mark of respect.

S. COOPER,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Cedar Key, June 13th, 1842.

ORDER, }
No. 25. }

Head-Quarters, Military Department No. 9, }
Cedar Key, July 25, 1842. }

I. The remains of officers who have been killed in battle, or who have died on service, including those of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers (being the command, save two) who fell with Major Dade; as also those of several non-commissioned officers and privates who fell under peculiar circumstances of gallantry and conduct, have been gathered and transferred to St. Augustine, where suitable vaults are constructed for their final reception, over which unostentatious monuments will be erected to the memories of our late comrades. For this purpose, the sufficient pecuniary means have been raised by the voluntary subscription of the soldiers and officers of this command.

II. The ceremony of interment will take place at St. Augustine, on the 15th day of August next; on which occasion every corps now serving in the territory, will be represented, as well as every grade (from lieutenant-colonel to private) of those to whose memory is designed this mark of respect.

III. The senior officer of the line present, will act as field-officer of the day; and will conduct the ceremony according to the established rules of the service.

IV. The funeral escort will consist of as many companies, not exceeding six, as can be assembled without inconvenience to the service.

V. On the day of interment, the flags at the different stations will be displayed at half-staff; half-hour guns will be fired from meridian to sundown; and minute-guns at the place of interment during the ceremony.

By order of Colonel Worth.

S. COOPER,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Lieutenant-Colonel Belknap, being the senior officer present, assumed direction of the ceremony, and formed the escort as follows, viz.:

Captain T. P. GWYNN, 8th infantry, commanding the escort.

Lieutenant A. T. LEE, acting adjutant.

ESCORT, COMPOSED OF

Company K, 8th infantry—Lieutenant J. SELDEN.

Company A, 8th infantry—Lieutenant L. SMITH.

Company B, 3d artillery—Lieutenant W. H. SHOVER.

Company E, 3d artillery—Lieutenant B. BRAGG.

Colors and band of the 8th infantry.

Field-music of the artillery.

CLERGY.

Platoon of the Guard of Honor.

Details from the different regiments now serving in Florida: con-

REMAINS—contained in seven wagons; each covered by the American flag as a pall, and drawn by five elegant mules. 1st and 2d wagons: soldiers and officers of Dadé's command. 3d and 4th wagons: soldiers and officers killed in battle. 5th, 6th, and 7th wagons: officers who have died in Florida.

sisting each of one sergeant, one corporal, and one private.

Lieutenant BENHAM,
U. S. Engineers.

Lieutenant JORDON,
3d Infantry.

Doctor MARTIN,
U. S. Army.

Captain HANHAM,
Acting Ord. Officer.

Major VAN NESS,
Paymaster U. S. Army.

Captain SEAWELL,
7th Infantry.

Lieutenant-Colonel HUNT,
D'y Quarterm. General.

Brevet Major GRAHAM,
4th Infantry.

Pall-Bearers.

Pall-Bearers.

Platoon of the Guard of Honor—Lieutenant WALLEN.

Colors and band of the 3d infantry.

Field-music of the 8th infantry.

Company F, 4th infantry—Captain PAGE.

Company C, 8th infantry—Captain KELLO.

Medical faculty.

Mayor and Aldermen of St. Augustine.

Members of the Bar, and officers of the Court.

Masonic fraternity.

St. Augustine City Guards—Captain P. R. LOPEZ.

Citizens generally of St. Augustine.

The remains being removed from the wagons amid the firing of minute-guns, the Rev. Mr. Waters, of the Catholic Church, addressed the assembled multitude with great eloquence and beauty; the services of the Episcopal Church were read by John Beard, Esq., and a concluding prayer offered by the Rev. Henry Axtell.

The remains were then placed in vaults, prepared for their reception; and after a salute of musketry, the troops retired and were marched into quarters.

The Masonic fraternity proceeded from the tombs to the Presbyterian Church, where a monody on the dead was pronounced by D. W. Whitehurst, Esq. Half-hour guns were fired until sunset, closing the solemnity of the day.

INSCRIPTION UPON THE MONUMENT.

North side.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS
KILLED IN BATTLE AND DIED ON SERVICE DURING THE FLORIDA
WAR.

South side.

A MINUTE RECORD OF THE OFFICERS WHO PERISHED AND
ARE HERE OR ELSEWHERE DEPOSITED, AS ALSO A PORTION OF
THE SOLDIERS, HAS BEEN PREPARED AND PLACED IN THE OF-
FICE OF THE ADJUTANT OF THE POST, WHERE IT IS HOPED IT
WILL BE CAREFULLY AND PERPETUALLY PRESERVED.

East side.

THIS MONUMENT HAS BEEN ERECTED IN TOKEN OF RESPECT-
FUL AND AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE BY THEIR COMRADES
OF ALL GRADES, AND IS COMMITTED TO THE CARE AND PRE-
SERVATION OF THE GARRISON OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

West side.

THIS CONFLICT IN WHICH SO MANY GALLANT MEN PERISHED
IN BATTLE AND BY DISEASE, COMMENCED ON THE 25TH OF DE-
CEMBER, 1835, AND TERMINATED ON THE 14TH OF AUGUST, 1842.

STATEMENT,

Exhibiting, by Regiments, the names of the Officers, non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, Artificers, and Privates, of the United States Army, who were killed in action, or died of wounds received, or diseases contracted, during the late hostilities with the Florida Indians, commencing August 11, 1835, (the day when Private Dalton, the express-rider, was murdered by the Indians,) and ending in 1842.

FIRST REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
1	Izard, James F.	1st Lieut.		Camp Izard	Feb. 23, 1836	Killed in action.
2	Wheelock, T. B.	1st Lieut.		Fort Micanopy	June 15, 1836	Disease contract. in Fla.

SECOND REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS.

1	Hamilton, Jas. W.	1st Lieut.		Fort Marion	Nov. 26, 1837	Disease unknown.
2	Kingsbury, Chas. E.	2d Lieut.		Near Fort Mellon	June 9, '37	Fever.
3	Lane, I. F.	Captain		Fort Drane	Oct. 18, '36	Disease unknown.
4	McNeil, J. W. S.	2d Lieut.		Mosquito	Sept. 11, '37	Killed in action at Mosq.
5	Winder, E. S.	Captain		E. Shore Maryland	March 7, '40	Disease unknown—contracted in Fla.
1	Ash, William,	Private	E	St. Augustine	June 17, '37	Disease unknown.
2	Augustanovitz, S.	"	E	Fort Heileman	Oct. 20, '38	Dysentery.
3	Aller, Wm. N.	"	H	Everglades	Dec. 10, '40	Killed in action.
4	Ackerman, Amen	"	K	Route to Blk. Creek	Nov. 19, '39	Drowned.
5	Alsop, Edwin	"	K	On Steamboat	June 26, '41	Diarrhea.
6	Brown, Charles	"	A	Caloosahatchie	July 23, '39	Killed by the enemy.
7	Brewer, Frederick	"	B	Fort Heileman	Dec. 27, '39	Accidentally drowned.
8	Beardslee, Alanson	"	B	Fort Reid	Feb. 6, '41	Disease unknown.
9	Bennett, John	"	B	Fort Many	Dec. 31, '41	Drowned.
10	Batherson, Jacob	"	B	Fort Many	May 21, '42	Disease unknown.
11	Backman, John	"	C	Picolata	Sept. 23, '40	do.
12	Brooks, Charles A.	"	C	St. John's Bluff	Feb. 15, '42	Dysentery.
13	Bailey, Benjamin	"	D	Fort Drane	May 1, '36	Disease unknown.
14	Bedford, John, I.	"	D	Caloosahatchie	July 23, '39	Killed in action.
15	Bodizer, Andrew	"	E	Fort Mellon	April 13, '37	Disease unknown.
16	Brown, Avery	"	E	On Steamer	June 4, '37	do.
17	Bigelow, John	Sergeant	E	Caloosahatchie	July 23, '39	Killed in action.
18	Brady, James, 2d.	Private	F	Fort Brooke	Aug. 9, '41	Remittent fever.
19	Bedenham Antoine	"	G	St. Augustine	Sept. 5, '37	Peritonitis.
20	Boling, Cornelius	"	G	Fort Heileman	Nov. 26, '40	Consumption.
21	Bruce, James D.	"	G	Picolata	March 6, '41	Debility.
22	Brungard, Martin	"	H	Fort Columbus	Oct. 15, '39	Lockjaw, from disease contracted in Fla.
23	Bushman, Chas. F.	"	H	Wacassassa	Feb. 10, '40	Lost—sup. to be killed.
24	Bell, Sutherland	"	H	St. John's Bluff	Sept. 11, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
25	Brady, Philip	"	H	do	Sept. 22, '41	Dropsy.
26	Burdricke, Andrew	Corporal	H	Fort Gilmer	March 20, '42	Chronic dysentery.
27	Batchelor, Justin	Private	K	Near Fort King	March 27, '40	Accidentally shot.
28	Cunnington, S. A.	P. Musc'n		Fort McHenry	May 6, '39	Diarrhea, contr. in Fla.
29	Childs, Isaac	Private	A	Wekewa River	July 29, '40	Killed by the enemy.
30	Connelly, Patrick	"	A	Picolata	Sept. 30, '40	Dysentery.
31	Connelly, Francis	Farrier	A	Fort Reid	Dec. 7, '40	Diarrhea.
32	Cinamon, Samuel	Private	A	St. John's Bluff	April 27, '41	Disease unknown.
33	Corbett, John	"	A	Between Trader's Hill, Ga., and Ft. Moniac, Fla.	Sept. 4, '41	Accidentally killed—thrown from his horse.
34	Claridge, George	"	C	N'r Cubebe Sw'mp	Aug. 24, '39	Found dead—shot.
35	Chase, Edward T.	"	C	Pilatka	June 5, '41	Remittent fever.
36	Church, Abiah	"	D	Fort Drane	Aug. 1, '36	Disease unknown.
37	Cole, John M	"	D	St. Augustine	Oct. 24, '36	do.

No.	Name.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
38	Collins, William	Private	G	Fort Shannon	Feb. 13, 1841	Disease unknown.
39	Coeury, John B.	"	H	Fort No. 4	May 4, '40	Accidentally shot by Lt. Inge, 2d Dragoons
40	Cook, Charles	"	H	St. John's Bluff	April 7, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
41	Clark, Josiah	"	H	Fort Mellon	July 3, '41	do.
42	Clark, Christopher	"	I	Fort Pierce	Feb. 26, '38	Disease unknown.
43	Coleman, John S.	"	I	Fort Columbus	Aug. 20, '39	Disease unknown, contracted in Fla.
44	Cary, Obed	"	K	Fort Reid	Dec. 28, '40	Disease unknown.
45	Diggs, Miles	"	A	Newnansville	Oct. '37	do.
46	Dubois, Charles	"	A	Black Creek	June 10, '39	Debility.
47	Delong, Thomas	"	C	Picolata	Sept. 21, '40	do.
48	Dunbar, John S.	"	D	Fort Drane	May 16, '36	Disease unknown.
49	Douglass, B. M.	"	G	Fort Braden	May 21, '40	do.
50	Dantz, Francis	"	G	Fort Heileman	Jan. 1, '41	Fever.
51	Dougherty, James	"	H	St. John's Bluff	April 24, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
52	Durrin, Oliver	"	H	do.	Oct. 15, '41	do.
53	Doyle, Michael	"	I	Fort Fanning	April 14, '40	Disease unknown.
54	Donahoo, Christoph.	"	I	Picolata	Oct. 3, '40	do.
55	Devine, James	"	K	Fort Micanopy	Aug. 8, '38	Consumption.
56	Edwards, John	Corporal	A	Aspalago	Oct. 23, '38	Congestive fever.
57	Faulkner, Thos. B.	Private	B	Near Garey's Ferry	Oct. 6, '37	Dysentery.
58	Flaherty, Paul	"	D	Fort Heileman	July 31, '38	Effects of heat.
59	France, John J.	"	F	St. Augustine	Jan. 6, '38	Disease unknown.
60	Ford, James	Corporal	F	Fort Brooke	July 22, '41	Conglicis Cerebri.
61	Filipowskie, Jacob	Private	H	Fort Reid	Dec. 4, '40	Dysentery.
62	Ferrin, William	"	I	St. Augustine	Dec. 18, '37	Disease unknown.
63	Gross, John	"	A	Picolata	Aug. 20, '40	do.
64	Graft, George	"	A	do.	April 5, '41	do.
65	Grant, William	"	B	Fort Micanopy	Aug. 9, '38	Debility.
66	Gibson, George G.	"	D	St. Augustine	Sept. 29, '36	Disease unknown.
67	Getts, Amos G.	"	D	Mt. Vernon Arsenal	Nov. 23, '41	Chronic diarrhea contracted in Fla.
68	Goulding, William	"	F	Cedar Keys	Dec. 19, '41	Chronic dysentery.
69	Grant, Charles R.	"	G	Matanzas Bar	Aug. 18, '37	Drowned.
70	Hall, Edmund M.	"	A	Picolata	March 26, '41	Chronic dysentery.
71	Hopps, Philander	"	B	do.	Aug. 31, '40	Disease unknown.
72	Henderson, Andrew	"	C	St. John's Bluff	Aug. 22, '41	Ordinary disease.
73	Hyde, John	"	D	Near Micanopy	May 20, '36	Shot by the enemy.
74	Hodge, John A.	"	D	Micanopy	June 10, '36	Died of wounds rec'd in action, Jan. 9, '36.
75	Hackett, Patrick	"	D	do.	July 20, '36	Died of wounds rec'd in action at Welika Pond, July 19.
76	Holmes, William	"	D	do.	July 21, '36	do.
77	Harrington, John	"	D	St. Augustine	Sept. 7, '36	Disease unknown.
78	Halstead, David	"	D	Fort Heileman	Sept. 30, '36	do.
79	Hamilton, Thomas	"	E	Fort Mellon	May 4, '37	do.
80	Hartnell, Daniel	"	E	Fort Preston	June 27, '40	Fever. [traced in Fla.
81	Henderson, John	"	E	Fort Jesup	April 17, '42	Disease unknown, con-
82	Hall, Henry H.	"	F	St. John's River	Oct. 2, '40	Drowned.
83	Howard, Zepheniah	"	G	Fort Mellon	June 16, '37	Disease unknown.
84	Howland, John	Corporal	G	Fort Brooke	Jan. 30, '39	do.
85	Hamblin, Joseph M.	Private	G	Fort Heileman	Nov. 29, '40	Fever.
86	Heilde, William	"	G	Picolata	Dec. 6, '40	Disease unknown.
87	Henderson, William	"	G	Fort Russell	Sept. 4, '41	Ordinary disease.
88	Hendry, David	"	H	Withlacoochie	Sept. 20, '38	Drowned.
89	Jones, William	"	B	Fort Mellon	Feb. 4, '38	Disease unknown.
90	Jacobs, Samuel	"	D	St. Augustine	Oct. 14, '36	do.
91	Jacobus, John	"	D	Fort Drane	July 18, '36	Killed by the enemy.
92	Jeffs, John	"	F	Caloosahatchie	July 23, '39	Killed in action.
93	Jones, James	"	G	Fort Weedon	Dec. 8, '39	Died.
94	Johnson, Jesse	"	G	St. John's	April 16, '41	Ordinary disease.
95	Jones, Isaac	"	I	Fort Macomb	Oct. 19, '41	Disease unknown.
96	Johnson, Wm. H.	"	K	Fort Butler	May 23, '39	Shot.
97	King, John H.	"	A	Fort Heileman	Dec. 20, '39	Dysentery.
98	Kuceene, Charles	"	A	Fort Reid	Nov. 21, '40	Disease unknown.
99	Kernan, F.	"	D	St. Augustine	Sept. 29, '36	do.
100	Kane, Michael	"	F	Fort Monroe	Jan. 25, '38	do. cont. in Fla.
101	King, Benjamin	"	F	Picolata	Feb. 7, '38	Disease unknown.
102	King, Joseph R.	"	F	Fort Reid	Sept. 8, '40	Remittent fever.
103	Kencin, John A.	"	I	Picolata	Dec. 6, '40	Disease unknown.
104	Long, William H.	"	B	Tampa	Nov. 22, '39	do.
105	Lawrence, Joel	"	B	Fort Searle	Feb. 10, '40	Apoplexy. [sahatchie.
106	Luther, Job	"	C	Tampa Bay	Aug. 23, '39	W'ds rec. at the Caloo-
107	Luge, Augustus	"	C	St. John's Bluff	Oct. 14, '41	Ordinary disease.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
108	Lyons, Michael	Private	D	Fort Drane	July 24, 1836	Disease unknown.
109	Leddy, John	"	F	St. John's Bluff	March 31, '41	Chronic dysentery.
110	Lewis, Jacob	Bugler	F	Fort Brooke	Oct. 12, '41	Remittent fever.
111	Leman, Charles	Private	G	Garey's Ferry	Dec. 13, '39	Disease unknown.
112	Laney, Patrick	"	H	Picolata	March 1, '37	Consumption.
113	Lambert, Christ'r D.	"	H	Fort Mellon	July 12, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
114	Laforce, William	"	I	Tampa Bay	Aug. 10, '40	do.
115	McDonald, Otho W.	"	A	Fort Gilliland	April 18, '37	Disease unknown.
116	McDonald, Mich'l.	"	A	Black Creek	June 19, '39	do.
117	Mullen, Arthur	"	B	Tampa	Nov. 27, '39	do
118	Miller, William	"	C	Picolata	Dec. 7, '40	Influenza.
119	Merrill, Hiram	"	C	St. John's Bluff	Feb. 18, '42	Dysentery.
120	Mentz, Anton	"	D	St. Augustine	Aug. 27, '36	Disease unknown.
121	McDonald, Wm.	"	D	Fort Heileman	Oct. 25, '36	do.
122	Myers, Simeon	"	D	Tampa Bay	June 10, '36	do.
123	Martin, Thomas	"	D	Tampa Bay	Nov. 21, '36	do.
124	McCabe, Richard	"	D	Cedar Keys	Nov. 29, '41	Dysentery
125	Miller, Charles	"	E	Fort Mellon	Feb. 3, '38	Disease unknown
126	Martin, George F.	"	E	Fort Columbus	Jan. 2, '41	Dysent'a—cont. in Fla.
127	Mee, Edward	"	F	Caloosahatchie	July 23, '39	Killed in action.
128	McCrath, John K.	"	F	Pilatka	Dec. 28, '40	Debility.
129	Mitchell, John	"	F	Fort Reid	Feb. 16, '41	Dysentaria.
130	McKeggen, John	"	F	St. John's Bluff	April 3, '41	Chronic dysentery.
131	Monahan, John	"	F	Fort Brooke	Jan. 4, '42	Diarrhea.
132	McCourt, John	"	G	Fort Sherrard	May 4, '39	Disease unknown.
133	Marks, Albert	"	G	Fort Heileman	Sept. 16, '40	do.
134	Margen, Simeon	"	G	Cedar Keys	Nov. 4, '40	Dysentaria.
135	Martar, Jacob	"	G	Fort Heileman	Jan. 5, '41	Consumption.
136	Morris, Evan	"	I	Newnansville	June 3, '37	Drowned.
137	McMahon, Tho's	Corporal	I	Fort King	June 4, '40	Consumption.
138	Mixer Lorenzo D.	Private	K	St. Augustine	Feb. 28, '38	do.
139	McPherson, Dan'l	"	K	Fort Reid	Jan. 7, '41	Diarrhea.
140	McMahon, Roger	"	K	Fort Deynaud	Nov. 18, '41	Debility.
141	Nicholas, Horace	"	C	Caloosahatchie	July 23, '39	Killed by the enemy.
142	Napier, James A.	Sergeant	D	Fort Peyton	Dec. 9, '39	Fever.
143	Norton, Wm. P.	Corporal	F	Fort Norton	Aug. 16, '38	Shot by Indians.
144	Niles, Arthur	Private	F	Fort Reid	Feb. 10, '41	Dysentaria.
145	Nolan, Edward	"	G	Fort Russell	Sept. 10, '41	Ordinary disease.
146	Newell, George	"	H	Suwanee Springs	May 14, '42	Killed by a citizen.
147	Ninebar, Henry	"	I	Picolata	Nov. 5, '40	Diarrhea.
148	Ott, Sigmund	"	F	St. Augustine	July 4, '37	Disease unknown.
149	Pheiffer, Henry W.	"	B	Garey's Ferry	Oct. 11, '40	Debility.
150	Penson, Christian	"	B	Fort Reid	Feb. 10, '41	Diarrhea.
151	Peters, Charles	"	D	Fort Mellon	Feb. 12, '38	General decay.
152	Parker, John	"	E	F't Henderson, Ga.	Sept. 4, '41	Dysent'y—cont. in Fla.
153	Pearce, Merritt	"	F	On board transport	July 10, '38	Consumption.
154	Painter, Samuel	"	I	Cast. Pinkney, S. C.	Jan. 15, '37	Disease unknown—con- tracted in Florida.
155	Pratt, Joseph	"	I	Micanopy	Oct. 21, '37	Disease unknown.
156	Proctor, Edward	"	I	Fort White	Aug. 9, '38	Mortification of leg.
157	Purdy, John	"	K	Fort Heileman	Aug. 24, '40	Chronic diarrhea.
158	Runyon, Matt's L.	"	B	Fort Reid	Oct. 10, '40	Diarrhea.
159	Richardson, Dan'l	"	B	New Orleans	Aug. 1, '33	Congestive fever—con- tracted in Florida.
160	Roberts, James	"	E	Ocklocknee river	Feb. 28, '40	Accidentally killed.
161	Redmond, Dennis	"	F	Fort Brooke	Sept. 13, '41	Affection of the liver
162	Rawson, John W.	Corporal	G	Fort Mellon	May 8, '37	Dysentery.
163	Ray, George	Private	K	Fort White	June 16, '42	Congestive fever.
164	Stansbury, John	"	A	Tampa Bay	Oct. 18, '38	Consumption.
165	Stephens, Thomas	"	A	Pilatka	May 11, '41	Disease unknown.
166	Smith, William	"	A	Fort Shannon	Aug. 4, '41	do.
167	Smither, William	"	B	Near Fort Jupiter	April 19, '38	Dysentery.
168	Saltzman, Jacob	"	B	Picolata	Nov. 22, '40	Diarrhea.
169	Simmons, Job	Sergeant	C	Caloosahatchie	July 29, '39	Killed by the enemy.
170	Suele, Charles G.	Musician	C	St. John's Bluff	Aug. 26, '41	Ordinary disease.
171	Smart, Warren	Private	C	St. John's Bluff	Jan. 6, '42	Dysentery.
172	Spear, Joseph	"	D	Fort Monroe	Aug. 20, '41	Chronic diarrhea—con- tracted in Florida.
173	Spear, James W.	"	D	Baton Rouge	Dec. 22, '41	Intermittent fever, do.
174	Shefner, George	"	E	St. Augustine	July 6, '37	Disease unknown.
175	Stephenson, Isaac	Corporal	E	Fort Peyton	Nov. 14, '37	do.
176	Strange, John W.	Private	E	Fort Hamilton	Nov. 17, '37	do—cont. in Fla.
177	Smith, Clark	"	E	Fort Mellon	Feb. 6, '38	Disease unknown.
178	Smith, John	"	E	Fort Peyton	March 29, '40	Accidentally drowned.
179	Sheridan, Edward	"	E	F't Henderson, Ga.	June 24, '41	Hæmorrhagia.
180	Sibolski, Jacob	"	F	Fort Shannon	June 2, '39	Dysentaria.
181	Shutte, Andrias	"	G	Matanzas Bar	Aug. 18, '37	Drowned.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
182	Seibel, Henry	Private	G	Matanzas Bar	Aug. 18, '37	Drowned.
183	Slean, James	"	G	Picolata	Sept. 17, '38	Dysentery.
184	Shaffner John	"	G	Fort Jesup	Feb. 19, '42	Dis. unk'n—cont. in Fla.
185	Sabine, George J.	"	H	Fort Mellon	May 15, '37	Cholera spasmodica.
186	Squire, Edson	"	H	Picolata	Feb. 17, '41	Disease unknown.
187	Smith, Henry	"	I	Key West	Sept. 16, '40	Chronic diarrhea.
188	Stankel, Nicholas	"	K	Black Creek	May 27, '38	Dysentery.
189	Stringer, James	"	K	do.	Nov. 22, '40	Diarrhea.
189	Spencer, John	"	K	St. John's Bluff	Feb. 12, '42	Chronic dysentery.
191	Tippett, William	"	A	St. Augustine	March 10, '37	Disease unknown.
192	Taylor, George	"	B	Fort Reid	Oct. 8, '40	do.
193	Toohill, William	"	D	Fort Jesup	Feb. 27, '42	Dropsy—cont. in Fla
194	Thompson, Robert	"	F	Caloosahatchie.	July 23, '39	Killed in action.
195	Thieleman, Gustave	"	H	Picolata	Jan. 4, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
196	Troutman, Alois	"	I	At sea	Oct. 24, '40	Consumption.
197	Van Tassel, Dan'l	"	B	Picolata	Sept. 6, '40	Disease unknown.
198	Vervale, Wm. C.	"	H	Fort Fanning	Aug. 5, '40	Convulsive fever.
199	Willis, James	Q. M. Sgt.		Fort Heileman	Oct. 28, '40	Disease of the lungs.
200	Webb, James	Farrier	A	St. Augustine	May 29, '38	Disease unknown.
201	Wolcott, Cyrus	Sergeant	C	Hanson's Farm	Oct. 28, '40	Accidentally killed.
202	Winn, Timothy	Private	D	Fort Drane	June 19, '36	Disease unknown.
203	Wilcox, Andrew	"	E	Fort Mellon	Feb. 3, '38	do.
204	White, Richard	"	F	Caloosahatchie	July 23, '39	Killed in action.
205	White, John	"	F	Unknown	Nov. 15, '39	Disease unknown.
206	Warren, Chandra M	"	G	Fort King	Aug. 5, '38	Convulsive fever.
207	White, Thomas	"	G	Picolata	Jan. 8, '41	Intermittent fever.
208	Wood, James	"	I	Fort Brooke	Oct. 30, '49	Disease unknown.
209	Wagner, William	"	K	Pilatka	Sept. 21, '41	do.
210	Wandell, Aug's R	"	K	Near Piloklikapah	April 19, '42	Killed in action by Ind's.
211	York, David	"	D	Unknown	April 1, '36	Died of wounds rec'd in action at cove of With-lacoochie, March 31.
212	Young, James	"	D	Fort Drane	April 25, '36	Disease unknown.
1	Tintel, Ferdinand	Drag. Rec.		Fort Mellon	April 29, '38	Disease unknown.

FIRST REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

1	Gates, Lemuel	Captain	C	Micanopy	Aug. 6, 1836	Disease unknown.
1	Brady, John	Private	A	Picolata	May 22, '36	Disease unknown.
2	Bolles, John	"	A	do.	June 7, '36	do.
3	Baader, Karl	"	F	Fort Drane	July 19, '36	Fever.
4	Brittingham, Sam'l	"	E	Near Garey's Ferry	Sept. 1, '36	Fever.
5	Bleeker, Abraham	"	F	St. Augustine	Oct. 9, '36	Fever.
6	Benner, John M.	"	F	Black Creek	Oct. 25, '36	Fever.
7	Burridge, Thomas	"	H	St. Augustine	Feb. 10, '38	Consumption.
8	Chamberlain, Moses	Sergeant	F	Key West	Aug. 5, '36	Disease unknown.
9	Connolly, Robert	Private	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 15, '36	Fever.
10	Campbell, Patrick	"	C	Fort Heileman	Dec. 12, '36	Pleurisy.
11	Coats, C. C.	"	F	St. Augustine	Jan. 20, '38	Disease unknown.
12	Collins, James	"	J	Miami River	March 31, '38	Inflammation of bowels
13	Collins, Daniel	"	F	Fort Pierce	Feb. 12, '38	Disease unknown.
14	Curry, James	"	A	Picolata	April 22, '38	do.
15	Durley, Thomas	"	F	Tampa Bay	Aug. 25, '37	Fever.
16	Eastman, Calvin B.	Artificer	B	Mullet Key	July 30, '37	Disease unknown.
17	Foley, William	Private	F	Near Tampa Bay	June 3, '37	Fever.
18	Fullerton, A. W.	"	I	Jupiter Creek	Jan. 15, '38	Killed in action.
19	Gardner, Robert	Sergeant	G	St. Augustine	May 30, '36	Fever.
20	Griffith, Benjamin	"	E	Wahoo Swamp	Nov. 21, '36	Killed in action.
21	Harris, William	Private	B	Fort Drane	April 2, '36	Disease unknown.
22	Hill, Robert	"	B	Fort Gilliland	June 20, '36	do.
23	Hamilton, John	"	F	Picolata	April 21, '36	Fever.
24	Hubbard, James	Sergeant	H	Near Micanopy	Aug. 27, '36	Fever.
25	Hardy, Daniel	Private	H	St. Augustine	Aug. 20, '36	Fever.
26	Harris, John	"	C	do.	Sept. 6, '36	Measles.
27	Horane, John	"	A	Tampa Bay	Nov. 9, '36	Disease unknown.
28	Honlihan, Cornelius	"	I	Fort Brooke	Dec. 27, '36	do.
29	Hickey, William	"	B	do.	Dec. 1, '37	do.
30	Haggerty, Daniel	"	A	Near Fort Prince	Jan. 3, '38	do.
31	Humphrey, M. L.	"	I	Jupiter River	Jan. 14, '38	Inflammation of brain.
32	Ingles, William	"	H	Fort Brooke	June 12, '36	Disease unknown.
33	Jones, John	"	I	Lake Thlonotcas-sa, E. F.	June 7, '37	Intermittent fever.
34	Johnson, Augusthia	Corporal	C	St. Augustine	June 4, '38	Died of wounds.
35	Kelly, Elias	Private	I	Fort Dade	March 2, '37	Disease unknown.
36	Kepler, Jacob	"	I	Jupiter Creek	Jan. 15, '38	Killed in action.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
37	Lynch, James	Sergeant	B	En route to Picolata	March 2, 1836	Killed accidentally.
38	Lomer, William	Private	H	St. Augustine	Sept. 4, '36	Disease unknown.
39	Lawler, Charles	"	C	Fort Heileman	Dec. 4, '36	Dysentery.
40	Moody, James W.	"	C	Fort Drane	Jan. 8, '36	W'ds at battle of With-lacoochie, Dec. 31, '35.
41	Moorman, Henry	"	F	do.	June 19, '36	Fever.
42	Mayfield, Benjamin	"	F	Garey's Ferry	June 18, '36	do.
43	Morris, Isaac	Corporal	H	Fort Brooke	Sept. 3, '36	Disease unknown.
44	Miles, Thomas	Private	C	St. Augustine	Oct. 14, '36	Debility.
45	Meade, William	"	B	Fort Brooke	Nov. 4, '37	Disease unknown.
46	Mills, John H.	"	G	St. Augustine	March 22, '38	Dysentery.
47	Nash, Samuel	"	F	Fort Drane	June 15, '36	Fever.
48	O'Donaghey, P. W.	"	C	Fort King	Oct. 9, '35	Disease unknown.
49	O'Neile, John	"	G	St. Augustine	Oct. 23, '36	do.
50	Runyon, John	Sergeant	D	En route to Florida	Feb. 27, '36	Killed accidentally.
51	Robinson, George	Private	C	St. Augustine	Oct. 14, '36	Fever.
52	Sharpe, Thomas	"	D	Near St. Joseph's	May 8, '36	Killed in action.
53	Shay, Michael	"	B	Garey's Ferry	July 7, '36	Bilious fever.
54	Sherry, John	"	G	St. Augustine	July 28, '36	Inflammation of liver.
55	Sykes, Richard	"	G	Fort Drane	Aug. 21, '36	Killed in action.
56	Schroeder, Conrad	"	B	St. Augustine	Sept. 25, '36	Dropsy.
57	Stone, E. P.	"	F	do.	Dec. 31, '36	Fever.
58	Smith, Thomas	"	E	Fort Brooke	Aug. 17, '37	Disease unknown.
59	Shearlock, James	"	C	St. Augustine	Sept. 8, '37	do.
60	Smith, John	"	C	Fort Marion	Dec. 22, '37	do.
61	Viars, George	Musician	C	Fort King	Nov. 23, '35	do.
62	Williams, John	1st Serg't	D	Fort Marion	April 5, '36	Shot by priv. S. Wright.
63	Wilson, George	Private	H	Picolata	June 23, '36	Disease unknown.
64	Waggott, John	Corporal	H	St. Augustine	Aug. 22, '36	Fever.
65	Yerby, Charles T.	Sergeant	F	do.	Nov. 25, '37	Pneumonia.

SECOND REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

1	Adams, Tho's B.	1st Lieut.	H	Fort Dade	Dec. 14, '37	Remittent fever.
2	Basinger, W. E.	2d Lieut.	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
3	Chambers, James A.	Captain	B	Baltimore	Dec. 10, '38	Dis. unk'wn. ct. in Fla.
4	Gardiner, G. W.	"	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
5	Heileman, Julius F.	Maj. and Bt. Lt. Col.	F	Fort Drane	June 27, '36	Disease unknown.
6	Henderson, S. E.	2d Lieut.	E	Washington City	July 4, '36	do. cont. in Fla.
7	Henderson, R.	Bt. 2d Lt.	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
8	Mellon, Charles	Captain	C	Lake Monroe	Feb. 8, '37	do.
9	Smyth, Constantine	1st Lieut.	F	Near Fort King	Dec. 23, '35	Killed by the Indians.
1	Atkinson, James	Corporal	G	Fort Brooke	Oct. 14, '36	Inflammation of brain.
2	Allender, John	Private	F	Wahoo Swamp	Nov. 21, '36	Killed in action.
3	Belton, Edward	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	do.
4	Black, William	"	C	do.	do.	do.
5	Bourke, Richard	"	C	do.	do.	do.
6	Barton, Rufus	"	C	do.	do.	do.
7	Bogen, Owen	"	C	do.	do.	do.
8	Bowen, Rich'd R.	"	H	do.	do.	do.
9	Brondan, Henry	"	H	do.	do.	do.
10	Barr, John	"	F	Fort Heileman	June 3, '37	Disease unknown.
11	Byrne, John	"	B	Fort Foster	March 9, '38	Typhus fever.
12	Brady, Daniel	"	G	Fort Clinch	May 20, '38	Killed by the Indians.
13	Cooper, Philip	Sergeant	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
14	Clark, Nicholas	Corporal	C	do.	do.	do.
15	Carney, William	Musician	C	do.	do.	do.
16	Craig, John	Private	H	do.	do.	do.
17	Cusack, Nicholas	"	E	Fort Marion	Sept. 23, '36	Disease unknown.
18	Collins, Edward	"	F	Volusia	Nov. 18, '36	do.
19	De Courcay, Edw'd	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
20	Dunlap, James	Corporal	C	do.	do.	do.
21	Davis, Thomas	Private	C	do.	do.	do.
22	Dunn, Francis	Sergeant	A	Camp Izard	Feb. 29, '36	do.
23	De Groff, Peter	Private	E	Wahoo Swamp	Nov. 21, '36	do.
24	Davis, Wm. P.	Corporal	G	Fort Clinch	May 20, '38	Killed by the Indians.
25	Ellsworth, John	Private	A	Fort Pike	April 17, '38	Dropsy.
26	Foley, Dennis	"	H	Fort Brooke	April 25, '36	Chronic dysentery.
27	Frams, Engleman	"	E	Garey's Ferry	Aug. 14, '36	Disease unknown.
28	Franklin, Daniel	Musician	C	Fort Peyton	July 13, '37	Consumption.
29	Fortune, Patrick	Private	D	Fort Marion	April 29, '38	Disease unknown.
30	Green, Robert	"	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
31	Grant, Isaac C.	"	C	do.	do.	do.
32	Gillet, Alpheus	"	C	do.	do.	do.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
33	Gordon, Joseph	Private	B	Fort Foster	Jan. 26, 1838	Disease unknown.
34	Gardner, Warren		F	Fort Hanson	Feb. 27, '38	Consumption.
35	Hood, John	1st Sergt.	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action
36	Heck, Charles T.	Musician	C	do.	do.	do.
37	Howard, George	Artificer	C	do.	do.	do.
38	Halter, John	Private	C	do.	do.	do.
39	Hurley, John	"	C	do.	do.	do.
40	Holmes, William	"	C	do.	do.	do.
41	Hill, Cornelius	"	C	do.	do.	do.
42	Hanahan, Timothy	"	H	Fort Brooke	April 16, '36	Gastritis.
43	Holmes, James	"	F	Fort Drane	May 31, '36	Disease unknown.
44	Hall, Tristram P.	Musician	D	Fort Peyton	Sept. 20, '37	do.
45	Hawk, William	Private	B	Fort Foster	Oct. 31, '37	do.
46	Hicks, Nathaniel	"	I	Fort Frazier	March 14, '38	Run over by a wagon.
47	Holland, John	"	C	Fort Clinch	May 20, '38	Killed by the Indians.
48	Jewell, Daniel	"	G	Fort Pickens	Sept. 24, '35	Bilious fever.
49	Jewell, Aaron	"	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
50	Jones, John	"	B	Fort Foster	Dec. 17, '37	Disease unknown.
51	Kenny, Michael	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
52	Knarr, Thomas	"	C	do.	do.	do.
53	Keiras, John	"	H	do.	do.	do.
54	King, James	"	F	Volusia	Nov. 8, '36	Disease unknown.
55	Kelly, John	"	A	Fort Pike	March 9, '38	Disease unknown, contracted in Fla.
56	Laughlin, Anthony	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
57	Lovis, John	Sergeant	C	do.	do.	do.
58	Larkens, James	Private	C	Fort Mellon	March 3, '37	Disease unknown.
59	Larkins, Patrick	"	G	Fort Clinch	May 14, '38	Drowned in the Withlacoochie.
60	McCartney, John	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
61	McWiggin, John	"	B	do.	do.	do.
62	McDonald, James	"	B	do.	do.	do.
63	Mulvahal, Robert	"	C	do.	do.	do.
64	McMee, Hugh	"	H	do.	do.	do.
65	McGrew, William	Artificer	F	do.	do.	do.
66	McFeeley, James	Private	D	Gary's Ferry	May 9, '36	Hepatitis.
67	Mackay, James	"	F	On march from Ft. Drane to Picolata.	July 25, '36	Disease unknown.
68	McEnery, Hugh	"	E	Fort Heileman	Oct. 24, '37	do.
69	Miller, John	"	H	Fort Brooke	Oct. 12, '37	Scurvy.
70	Morely, Samuel	"	C	New Smyrna	Oct. 31, '37	Disease unknown.
71	Neely, William	"	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
72	Peery, Hugh	"	B	do.	do.	do.
73	Patten, John A.	"	H	do.	do.	do.
74	Phillips, Reuben	"	H	do.	do.	do.
75	Paddy, James	"	G	Fort Brooke	Jan. 15, '36	Tetanus.
76	Pockman, Gideon	Corporal	D	Fort Marion	Nov. 6, '36	Disease unknown.
77	Power, James	Private	G	Fort Brooke	May 7, '37	Drowned.
78	Percy, Robert	"	H	do.	Sept. 19, '37	Dysentery and scurvy.
79	Rooney, Patrick	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
80	Ryan, Michael	Corporal	C	do.	do.	do.
81	Robertson, William	Private	C	do.	do.	do.
82	Rafferty, Patrick	"	C	do.	do.	do.
83	Reilly, John	"	C	do.	do.	do.
84	Rodman, Robert	"	F	Fort Dade	Feb. 1, '37	Disease unknown.
85	Roache, William	"	E	Fort Heileman	Dec. 27, '37	Consumption.
86	Savin, Thomas	Sergeant	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
87	Schneider, Casper	Private	C	do.	do.	do.
88	Shearecker, Andrew	"	D	Fort Drane	do.	do.
89	Scanlan, John	"	E	Gary's Ferry	Aug. 5, '36	Disease unknown.
90	Scofield, John	"	E	Fort Marion	Sept. 10, '36	do.
91	Sands, Hamilton	"	A	Fort Brooke	July 24, '37	do.
92	Scennet, Stephen	"	I	Fort Frazier	Oct. 16, '37	Drowned.
93	Streeter, Joseph	"	E	Fort Heileman	Dec. 16, '37	Accidentally shot.
94	Taylor, William	"	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
95	Taylor, Isaac	"	C	do.	do.	do.
96	Taylor, Hiram	"	H	do.	do.	do.
97	Thornton, Thomas	"	H	do.	do.	do.
98	Tracy, Trueman	"	F	Withlacoochie	March 21, '36	Disease unknown.
99	Taylor, Whiteside	"	G	Fort Brooke	July 17, '37	Drowned.
100	Wilson, Joseph	"	C	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
101	Worcester, Orville	"	C	do.	do.	do.
102	Wright, William	"	H	do.	do.	do.
103	Wood, Thomas M.	"	A	Fort Brooke	Dec. 3, '35	Effects of cold.

THIRD REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
1	Davidson, W. B.	Captain	K	Indian Key	Dec. 25, 1840	Diarrhea.
2	Fraser, U. S.	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
3	Garnier, H.	"	G	Picolata	Oct. 23, '41	Yellow fever.
4	Herring, D. S.	1st Lieut.	I	St. Augustine	June 22, '36	do.
5	Jennings, R. S.	2d Lieut.	A	do.	Oct. 12, '39	do.
6	Keais, J. L.	Bt. 2d Lt.	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
7	Lyon, Elijah	Captain	E	Washington	Nov. 18, '43	Disease unknown—contracted in Fla.
8	Maitland, W. S.	Bt. Capt.	C	Charleston harbor	Aug. 19, '37	Drowned himself during temp'ry insanity caused by wounds rec. in Fla.
9	Mudge, R. R.	2d Lieut.	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
10	Poole, B.	1st Lieut.	I	St. Augustine	Nov. 9, '39	Yellow fever.
11	Rodney, G. C.	"	B	do.	do.	do.
1	Arrowsmith, J. A.	Private	G	At sea	June 21, '42	Chronic diarrhea.
2	Brunton, John	Q. M. Sgt.	"	Picolata	April 7, '39	Fever.
3	Bangs, Jacob	Sergeant	I	Withlacoochie river	Nov. 13, '36	Drowned, fording river.
4	Bell, John	"	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 5, '41	Yellow fever.
5	Bowen, Parker	Corporal	A	Locha Hatchee	Jan. 24, '37	Killed in action.
6	Burke, Edward	Artificer	H	do.	do.	do.
7	Brower, Thomas	Private	H	St. Augustine	Nov. 30, '37	Fever.
8	Balz, Frederick	"	K	Fort Lauderdale	Feb. 20, '39	Killed by the Indians.
9	Brunham, A. J.	"	K	Fort Heileman	June 10, '39	Disease unknown.
10	Boyce, Thomas	"	K	Fort Lauderdale	Sept. 27, '39	Killed by the Indians.
11	Bennet, James	"	B	New Smyrna	Sept. 29, '40	Fever.
12	Brunner, John	"	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 3, '41	Yellow fever.
13	Beck, John	"	G	do.	Nov. 9, '41	do.
14	Bertram, George	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
15	Chapman, Benj.	Sergeant	B	do.	do.	do.
16	Chapin, Martin C.	"	C	Volusia	Nov. 30, '36	Consumption.
17	Christie, J.	Musician	G	St. Augustine	Oct. 9, '41	Yellow fever.
18	Coulter, John	Private	H	Withlacoochie	Dec. 31, '35	Killed in action.
19	Carpenter, B. C.	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	do.
20	Cumasky, Patrick	"	B	do.	do.	do.
21	Callan, James	"	I	Micanopy	June 12, '36	Disease unknown.
22	Childs, Henry	"	F	St. John's River	Aug. 1, '37	Drowned.
23	Concklin, Abram	"	D	Fort Heileman	May 13, '37	Scurvy.
24	Colclazin, Henry	"	I	Picolata	Aug. 1, '40	Diarrhea.
25	Campbell, John	"	K	New Smyrna	Jan. 1, '40	Dysentery.
26	Connelly, John	"	A	Fort Pierce	May 2, '40	Disease unknown.
27	Cain, John	"	G	Picolata	Dec. 20, '40	W'ds rec. f. Ind. Nov. 1
28	Callahan, John	"	B	New Smyrna	Aug. 3, '41	Disease unknown.
29	Carroll, John H.	"	H	St. John's Bluff	Aug. 18, '41	do.
30	Chapman, James	"	B	St. Augustine	Oct. 18, '41	Yellow fever.
31	Cook, George W.	"	E	Indian River Bar	Oct. 26, '41	Dr'd in attempt to land.
32	Dalton, Kinsley H.	"	H	Betw'n Tampa and Fort King	Aug. 11, '35	Murdered by Indians when riding express.
33	Dodge, Samuel E.	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
34	Dana, Crawford	"	F	Florida	Sept. 23, '36	Disease unknown.
35	Decker, John	"	K	Fort Lauderdale	March 7, '39	do.
36	Donagan, William	"	B	Fort Heileman	June 10, '39	do.
37	Daley, Patrick	"	K	Fort Lauderdale	May 25, '39	do.
38	Donel, Alexander	"	K	do.	April 13, '41	Diarrhea.
39	Dickens, William	"	F	Fort Pierce	June 23, '41	Disease unknown.
40	Ebinger, Frederick	"	B	Fort Brooke	Sept. 27, '35	do.
41	Eber, John	"	H	St. Augustine	April 11, '38	do.
42	Farley, A. C. W.	Sergeant	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
43	Fields, H. S.	"	G	Picolata road	Nov. 1, '40	Killed by Indians while on escort duty.
44	Ferguson, John	Corporal	E	Fort Browne	July 3, '40	Apoplexy.
45	Flanagan, William	Private	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
46	Folk, John C.	"	B	do.	do.	do.
47	Fuller, Abel	"	D	Mosquito	April 4, '37	Shot by Indians.
48	Ford, Frederick K.	"	K	Fort Lauderdale	Feb. 20, '39	do.
49	Frezel, Godlief	"	B	New Orleans	March 18, '42	Dysentery—cont. in Fla.
50	Griffin, Joseph	Sergeant	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 8, '41	Yellow fever.
51	Game, William	"	E	do.	Oct. 26, '41	do.
52	Gordon, C. R.	Musician	E	Indian River Bar	do.	Drowned in landing.
53	Gallagher, William	Private	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 9, '41	Yellow fever.
54	Handy, H. S.	Sergeant	B	Picolata	Dec. 23, '38	Intermittent fever.
55	Hanniford, M.	Corporal	E	New Smyrna	Nov. 11, '39	Fever.
56	Hire, Frederick	Artificer	E	Indian River	March 18, '38	Disease unknown
57	Hurlyhigh, George	Private	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
58	Hall, Jordan	Private	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, 1835	Killed in action.
59	Heyer, Aaron	"	A	Fort Helleman	Aug. 27, '36	Brain fever.
60	Houseman, Henry	"	F	Fort Mellon	Jan. 22, '38	Disease unknown.
61	Holland, Edward	"	F	Picolata	April 23, '38	Diarrhea.
62	Hall, Elijah	"	B	Fort Columbus	Oct. 22, '38	Disease unknown—contracted in Florida.
63	Hopkins, Edward	"	K	Fort Lauderdale	Sept. 27, '39	Killed by Indians.
64	Horn, John	"	D	do.	May 31, '41	Drowned while on duty.
65	Hilligas, Jacob	"	D	Fort Monroe	July 21, '41	Diarrhea, contr. in Fla.
66	Hudson, William	"	E	St. Augustine	Oct. 5, '41	Yellow fever.
67	Jones, Alexander	Corporal	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
68	Jackson, Henry	"	E	Indian River Bar	Oct. 26, '41	Drowned in landing.
69	Johnson, Samuel	Private	A	Fort Armstrong	Nov. 20, '36	Fever.
70	Jackson, John	"	G	Fort Sullivan	April 27, '39	Killed by Indians.
71	Jenkins, Henry	"	E	St. Augustine	Nov. 8, '41	Yellow fever.
72	Kinkerly, Samuel	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
73	Kneeland, Jacob	"	B	do.	do.	do.
74	Kinsley, Isaac R.	"	H	Garey's Ferry	Unknown	Disease unknown.
75	Kneezle, William	"	D	St. Augustine	Sept. 12, '37	do.
76	Kennedy, Lawrence	"	E	Fort Brooke	Nov. 16, '36	do.
77	Kent, Elias C.	"	I	Fort Jupiter	Feb. 6, '38	Fever.
78	King, Bernard	"	H	Fort Dallas	Aug. 9, '41	Disease unknown.
79	Kellar, John	"	E	St. Augustine	Oct. 9, '41	Yellow fever. [land.
80	Kenny, Michael	"	E	Indian River Bar	Oct. 26, '41	Drowned in attempt to
81	Lemon, Samuel	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
82	Lesker, Morris A.	"	D	St. Augustine	Nov. 4, '37	Disease unknown.
83	Leonard, Cornelius	"	D	do.	Nov. 11, '37	do.
84	Laden, Jeremiah	"	G	Picolata	July 21, '41	do.
85	Lannon, Patrick	"	E	St. Augustine	Oct. 21, '41	Yellow fever.
86	Lane, David	"	F	Fort Columbus	Sept. 3, '41	Wound rec. in discharge of duty at Ft. Pierce.
87	Lunder, William P.	"	E	St. Augustine	Oct. 23, '41	Yellow fever.
88	Lick, Jacob	"	G	Picolata	Nov. 14, '41	do.
89	McMahon, James	"	I	Wetumpka	Aug. 17, '35	Disease unknown.
90	McCully, Cyrus	Sergeant	I	Fort Dallas	Jan. 1, '40	Killed by an acid. fall.
91	Montgomery, C. D.	Artificer	C	Withlacoochie	Dec. 31, '35	Killed in action.
92	Minton, William	Private	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	do.
93	Monroe, Donald	"	B	do.	do.	do.
94	Mulcahy, John	"	B	do.	do.	do.
95	Miller, Alfred	"	D	St. Augustine	July 2, '37	Disease unknown.
96	Mattock, Jacob	"	D	do.	Sept. 7, '37	do.
97	McClon, Edward	"	D	Matanzas Bar	Aug. '37	Drowned.
98	McGuire, John	"	D	Picolata	Dec. 23, '38	Disease unknown.
99	McCormick, J.	"	G	do.	Jan. '39	do.
100	McGinn, John M.	"	D	Fort Brooke	April 9, '39	Inflammation of bowels.
101	Montgomery, Tho's	"	K	Fort Lauderdale	Sept. 20, '39	Disease unknown.
102	Mitchell, Robert	"	D	Fort Lawson	Nov. 11, '39	do.
103	Mustell, Joseph	"	G	Picolata Road	Nov. 1, '40	Killed by the Indians.
104	McCauley, William	"	E	St. Augustine	do.	Yellow fever.
105	McMahon, Peter	"	D	Fort Lauderdale	Sept. 12, '41	Diarrhea.
106	Morrison, John	"	E	St. Augustine	Oct. 30, '41	Yellow fever.
107	Marley, Francis	"	G	do.	Nov. 5, '41	do.
108	Maley, John	"	G	do.	Nov. 6, '41	do.
109	McAllister, Ralph	"	I	Punta Rossa	Nov. 2, '41	do.
110	McGuire, James	"	F	Fort Pierce	Dec. 23, '41	Dysentery.
111	Noble, John	Musician	E	Indian River Bar	Oct. 26, '41	Drowned in landing.
112	Nugent, James	Private	D	St. Augustine	Dec. 7, '37	Yellow fever.
113	Passmore, Francis	"	I	Fort Brooke	May 21, '36	Typhus fever.
114	Perry, William	"	G	do.	Oct. 6, '39	W'ds rec. accidentally.
115	Peters, Thomas	"	G	St. Augustine	Oct. 23, '41	Yellow fever.
116	Perry, Charles D.	"	E	do.	Oct. 26, '41	do. [land.
117	Quinn, John	"	E	Indian River Bar	do.	Drow'd in attempting to
118	Ruey, William	"	G	Fort Russell	May 29, '39	Disease unknown. [land.
119	Runer, Christie	"	E	Indian River Bar	Oct. 26, '41	Drow'd in attempting to
120	Riley, Michael	"	G	Picolata	Oct. 1, '41	Yellow fever.
121	Ryan, Henry	"	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 6, '41	do.
122	Reddy, William	"	G	do.	Nov. 10, '41	do.
123	Reed, John	"	G	do.	Nov. 8, '41	do.
124	Riley, Charles	"	D	do.	Aug. 26, '37	do.
125	Ryan, Thomas	"	H	Pilatka	June 25, '38	Disease unknown.
126	Roberts, William	"	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 6, '41	Yellow fever.
127	Skinner, E.	Sergeant	C	Micanopy	June 6, '36	Disease unknown.
128	Searles, Willard	"	I	Fort Lauderdale	June 22, '41	Wounds rec. in battle.
129	Schaffer, John	Private	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 23, '35	Killed in action.
130	Sennam, Henry	"	B	do.	do.	do.
131	Shirley, Robert	"	D	St. Augustine	July 5, '37	Disease unknown.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
132	Sheridan, William	Private	D	St. Augustine	Sept. 4, 1837	Disease unknown.
133	Storey, William	"	A	Fort Taylor	March 26, '38	Fever.
134	Smith, Riley	"	H	St. Augustine	March 3, '37	Yellow fever.
135	Smith, James	"	D	do.	May 23, '38	do.
136	Smithwickie, F.	"	H	Picolata	Jan. 11, '39	do.
137	Shilts, Daniel	"	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 15, '41	do.
138	Troop, Theodore	Sergeant	B	Fort Mellon	May 26, '37	Intermittent fever.
139	Tuck, Washington	Private	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
140	Treat, Charles	"	A	Fort Heileman	Aug. 28, '36	Wounds rec. at battle of Fort Drane.
141	Tufts, Andrew	"	H	Fort Mellon	'33	Disease unknown.
142	Thatchell, James	"	K	Fort Lauderdale	June 6, '40	Drow'd while on duty.
143	Vailing, John	Sergeant	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
144	Vreeland, Richard	Private	B	do.	do.	do.
145	Vanderkloss, L.	"	F	Picolata	Jan. 18, '39	Disease unknown.
146	Wilson, Levi	Sergeant	G	St. Augustine	Nov. 8, '41	Yellow fever.
147	Wells, Philander	Corporal	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
148	Wagner, Henry	Artificer	B	do.	do.	do.
149	Wright, Samuel S.	Private	B	do.	do.	do.
150	Williams, John	"	B	do.	do.	do.
151	Welch, Sylvester	"	B	do.	do.	do.
152	Weshing, Daniel	"	B	do.	do.	do.
153	Washburn, Holton	"	D	St. Augustine	Nov. 2, '37	Disease unknown.
154	Webel, Charles	"	B	do.	'38	do.
155	Williams, William	"	D	Fort Lauderdale	July 23, '40	Fever.
156	Young, George C.	Corporal	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
157	York, George	Private	B	do.	do.	do.
158	Yarnell, Richard	"	D	Picolata	Jan. 18, '38	Disease unknown.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

1	Adams, John	Private	G	Fort Brooke	Oct. 4, '37	Dysentery.
2	Buckley, Isaac	"	C	St. Augustine	Jan. 1, '37	Disease unknown.
3	Clark, Smith S.	Sergeant	B	do.	Oct. 13, '37	Bilious fever.
4	Cavanagh, Dennis	Private	D	Fort Mellon	Nov. 30, '38	Fever.
5	Carles, Peter	"	F	Tampa Bay	April 15, '38	Disease unknown.
6	Chandler, John	"	H	St. Augustine	Jan. 2, '37	do. [Fla.]
7	Campbell, Alex. S.	Corporal	C	Fort Monroe, Va.	Nov. 14, '43	Dis. unknown, cont. in
8	Dawley, Ina	Private	F	Fort Butler, Tenn.	June 2, '33	do. do.
9	Duckles, Robert	"	C	Micanopy	March 31, '39	Chronic diarrhea.
10	Eckhart, Christ'n F.	"	A	Fort Heileman	Aug. 11, '37	Accid. wound in the eye.
11	Ellis, Robert	"	E	Picolata	Feb. 9, '39	Disease unknown.
12	Fisher, Frederick	"	A	Fort Heileman	Aug. 11, '36	Fever.
13	Girdes, Wm. R. F.	"	H	Volusia	Jan. 11, '37	do.
14	Harding, John	"	G	Near Fort Fowle	Jan. 19, '39	Killed by the Indians.
15	Hughes, James	Artificer	H	Volusia	April 22, '37	Fever.
16	Jones, William	Private	C	Fort King	June 24, '37	Disease unknown. [Ind.]
17	Mattison, Harvey P.	Corporal	B	Tohopikilaga	Jan. 27, '37	Waylaid and shot by
18	Miller, James	Sergeant	B	St. Augustine	Feb. 25, '39	Scrofula.
19	Macutehen, Robert	Artificer	C	do.	Jan. 1, '39	Consumption. [Fla.]
20	Mullady, Joseph	Private	F	Trenton, N. J.	Sept. 9, '39	Dis. unknown, cont. in
21	Murty, James	"	H	Garey's Ferry	Nov. 21, '38	Dysentery [Fla.]
22	Nunenmacher, Jno.	Sergeant	F	Jefferson, Geo.	May 30, '38	Dis. unknown, cont. in
23	Plunket, Lawrence	Private	A	Picolata	June 6, '37	Bilious fever.
24	Pardon, John	"	A	Fort Heileman	Aug. 1, '37	Drowned.
25	Pierce, John G.	"	C	St. Augustine	March 13, '37	Disease unknown.
26	Prater, John	"	C	Fort King	Sept. 27, '37	do.
27	Powers, John	Corporal	F	Fort Heileman	Nov. 4, '38	do.
28	Ryan, James	Private	A	Picolata	Jan. 19, '39	do.
29	Roll, George L.	Sergeant	G	At sea	April 18, '39	do., cont. in Fla.
30	Rebern, John	Private	H	Ft. Columbus, N.Y.	Nov. 27, '38	do. do.
31	Schultz, Francis	"	B	Fort Heileman	Sept. 4, '38	Disease unknown.
32	Sharpe, Joseph	"	C	Withlacoochie river	Nov. 13, '36	Drowned fording river.
33	Spencer, William	"	E	Fort Drane	Dec. 25, '36	W'd rec. while on scout.
34	Shaver, Daniel A.	"	F	Fort White	Aug. 18, '37	Disease unknown.
35	Theis, William	Sergeant	H	Wahoo Swamp	Nov. 21, '36	Killed in action.
36	Walker, Joseph P.	Artificer	B	St. Augustine	Jan. 13, '39	Disease unknown.
37	Wallace, Clinton	Private	B	Tampa Bay	'37	do.
38	Woodruff, Hiram	"	I	Near Micanopy	April 29, '38	Killed by the Indians.

FIRST REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
1	Barker, Thomas	Captain	D	Tampa Bay	Nov. 13, 1839	Disease unknown.
2	Lancaster, J. R. H.	2d Lieut.	I	Chrystal River	July 5, '11	Killed by lightning.
3	Mitchell, Enos G.	Captain	F	Fort Roger Jones	June 10, '39	Bilious fever.
4	McClure, J.	2d Lieut.	G	Tampa Bay	April 5, '38	Fever.
5	Pew, W. W.	2d Lieut.	F	Fort Roger Jones	June 11, '39	Bilious fever.
6	Shannon, Samuel	Captain	A	Tallahassee	Sept. 4, '36	Disease unknown.
1	Albert, Henry	Private	A	At sea	Aug. 5, '41	Disease unknown.
2	Ardough, John	"	B	Camp Walker	May 13, '38	Fever.
3	Burns, Patrick	Corporal	K	Fort Gardiner	May 3, '38	do.
4	Boyle, John	Private	A	Fort Armistead	March 23, '41	do.
5	Brant, Frederick	"	A	do.	June 11, '41	do.
6	Bahuson, Theodore	"	B	Fort Jackson	Sept. 19, '40	Bilious fever.
7	Brown, William	"	D	Fort Fanning	July 29, '39	Intermittent fever.
8	Buller, Charles	"	E	Ft Crawford, W.T.	Feb. 18, '42	Consumption, contracted in Florida.
9	Bulger, John	"	E	Cant'ment Morgan	July 15, '41	Fever.
10	Bertrand, Henry	"	F	Tampa Bay	March 14, '41	Disease unknown.
11	Bouveite, John P.	"	F	Fort Armistead	do.	Chronic diarrhea.
12	Burton, John	"	G	Fort Pleasant	May 25, '40	Fever.
13	Brenton, John H.	"	G	do.	May 20, '40	do.
14	Burns, Thomas	"	G	do.	Aug. 27, '40	do.
15	Binman, George	"	H	Fort Gardiner	April 1, '38	do.
16	Bond, William	"	H	Picolata	July 31, '38	do.
17	Bingham, James	"	H	Tampa Bay	Feb. 27, '39	do.
18	Byrne, James	"	I	Fort Brooke	Oct. 5, '38	Disease unknown.
19	Bowis, Lewis	"	I	Fort Lawson	Nov. 11, '39	do.
20	Carlin, Mathew	"	A	Fort Armistead	March 29, '41	Fever.
21	Chapman, Jacob	"	A	Fort Poinsett	June 26, '41	do.
22	Collins, John	"	A	At sea	Aug. 5, '41	Disease unknown.
23	Cammel, James	"	A	Fort Brooke	Nov. —, '40	Do. [Florida.
24	Christopher, Lem.	"	C	Jefferson Barracks	Sept. 4, '41	Congestive fever ct. in
25	Clark, Michael	"	D	Near Fort Fanning	Sept. 10, '39	Shot by Indians while on escort.
26	Cameron, Douglas	"	D	Fort Brooke	Oct. 2, '39	Disease unknown.
27	Clarke, Orian S.	"	D	Cedar Keys	April 11, '41	do.
28	Clarke, Lewis	"	E	Fort Barker	Aug. 5, '40	Drowned, in consequence of derangement caused by fever.
29	Call, Morris	"	F	Near Fort Cross	June 12, '39	Shot by Indians.
30	Crussell, Madison	"	F	Fort St. Augustine	Nov. 27, '39	Bilious fever.
31	Cunningham, Chris't	"	F	Jefferson Barracks	Oct. 17, '41	Consumption, contracted in Florida.
32	Connell, John	"	G	Tampa Bay	May 25, '38	Tampa Bay.
33	Develin, John	"	A	Ft Crawford, W.T.	Sept. 20, '41	Consumption, certainly contracted in Florida.
34	Dakin, Robert	"	C	Traders' Hill, Ga.	Nov. 17, '38	Dis. unk'wn, ct. in Fla.
35	Dunn, Andrew	"	D	Fort Brooke	Aug. 25, '39	Disease unknown.
36	Douglass, James	"	E	Fort Heileman	Aug. 2, '38	do.
37	Delinger, Jacob	"	E	Cedar Keys	Sept. 16, '40	Chronic dysentery.
38	Dittmer, Adam	"	E	Cant'ment Morgan	July 30, '41	Fever.
39	Davis, Henry A.	"	G	Cedar Keys	May 25, '41	do.
40	Dever, Theodore	"	H	Near Fort Macomb	Oct. 9, '40	Shot by the Indians while on express.
41	Dury, John	"	I	Fort Lawson	June 5, '39	Accidentally shot by private A. M. Morris.
42	Eagan, Joseph	"	A	At sea	Aug. 9, '41	Dis. unk'wn, ct. in Fla.
43	Ellis, Richard	"	H	Fort Macomb	Sept. 2, '40	Fever.
44	Flower, John	"	A	Fort Stansbury	Sept. 10, '40	do.
45	Foley, William	"	G	Fort Monroe, Va.	Nov. 13, '38	Dis. unk'wn, ct. in Fla.
46	Fenn, Jacob	"	G	Black Creek	Sept. 27, '39	Fractured skull.
47	Foust, John	"	G	Ft Crawford, W.T.	Sept. 27, '41	Fever, contr'd in Fla.
48	Fox, Michael	"	I	Cant'ment Morgan	May 10, '41	Fever.
49	Garner, John N. R.	Sergeant	F	At sea	Nov. 12, '40	Chronic diarrhea.
50	Giles, George II.	Private	B	Fort Clinch	Dec. 13, '38	Disease unknown.
51	Griffith, E. L.	"	D	Fort Brooke	Nov. 11, '39	do.
52	Glenn, Samuel	"	E	Fort Heileman	July 5, '38	Shot by a citizen.
53	Griffiths, John	"	G	Black Creek	Oct. 8, '39	Fever.
54	Hessen, Edward	Sergeant	B	Near Fort Macomb	Sept. 3, '40	Drown'd on exp. fr. Ft. Jackson to Ft. Macomb.
55	Halloran, Patrick	Corporal	D	Cedar Keys	Oct. 26, '40	Disease unknown.
56	Hagadon, William	Private	B	Jefferson Barracks	Sept. 4, '41	Chronic diarr. ct. in Fla.
57	Hockaday, William	"	B	Charleston, S. C.	Sept. 3, '39	Yell'w fev. left Fla.sick.
58	Howard, Wm. C.	"	B	St. Augustine	Nov. 12, '39	Yellow fever.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
59	Haggerty, Thomas	Private	B	Cedar Keys	May 4, 1841	Congestive fever.
60	Hines, Ambrose B.	"	B	Mississippi River, near the Ohio	Aug. 26, '41	Disease unknown, contracted in Florida.
61	Hobble, Joseph	"	B	do. near the Salina	Aug. 30, '41	do. do.
62	Hubbard, Aaron	"	C	Tampa Bay	Oct. 9, '40	do. do.
63	Henderson, Alex.	"	C	Fort Armistead	Feb. 27, '41	Typhoid fever.
64	Hough, John	"	D	At sea	Aug. 10, '41	Acute dysentery, contracted in Florida.
65	Harrison, James	"	E	Fort Norton, Geo.	Sept. 17, '38	Disease unknown.
66	Heiner, John	"	F	Near Fort Cross	June 12, '39	Shot by the Indians.
67	Houseman, Aaron	"	H	Micanopy	Dec. 13, '38	Fever.
68	Harvey, John	"	H	Fort Macomb	Sept. 15, '39	do.
69	Hancock, Lor. D.	"	I	Fort White	July 6, '38	Disease unknown.
70	Holt, George	"	I	Fort Clinch	Dec. 23, '38	do.
71	Klonsman, Francis	"	B	Cedar Keys	June 19, '41	Chronic dysentery.
72	Kornes, David	"	D	Fort Fanning	Oct. 20, '39	Diarrhea.
73	Kitt, Philip	"	D	Fort Brooke	Oct. 22, '39	Disease unknown.
74	Kilpatrick, James	"	H	F't Crawford, W.T.	Sept. 7, '41	Fever, contract. in Fla.
75	Laylock, William	"	B	F't Columbus, N.Y.	June 22, '41	Gangrene of lungs, sent from Florida sick.
76	Lynch, Edward	"	C	At sea	Oct. 11, '41	Disease unknown.
77	Lame, John	"	D	Fort Fanning	Sept. 13, '39	W'ds rec'd from Indians
78	Lappin, Dennis	"	G	Black Creek	July 14, '39	Fever. [while on escort.
79	Losburgh, Fred.	"	G	Camp Gamble	Nov. 21, '39	do.
80	Le Hunt, Thomas	"	G	Fort Armistead	April 25, '41	do.
81	Luon, Elisha	"	G	At sea	Aug. 9, '41	do.
82	Lynde, Adolphus J.	"	H	Cedar Keys	May 3, '41	do.
83	Lazenby, John	"	H	do.	May 21, '41	do.
84	Lee, John	"	H	do.	July 20, '41	do.
85	Morris, Thomas S.	Corporal	G	At sea	Aug. 12, '41	do.
86	McMullen, James	Musician	E	Fort Armistead	April 3, '41	do. [tracted in Fla.
87	McKetchnie, Neal	Private	B	Jefferson Barracks	Sept. 3, '41	Chronic diarrhea, con-
88	Mitchell, Alexander	"	C	do.	do.	Congestive fever, do.
89	Moore, Daniel	"	E	New-Orleans	June 10, '38	Disease unknown, sent from Florida sick.
90	Myer, Frederick	"	H	Cedar Keys	June 12, '41	Fever.
91	McDonough, Andr.	"	I	Fort Brooke	Nov. 13, '39	Disease unknown.
92	Moore, Josiah	"	I	Fort Lawson	Nov. 6, '39	do.
93	Mover, George	"	I	Fort Armistead	March 14, '41	Congestive fever.
94	McBride, James	"	K	Fort Brooke	March 2, '41	Fever.
95	McLaughlin, Thos.	"	K	Fort Armistead	April 23, '41	do. [ed in Florida.
96	McLane, John	"	K	Fort Atkinson, I.T.	Nov. 14, '41	Consumption, contract-
97	O'Neal, Thomas	"	I	Cant'ment Morgan	July 21, '41	Pulmonary affection.
98	O'Leary, Michael	"	K	Jefferson Barracks	Sept. 26, '41	Dropsy, contract. in Fla.
99	Parks, George	Sergeant	K	St. Augustine	Nov. 6, '39	Fever. [rifle.
100	Phillips, Henry S.	Private	F	Fort Barker	Sept. 17, '40	Bursting of an Indian
101	Ponton, William	"	K	Fort Frazer	March 5, '38	Fever.
102	Patterson, John C.	"	K	Cant'ment Morgan	July 30, '41	Brain fever.
103	Rutan, Cornelius	Musician	F	St. Augustine	Sept. 11, '39	Concussion of the brain, accid'tal fall fr. horse.
104	Roberts, Samuel S.	Private	A	F't Crawford, W.T.	Oct. 9, '41	Dis. unk'wn. et. in Fla.
105	Rogers, John	"	D	Jefferson Barracks	Sept. 3, '41	Congestive fever, contracted in Florida.
106	Rawson, Gideon E.	"	E	Cedar Keys	Aug. 17, '40	Inflammation of intes-
107	Robinson, David	"	G	Black Creek	July 4, '39	Drowned. [tines.
108	Rudkin, Edward	"	G	Fort Oscilla	March 21, '40	Fever.
109	Smith George	Musician	A	Fort Stansbury	May 21, '40	Drowned.
110	Senaidier, Chas. F.	Private	C	Fort Armistead	April 21, '41	Disease unknown.
111	Stack, Charles	"	D	do.	April 20, '41	do.
112	Smith, William	"	D	Fort Snelling	Sept. 12, '41	Diarrhea, contra. in Fla.
113	Spawassen, Fred.	"	G	Pilatka	Aug. 12, '33	Disease unknown.
114	Sandford, James	"	G	Fort Pleasant	July 9, '40	Fever.
115	Smidt, John	"	G	do.	Aug. 21, '40	do.
116	Schem, John	"	G	Fort Armistead	Feb. 3, '41	do.
117	Taylor, Abraham	"	B	St. Augustine	Nov. 26, '39	Yellow fever.
118	Taylor, William	"	B	Fort Fanning	Feb. 16, '40	Disease unknown.
119	Thomas, Geo. W.	"	B	Mississippi River	Sept. 9, '41	Fever, contract. in Fla.
120	Thompson, Wm.	"	D	Fort Fanning	May 23, '40	do. do.
121	Tomb, James	"	E	F't Henderson, Ga.	July 6, '39	Shot by Corporal Ross.
122	Trimbles, Edward	"	G	Cedar Keys	Dec. 23, '40	Consumption.
123	Tearners, Gilbert	"	I	do.	May, 10, '41	Congestive fever.
124	Thatcher, William	"	I	Fort Winnebago, W. T.	Oct. 5, '41	Dysentery and fever, contracted in Florida.
125	Weist, M.	Sergeant	G	Tampa Bay	May 1, '38	Fever.
126	Williams, John M.	Corporal	E	Fort Gilmore, Ga.	Nov. 7, '40	Congestive fever. [Fla.
127	Wiland, Lewis	Private	B	F't Crawford, W.T.	April 14, '42	Consumption, contra. in
128	Williams, John	"	C	Tampa Bay	June 9, '38	Shot by Private Morell.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
129	Wright, John H.	Private	E	Jefferson Barracks	Sept. 6, 1841	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
130	Westley, Elisha	"	G	Fort Pleasant	July 9, '40	Fever.
131	Ward, Richard	"	K	Fort Brooke	Nov. 19, '39	do.
132	Yearik, Gabriel	Sergeant	I	Fort Barker	April 25, '40	W'd, shot by Ind. while in chg. of wagon train.
133	Yonart, John	Corporal	B	St. Augustine	Oct. 18, '39	Inflammation of brain.
134	Yell, Henry	Private	B	Picolata	Sept. '38	Fever.
135	Zenger, Ferdinand	"	E	Ft. Columbus, N. Y.	Sept. 14, '41	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.

SECOND REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

1	Russell, Samuel L.	Captain	I	Miami River	Feb. 23, '39	Killed in action.
2	Woodruff, C. E.	1st Lieut.	A	Fort Holmes	April 17, '41	Acute dysentery.
1	Allen, Thomas	Private	A	Fort Shannon	Dec. 22, '41	Consumption.
2	Austin, Calvin	"	D	Fort King	July 23, '41	Dysentery.
3	Aiken, John	"	E	Fort White	Dec. 16, '38	Disease unknown.
4	Archer, Robert	Corporal	F	Near Fort White	June 30, '39	Killed by the Indians.
5	Annis, Ephraim	Private	F	Fort Fanning	Oct. 8, '39	Disease unknown.
6	Brien, George	Sergeant	A	Cedar Keys	Aug. 5, '40	Consumption.
7	Bryson, William	Private	B	Fort Holmes	March 28, '41	Scrofula.
8	Bradley, Henry	"	D	Fort Brooke	Nov. 6, '37	Disease unknown.
9	Baum, Henry	"	E	Fort Shannon	Dec. 7, '41	Tetanus.
10	Brown, Sheppard	"	F	Fort Heileman	Nov. 23, '39	Disease unknown.
11	Bennett, Harman	Corporal	H	Fort Brooke	May 4, '38	do.
12	Brady, Samuel	Private	I	Fort Russell	Oct. 2, '41	Inflammation.
13	Boland, John	"	K	Picolata	April 14, '38	Diarrhea.
14	Conolly, John	"	A	Fort Brooke	March 8, '37	Change of climate.
15	Clifford, Daniel	"	A	Charlotte Harbor	Jan. 28, '38	Exposure, lost 5 or 6 dys.
16	Curren, George M.	"	A	Fort Micanopy	April 8, '40	Fever.
17	Christian, John	"	A	Fort King	Aug. 25, '41	Congestive fever.
18	Carnes, Edward	"	B	Haw Creek	Jan. 25, '42	Killed in action.
19	Chapman, James	"	B	Fort Shannon	March 4, '42	Chronic dysentery.
20	Cooper, David	"	C	St. John's Bluff	Feb. 15, '42	Chronic diarrhoea.
21	Castle, Thomas	"	F	Fort Fanning	Oct. 8, '39	Disease unknown.
22	Calver, Barney	"	F	Fort Russell	Oct. 26, '40	Consumption.
23	Cassady, James	"	H	Fort King	Aug. 12, '40	Dysentery
24	Croker, Thomas	"	K	Picolata	Dec. 7, '37	Disease unknown.
25	Dougherty, William	"	D	do.	Oct. 14, '40	Dysentery.
26	Duffy, Patrick	"	D	St. John's Bluff	Nov. 10, '41	Chronic dysentery.
27	Delinger, George W.	"	F	Fort Drane	Oct. 11, '36	Apoplexy.
28	Desbrough, Aaron	Corporal	H	Fort King	Aug. 11, '40	Dysentery.
29	Dugan, Patrick	Private	H	Ocklawaha River	March 8, '42	Shot accidentally by discharge of musket.
30	Dearborn, George	"	I	Fort Russell	Sept. 15, '40	Debility.
31	Donnell, James	"	K	Livingston's Ferry	Sept. 18, '38	Drowned.
32	Eastman, Thos. W.	"	B	At sea	June 23, '39	Chronic dysentery, contracted in Fla.
33	Faze, Tictus	"	B	Fort Russell	May 2, '42	Congestive fever.
34	French, Samuel	"	C	Alligator	Oct. 20, '39	Bilious fever.
35	Fullington, Richard	"	C	Fort King	Aug. 9, '41	do. [T. Strong.
36	Farrell, James	Musician	K	Fort Walker	April 22, '40	Shot—murdered by Sgt.
37	French, John	Private	K	Wacahoota	May 5, '40	Gravel.
38	Gilbert, Cyrus	"	B	Fort Russell	Nov. 26, '41	Chronic dysentery.
39	Gillett, Peter	Fifer	G	Fort Brooke	May 29, '38	Debility.
40	Griggs, Philo C.	Sergeant	K	Between Micanopy and Wacahoota	May 19, '40	Killed or taken prisoner by Indians.
41	Hall, John	"	A	Fort Brooke	May 2, '38	Consumption.
42	Hosey, Gedlow	Private	A	St. John's Bluff	Oct. 8, '41	Chronic dysentery.
43	Hawley, James	"	C	Fort Brooke	May 4, '39	Chronic diarrhoea.
44	Harper, John	"	D	St. John's Bluff	March 1, '42	Fungus Hematodes.
45	Hanly, David	"	F	Fort White	Oct. 20, '38	Disease unknown.
46	Hickey, Patrick	"	G	Fort Russell	Aug. 12, '40	do.
47	Hannus, J. W.	"	G	Lake Monroe	June 26, '40	Drowned.
48	Herron, Edward	"	I	Fort Russell	Sept. 1, '39	Dysentery.
49	Hyde, Matthew	"	I	do.	Nov. 19, '40	Fever.
50	Hogan, James	"	K	Charles Ferry	July 22, '38	Drowned.
51	Heath, Elijah	"	K	Camp Sherrard	Aug. 16, '38	Chronic dysentery.
52	Hotchkiss, Calvin	"	K	Near Micanopy	May 19, '40	Kil'd or ta'n pris. by Ind.
53	Houck, David	"	K	Orange Creek	March 2, '41	Killed in action.
54	Hood, Frederick	"	K	St. John's Bluff	Nov. 13, '41	Dysentery.
55	Hoegenauer, Geo. J.	"	K	do.	March 8, '42	Disease unknown.
56	Jones, Edward	"	D	At sea	June 5, '42	Conges. fev. cont. in Fla.
57	Jones, Ephraim	"	I	Fort Russell	Oct. 10, '40	Dysentery.
58	Jeffers, Patrick	"	K	Near Micanopy	May 19, '40	Kil'd or ta'n pris. by Ind.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
59	Keiffer, John	Private	B	Ocklawaha River	Dec. 13, 1838	Chronic dysentery.
60	Kelly, James	"	E	Fort King	May 14, '41	Congestive fever.
61	King, William	"	F	Fort White	July 27, '39	Disease unknown.
62	Kelcher, Richard	"	G	Fort Thompson	March 4, '38	Ophthalmia.
63	Kennedy, Patrick	"	G	Off Cape Hatteras	June 7, '42	Dysent'y—cont. in Fla.
64	Kroeger, Auguste F.	"	K	Fort Sherrard	Oct. 17, '39	Chronic dysentery.
65	Leonard, Patrick	"	D	Fort Brooke	May 4, '38	Dysentery.
66	Larigan, John	"	F	do.	Aug. 17, '38	Disease unknown.
67	Lyons, Timothy	"	F	Fort Russell	Nov. 13, '40	Fever.
68	Laing, Robert	Corporal	G	Orange Creek	March 2, '41	Killed by Indians.
69	Lighthipe, Jacob	Private	H	Fort No. 11	May 6, '40	Consumption.
70	Lehning, Daniel	"	K	Camp Sherrard	Sept. 26, '38	Bilious fever.
71	Major, John	Drummer	A	Fort No. 16	April 10, '40	Dropsy.
72	McCullen, Michael	Private	B	Fort Heileman	Oct. 13, '39	Fever.
73	McClosky, Francis	"	B	Fort Holmes	Oct. 17, '40	Bilious fever.
74	Murray, Richard	"	B	do.	Nov. 25, '40	Scurvy.
75	Mahony, Jeremiah	"	C	Fort White	April 12, '39	Dysentery.
76	McConnell, David	"	C	Fort No. 16	Nov. 8, '39	Bilious fever.
77	Maxwell, Geo. L.	"	C	Fort King	Feb. 16, '41	do.
78	Murphy, D.	"	D	do.	Aug. 9, '40	Dysentery.
79	McClellan, James	"	D	do.	Feb. 11, '41	Congestive fever.
80	Moolick, John	"	E	St. John's Bluff	Nov. 7, '41	Disease unknown.
81	McGuire, Terrence	"	F	Ft Henderson, Ga.	Nov. 13, '41	Consumption.
82	Middleton, Thomas	"	G	Fort Brooke	April 1, '38	Disease unknown.
83	Martin, Peter	"	G	St. John's Bluff	Nov. 29, '41	Dysentery.
84	Mustin, Peter	"	G	Fort Mellon	Dec. 5, '41	do.
85	Miller, C. H. S.	"	G	St. John's Bluff	Jan. 23, '42	Disease unknown.
86	McReavy, John	Corporal	H	Near Itonia Scrub	March 20, '39	Killed by Ind. while on a surveying party.
87	Morton, A. P.	Sergeant	H	Savannah, Ga.	Sept. 24, '40	Fever, cont. in Fla.
88	McMillen, James	Private	H	Fort King	Dec. 12, '41	Dysentery.
89	McKonkey, James	"	H	St. John's Bluff	Dec. 18, '41	do.
90	Mure, Robert	"	H	Fort King	Feb. 6, '42	Chronic dysentery.
91	Moon, James	"	I	Fort Russell	Aug. 23, '39	Dysentery.
92	McPherson, Martin	"	I	Picolata	Nov. 26, '40	Debility.
93	McDonald, John	"	I	Fort Russell	Feb. 17, '41	Consumption.
94	Maynard, John J.	"	I	Fort Shannon	Nov. 8, '41	Dropsy.
95	McBride, Edward	"	I	do.	Jan. 1, '42	Dysentery.
96	Mitchell, Thomas	"	K	Fort Mellon	April 4, '38	do.
97	Murphy, Edward	"	K	Camp Sherrard	Oct. 16, '38	Drowned while on duty.
98	Merrick, Lewis	"	K	Orange Creek	March 2, '41	Killed in action.
99	Myer, Philip	"	K	St. John's Bluff	Nov. 30, '41	Disease unknown.
100	Norris, William	"	A	Fort Brooke	June 19, '38	Consumption.
101	O'Connell, Dennis	"	I	St. John's Bluff	Aug. 7, '41	do.
102	O'Dee, John	"	K	Camp Sherrard	Feb. 12, '39	Chronic dysentery.
103	Osborne, William	"	B	St. Augustine	Nov. 29, '38	Chronic diarrhea.
104	Peasley, Robert	"	F	Ft Henderson, Ga.	Dec. 6, '41	Diarrhea.
105	Perry, Oliver H.	Corporal	K	Fort Russell	Feb. 8, '42	Congestive fever.
106	Quinn, Patrick	Private	C	Trader's Hill, Ga.	Feb. 1, '42	Dysentery.
107	Quinn Matthew	"	E	Fort Russell	Nov. 19, '41	Disease unknown.
108	Robins, Stephen	"	C	Alligator	Sept. 10, '39	Shot himself by accident.
109	Reeder, John	"	D	Fort King	Aug. 12, '41	Yellow fever.
110	Reynolds, Isaac	"	H	Fort Brooke	Oct. 10, '38	Chronic diarrhea.
111	Ryan, Godfrey J.	"	H	At sea	July 16, '38	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
112	Raridon, Timothy	"	I	Ft. Columbus, N.Y.	Feb. 5, '39	Consump. cont. in Fla.
113	Sweetman, Daniel	Corporal	B	Cow Creek Ham'ck	July 12, '40	Killed by Indians.
114	Sawyer, Joshua	Private	B	Fort Holmes	Nov. 18, '40	Inflammation of bowels.
115	Shaw, John	"	G	Near the Everglades	Feb. 2, '38	Killed by Indians.
116	Seigle, Jacob H.	"	G	Fort Cooper	July 10, '41	Shot accidentally.
117	Shattenburgh, G'fry	"	H	Fort No. 11	Aug. 10, '39	Typhus fever.
118	Sickford, Ebenezer	"	K	Fort Sherrard	Aug. 16, '39	Chronic dysentery.
119	Sinclare, William	"	K	do.	Sept. 6, '39	do.
120	Stuhman, Henry	"	K	Fort Macomb	April 1, '40	Effects of starva'n, having been lost on a scout
121	Thompson, Walter	"	H	Fort King	April 4, '41	Killed by Indians.
122	Vera, Joseph	"	G	Fort Monroe, Va.	April 10, '42	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
123	Willard, George S.	"	A	Fort Holmes	Jan. 7, '41	Chronic dysentery.
124	Weeden, John J.	"	B	Picolata	Oct. 31, '40	do.
125	Wood, Samuel	"	C	Buffalo, N. Y.	Sept. 3, '42	Fever, cont. in Fla.
126	Winne, Killan	"	F	Fort Heileman	July 26, '37	Disease unknown.
127	Wilson, J. S. P.	"	F	Fort Fanning	Jan. 11, '29	Effusion of lungs.
128	Werback, Frederick	"	F	Fort Brooke	Nov. 27, '39	Disease unknown.
129	Weger, Charles	"	F	Ft. Henderson, Ga.	Jan. 22, '42	Accidentally drowned.
130	Wells, John W.	"	K	Fort Shannon	Feb. 4, '42	Disease of the brain.
131	Zeigler, William	Sergeant	B	Cow Creek Ham'ck	July 12, '40	Killed by Indians.

THIRD REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

No.	Remarks.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
1	Glen, T. B.	2d Lieut.		At sea	June 9, 1841	Disease unk'n, et. in Fla
2	Lewis, A.	Captain		Tampa	Nov. 30, '40	do. do.
3	Vose, J. H., Jr.	1st Lieut.		New-York	June 20, '41	do. do.
1	Brown, Joseph	Private	F	Cedar Keys	May 18, '41	Chronic dysentery.
2	Brown, Edward	"	E	Near Fort Macomb	June 9, '41	Killed by Indians, while defend. a wagon train.
3	Bailey, William	"	A	Fort Pleasant	June 29, '41	Dysentery.
4	Bum, Thomas	"	F	Fort Gamble	Sept. 19, '41	do.
5	Brice, John	"	D	Cedar Keys	March 25, '42	Chronic dysentery.
6	Boyle, Michael	"	H	Fort Pleasant	July 8, '42	Congestion of the brain
7	Bowers, Joseph	"	C	Cedar Keys	July 10, '42	Dysentery.
8	Butler, James	"	E	Fort Stansbury	Nov. 26, '42	Pneumonia.
9	Campbell, James	"	G	Oscilla Ferry	July 12, '41	Bilious fever.
10	Carlin, John	"	C	Cedar Keys	Oct. 20, '41	Yellow fever.
11	Cabill, John	"	I	do.	Oct. 29, '41	Chronic dysentery.
12	Clifford, Dennis	"	B	Fort Stansbury	Jan. 12, '42	do. [in Fla.
13	Churchill, William	"	F	Jefferson Barracks	June 19, '43	Chronic diarrhea, contr.
14	Davis, Samuel	Corporal	E	Cedar Keys	Dec. 7, '40	Inflamm. of bowels.
15	Dreiss, Charles	Private	C	Fort Oscilla	July 4, '41	Dysentery.
16	Donnelly, Cons.	"	E	Fort Stansbury	July 12, '41	Chronic dysentery. [Fla.
17	Denker, Herman O.	"	D	Fort Monroe, Va.	April 7, '42	Consumption, contr. in
18	Dallon, Joseph	"	G	Cedar Keys	Dec. 14, '41	Disease unknown.
19	Downey, Joseph	"	C	Jefferson Barracks	May 4, '43	Chronic dys., et. in Fla.
20	Eagan, John	"	D	Fort No. 4.	Dec. 27, '40	Disease unknown.
21	Frazier, John	"	F	Fort Fanning	June 9, '41	Purp. hemorrhage.
22	Flanagan, William	"	H	Fort Pleasant	Aug. 19, '31	Congestive fever.
23	Fisher, Adam	"	I	Cedar Keys	Oct. 7, '41	Chronic dysentery.
24	Gantzell, Edward	"	F	do.	Sept. 19, '41	do.
25	Gallagher, Andrew	"	K	Fort Stansbury	Jan. 20, '42	Apoplexy. [hunt. alone.
26	Graham, William	"	H	Near Fort Pleasant	April 7, '41	Killed by Indians while
27	Gaffney, Patrick	"	G	Cedar Keys	July 23, '42	Chronic dysentery.
28	Hickson, Robert	"	I	Fort Fanning	June 4, '41	Intermittent fever.
29	Hutchison, Patrick	"	D	Fort Pleasant	June 19, '41	Dysentery.
30	Harrington, Thomas	"	D	do.	July 10, '41	Dropsy.
31	Hearne, John	"	H	do.	Sept. 2, '41	Congestion of the brain.
32	Hackett, Franklin	"	C	Fort Gamble	Sept. 13, '41	Intermittent fever and
33	Joyce, Thomas	"	K	Fort Stansbury	Aug. 2, '41	Apoplexy. [dysentery.
34	Johnson, William	"	C	Fort Gamble	March 27, '42	Dysentery.
35	Junot, Christian	"	F	do.	July 21, '42	Vulvis sclopitorum.
36	Izenhoffer, Frederick	"	C	Cedar Keys	July 26, '42	Chronic dysentery.
37	Kane, Timothy	"	F	Fort Brooke	Nov. 19, '40	Diarrhea.
38	Kelly, William	"	I	Cedar Keys	July 20, '41	Chronic dysentery
39	Knowlton, Samuel G.	"	A	Fort Hamilton	July 29, '41	Shot by Indians, while riding express.
40	Kelly, James O.	"	E	Cedar Keys	Aug. 10, '41	Disease unknown.
41	Koppell, William	"	K	Fort Stansbury	Nov. 16, '41	Dysentery.
42	Kelly, Michael	"	F	Cedar Keys	Dec. 9, '42	Consumption.
43	Little, Martin	"	K	Fort Brooke	Feb. 3, '43	Drowned.
44	McManus, Thomas	"	F	Fort Stansbury	Aug. 31, '41	Congestive, fever.
45	McCann, David	"	F	Cedar Keys	Sept. 23, '41	Chronic dysentery.
46	Marabacker, Val.	"	C	Fort Gamble	Oct. 9, '41	Diarrhea.
47	McCaffrey, James	"	A	Fort Pleasant	Oct. 11, '41	Dysentery.
48	McMurty, William	"	K	Fort Stansbury	Oct. 18, '41	Congestive fever.
49	Neil, Arthur O.	"	I	Columbia Co., Fla.	Aug. 30, '41	do.
50	Robison, James	"	A	Fort Pleasant	July 12, '41	Dysentery.
51	Rees, Thomas	Corporal	F	Cedar Keys	July 23, '41	Chronic dysentery.
52	Rice, Maurice	Serg. Maj.		do.	Aug. 19, '41	Yellow fever.
53	Regan, Patrick	Private	B	Fort Stansbury	Dec. 6, '41	Pulmonary consumpt.
54	Sugney, John	"	F	Fort Fanning	June 13, '41	Dysentery.
55	Simpkins, William	"	K	Fort Stansbury	Aug. 11, '41	Phthisis.
56	Sweeny, Patrick	"	E	do.	Sept. 17, '41	Chronic dysentery.
57	Shields, Owen	"	K	do.	Oct. 7, '41	Congestive fever.
58	Tice, Lewis	"	F	Fort Fanning	July 27, '41	Epileptic convulsions.
59	Tosle, John	"	B	Near Fort Preston	Nov. 28, '41	Dro'd while on a scout.
60	Toomey, Edward	"	E	Cedar Keys	Nov. 11, '41	Disease unknown.
61	Van Houter, William	"	E	Pensacola	Aug. 24, '41	do.
62	Will, Jacob	"	E	Cedar Keys	Jan. 25, '41	Consumption.
63	White, Patrick	"	F	Fort Fanning	June 15, '41	Congestive fever.
64	White, Jacob	"	F	Cedar Keys	Sept. 12, '41	Chronic dysentery.
65	White, John	"	E	do.	Oct. 20, '41	Disease unknown.
66	White, John	"	K	do.	Nov. 11, '41	Chronic pneumonia.
67	Wolff, Charles H.	"	G	Fort Pleasant	March 10, '42	General debility.
68	Winsley, Thomas	"	F	Fort Fanning	Jan. 25, '43	Chronic dysentery.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks
1	Birch, George	Major		Fort Brooke	Sept. 26, 1837	Disease unknown.
2	Dade, Francis L.	Bt. Major	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
3	McCrabb, J. W.	Bt. Capt.	D	St. Augustine	Nov. 6, '39	Fever.
4	Sands, R. M.	Br. Major	G	Fort Call	Sept. 13, '36	Disease unknown.
5	Spoor, C. H. E.	2d Lieut.	D	Lockport, N. Y.	Jan. 26, '38	Dis. unkn'wn, et. in Fla.
6	Thornton, A. W.	Captain	A	Pensacola	Nov. 2, '36	Disease unknown.
1	Allen, Adolphus	Private	C	Fort Monroe, Va.	June 9, '38	Disease unk'wn, contrac.
2	Able, John	"	G	Fort Call	Sept. 15, '35	Dysentery. [in Fla.
3	Barnes, John	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
4	Burwell, John	Corporal	E	Fort Call	Sept. 7, '36	Bilious fever.
5	Bryant, James	Private	D	do.	Sept. 11, '36	do.
6	Buckley, James	"	E	do.	Sept. 13, '36	Remittent fever
7	Bright, George	"	G	do.	Sept. 15, '36	Bilious fever.
8	Black, John	"	I	do.	Sept. 17, '36	do.
9	Bentz, Adam	Corporal	D	do.	Sept. 23, '36	Congestive fever.
10	Brown, John	Sergeant	G	do.	Oct. 4, '36	Remittent fever.
11	Brown, Adam F.	Private	I	do.	Oct. 6, '36	do.
12	Breaman, Henry	"	G	Fort Clinch	Dec. 7, '36	Disease unknown.
13	Bennett, Isaac	"	G	Tampa Bay	July 16, '37	do.
14	Buckley, James	"	K	do.	Aug. 31, '37	do.
15	Bruce, Henry	Musician	A	do.	Jan. 2, '42	Consumption.
16	Brutlie, John	Private	D	do.	Feb. 21, '42	do.
17	Bloom, Andrew	"	A	Cedar Keys	July 9, '42	Diarrhea. [in Fla.
18	Barr, James	Sergeant	I	New-Orleans	May '37	Disease unk'wn, contrac.
19	Bristol, Sidney	Private	I	At sea	May 21, '37	do.
20	Boyd, Robert	"	K	New-Orleans	April 24, '38	Dysentery, do.
21	Boyle, Robert	"	A	Fort Monroe, Va.	June 29, '38	Disease unknown. do.
22	Campbell, Donald	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
23	Cunningham, Mar.	"	B	do.	do.	do.
24	Clendenen, Levi	Sergeant	K	Chrystal River	Feb. 9, '37	do.
25	Cannon, Walter	Private	E	Fort King	Feb. 29, '36	Chronic diarrhea.
26	Casey, John M.	"	E	Fort Brooke	May 10, '36	Disease unknown.
27	Cobbett, John Z.	"	G	Fort Call	Nov. 3, '36	Typhus fever.
28	Carroll, Michael	"	B	Tampa Bay	Sept. 23, '37	Dysentery.
29	Chandler, William	"	E	do.	Sept. 2, '37	Disease unknown.
30	Comstock, Sol.	"	G	do.	Sept. 13, '37	Intermittent fever.
31	Coghan, John	"	C	Fort Fanning	Sept. 22, '42	Inflamm. of the brain.
32	Clifton, James R.	"	K	Fort Monroe, Va.	Nov. 28, '37	Dis. unk'wn, et. in Fla.
33	Doughty, John	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
34	Donovan, Cornel.	"	B	do.	do.	do.
35	Downes, William	"	B	do.	do.	do.
36	Downes, John	"	I	Fort Brooke	April 29, '36	Consumption.
37	Dunham, Hezek.	"	I	Fort Call	Oct. 8, '36	Bilious fever.
38	Dougherty, John	"	G	Tampa Bay	Jan. 25, '37	Disease unknown.
39	Duffy, John	"	C	do.	Sept. 11, '37	do.
40	Donnelly, James	Corporal	K	do.	Sept. 10, '37	Intermittent fever.
41	Dorr, William H.	Sergeant	K	Fort Brooke	Aug. 21, '37	Disease unknown.
42	Dougherty, C. L.	Private	F	Picolata	Aug. 13, '42	Shot by private Hurley.
43	Dill, Andrew	"	C	New-Orleans	June 24, '38	Dis. unk'wn, et. in Fla.
44	Dennis, Archibald	"	A	En route to Jeff'son	Oct. 6, '42	Typhus fever. do.
45	Foster, William	"	D	Big Cypress [Bar'ks	Dec. 20, '41	Killed in action.
46	Frederick, Samuel	"	I	Fort Call	Oct. 20, '36	Chronic diarrhea.
47	Frank, Vilebrod	"	D	Tampa Bay	—, '37	Disease unknown.
48	Yates, Enoch	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
49	Gage, Depretot	"	D	Fort Call	Aug. 16, '36	Bilious fever.
50	Gaither, Otho	"	B	Key West [Monroe	Sept. 16, '36	Hepatic consumption.
51	Gardner, William	"	B	On passage to Fort	Sept. 23, '37	Dis. unk'wn, et. in Fla.
52	Hall, Samuel	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
53	Hill, David	"	E	Fort Call	Aug. 31, '36	do.
54	Hollins, James	"	I	do.	Sept. 22, '36	Bilious fever.
55	Heffernan, Daniel	"	I	do.	Oct. 19, '36	do.
56	Humphries, Robert	"	I	Fort Clinch	Dec. 12, '35	Chronic diarrhea.
57	Hunter, Lyons	"	G	Tampa Bay	March 15, '37	Disease unknown.
58	Hanzahan, Michael	"	C	Fort Dade	June 11, '37	do.
59	Harris, Gideon	"	I	Tampa Bay	July 8, '37	do.
60	Husher, Frederick	"	I	do.	Aug. 19, '37	Diarrhea.
61	Hilliard, Isaac	"	A	do.	Oct. 8, '37	Chronic dysentery.
62	Houghtaling, Steph	"	D	do.	Nov. 6, '36	Disease unknown.
63	Hougham, Jonath.	"	C	do.	Nov. 27, '41	Fever. [in Fla.
64	Hardy, James	"	A	Jefferson Barracks	Oct. 8, '42	Disease unk'wn, contrac.
65	Jones, Wiley	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
66	Ingram, William	"	G	Fort Call	Oct. 6, '42	Hydro-Thorax.
67	Jenkins, Lewis	"	E	Fort Clinch	Dec. 31, '36	Cachexia.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
68	Jones, Philip	Private	C	Jefferson Barracks	Oct. 28, 1843	Conges. fev. cont. in Fla.
69	King, Thomas	"	E	Fort Call	Sept. 5, '36	Bilious fever.
70	Keilahar, Michael	"	D	do.	Nov. 7, '36	Epileptic fits.
71	Lutz, Othiel	"	A	Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
72	Lee, Francis	"	G	Fort Call	July 30, '36	Bilious fever.
73	Losee, Samuel	"	I	do.	Sept. 9, '36	do.
74	Long, Edward F.	"	D	do.	Nov. 4, '36	Chronic diarrhea.
75	Large, Achilles	"	K	Thlonotosassa Lake	July 18, '37	Disease unknown.
76	Lamb, Curtis	"	G	Tampa Bay	Aug. 23, '37	Chronic dysentery.
77	Lawrence, Wm. E.	"	K	do.	Oct. 30, '37	Disease unknown.
78	Lentz, Nicholas	"	K	Fort Taylor	Nov. 23, '37	do.
79	Lowrie, James G.	"	C	Tampa Bay [Bks.	Oct. 23, '41	Consumption.
80	Linder, William	"	C	En route to Jeff.	Oct. 12, '42	Int. fever, cont. in Fla.
81	Mackham, John	"	B	Dade's Massacre	Dec. 28, '35	Killed in action.
82	McLaughlin, David	"	D	Thlonotosassa	April 26, '36	do.
83	McCann, Felix	"	G	Fort Call	Aug. 16, '36	Drowned.
84	Martin, John	"	D	do.	Aug. 17, '36	Bilious fever.
85	McCormick, Sam'l	"	D	do.	Sept. 23, '36	do.
86	McLarty, James	"	D	do.	Nov. 2, '36	Typhus fever.
87	Marson, John	Sgt. Maj.		M'th of Withla'chie	Nov. 17, '36	Bilious fever.
88	Maloney, John	Sergeant	I	Fort Clinch	Dec. 2, '36	Dysentery.
89	Marriott, Stephen	Private	I	do.	Dec. 11, '36	Cachexia.
90	Morrow, Thomas	"	I	do.	Dec. 12, '36	do.
91	Maddea, John	"	D	do.	Dec. 13, '36	Dropsy.
92	Murray, William	Sergeant	C	Tampa Bay	July 30, '37	Hiccups.
93	McEneive, Gerald	Private	H	do.	Aug. 10, '37	Dysentery.
94	McAvoy, John	"	I	do.	Aug. 26, '37	Dropsy.
95	McMullen, Samuel	"	C	At sea	Sept. 16, '37	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
96	Morris, George	"	B	Cedar Keys	Aug. 17, '42	Dysentery.
97	Mathers, Lyman	"	E	Old Point	May 23, '38	Chr. dys. cont. in Fla.
98	Murphy, Isaac	"	K	Ross' Ferry, Tenn.	June 18, '33	Dis. unknown, do.
99	Ormsby, John	"	G	Magnolia	July 9, '36	Remittent fever.
100	Ohlendorff, John C.	Corporal	I	Fort Call	Oct. 2, '36	Bilious fever.
101	O'Brien, Arthur	Private	I	Tampa Bay	Dec. 4, '37	Disease unknown.
102	Potter, George	"	E	Fort Call	Sept. 25, '36	Remittent fever.
103	Parker, Hiram	Sergeant	B	Fort Clinch	Nov. 30, '36	Measles.
104	Parsons, Harrison	Private	E	Tampa Bay	Aug. 22, '37	Disease unknown.
105	Phillips, Jacob	"	I	do.	Oct. 1, '37	do.
106	Powers, Enoch	"	G	do.	Dec. 4, '37	do.
107	Peter, Charles	"	F	Fort King	June 29, '42	do.
108	Price, Wyman	"	G	Ft. Hamilton, N.Y.	Dec. 27, '37	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
109	Quinn, Charles	Corporal	D	Fort Clinch	Dec. 23, '36	Apoplexy.
110	Richards, William	Private	D	do.	Dec. 27, '36	Inflam. of the lungs.
111	Richter, Jacob	"	C	Fort Wacahoota	Aug. 16, '42	Inflammation of brain.
112	Stewart, John	"	A	Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
113	Shumard, Barthol.	"	H	do.	do.	do.
114	Shaeffer, Daniel	"	A	Fort Call	July 16, '36	Bilious fever.
115	Smith, P. S.	Sergeant	D	do.	Aug. 18, '36	do.
116	Shepherd, Francis	Private	G	Tampa Bay	May 15, '37	Disease unknown.
117	Somers, Patrick	"	K	do.	June 28, '37	do.
118	Shanley, Wm. C.	"	B	Thlonotosassa Lake	July 24, '37	Remittent fever.
119	Smith, Samuel	"	B	Tampa Bay	Aug. 13, '37	Dysentery.
120	Shay, Patrick	"	G	do.	Aug. 3, '37	Intermittent fever
121	Sheridan, Patrick	"	C	do.	Sept. 20, '37	Disease unknown.
122	Tyler, Laban	"	G	do.	July 8, '37	do.
123	Walker, William	"	I	Thlonotosassa	April 26, '36	Killed in action.
124	Whiting, John	"	I	Tampa Bay	Sept. 11, '37	Disease unknown.
125	Wood, Joseph	"	I	do.	Oct. 9, '37	do.
126	Warren, Hiram B.	Sergeant	C	Fort Monroe, Va.	Sept. 29, '37	do., cont. in Fla.
127	Wilson, Henry	Private	E	Tampa Bay	Nov. 6, '37	do.
128	Wagner, Fred. C.	"	C	Jefferson Barracks	Oct. 16, '42	Yell'w fev., cont. in Fla.

FIFTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

1 | Wilcox, D. | Major | | Pilatka | Jan. 3, '42 | Disease contract. in Fla.

SIXTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
1	Brooke, Francis	1st Lieut.	A	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, 1837	Killed in action.
2	Berrien, Wm. D.	"	K	Fort Brooke	Dec. 2, '40	Disease unknown.
3	Center, J. P.	2d Lieut.	A	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
4	Conrad, John	1st Lieut.	I	James' Island	Aug. 10, '38	Disease unknown.
5	Griffen, George H.	"	D	Fort Brooke	Oct. 8, '39	do.—cont in Fla.
6	Green, John	Lt. Col.		Tallahassee	Sept. 21, '40	do.
7	Hulbert, William	2d Lieut.	F	Near Ft. F. Brooke	May 2, '39	Killed by the Indians.
8	Thompson, Alex. R.	Lt. Col.		Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action. His last words: "Men! remember your regiment."
9	Vanswearingen, J.	Captain	F	do.	do.	Killed in action.
10	Vanlien, F.	2d Lieut.	C	New Orleans	Dec. 31, '39	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
1	Allen, Orin	Private	B	Near St. Marks	June 16, '40	Disease unknown.
2	Andrews, John	"	C	Cedar Keys	Nov. 9, '41	do.
3	Allen, Henry	"	G	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
4	Ball, Elijah	"	A	On passage to N. Y.	Oct. 28, '40	Chr. diarrh. cont. in Fla.
5	Buck, John H.	"	C	Fort Sherrard	Nov. 27, '39	Typhus fever.
6	Boyle, John	"	D	Cedar Keys	Nov. 12, '41	Congestion of lungs.
7	Burtch, William	Corporal	E	Near Ft. Fanning	June 24, '40	Disease unknown.
8	Brigham, Bela B.	Private	E	Fort Harrison	Nov. 28, '41	Neuralgia.
9	Bauks, John	"	F	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
10	Benjamin, James H.	Corporal	G	Fort Brooke	Aug. 24, '37	Disease unknown.
11	Breel, Casmer	Private	H	do.	July 24, '41	do.
12	Beck, John	"	H	Near Fort Harrison	June 23, '41	Sup. to be killed by Ind.
13	Birmingham, T. P.	Sergeant	I	Fort Andrews	Oct. 23, '39	Killed by guard—shot.
14	Bing, M. L.	Private	K	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
15	Boyle, John	"	K	Dog Island	Sept. 25, '38	Disease unknown.
16	Carr, John	Sergeant	A	Cedar Keys	Oct. 26, '40	Diarrhea.
17	Congar, John H.	Private	B	Fort F. Brooke	Dec. 7, '39	Disease unknown.
18	Clute, William	Musician	D	Fort Oscilla	Aug. 27, '30	Bilious fever.
19	Cushman, Philip	Private	G	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
20	Conlan, Joseph	"	G	Cedar Keys	Feb. 4, '42	Disease unknown
21	Cook, John	"	H	Fort Oscilla	June 22, '40	do. ['37.
22	Clark, Henry	"	K	Fort Bassinger	Jan. 28, '38	W'ds rec. in ac. Dec. 25,
23	Cole, Samuel	"	K	Dog Island	Aug. 30, '38	Disease unknown.
24	Canfield, Abraham	"	K	do.	Sept. 18, '36	do.
25	Diske, Barthol.	"	F	Near Ft. F. Brooke	May 2, '39	Killed by Indians.
26	Daniels, Samuel	"	H	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
27	Doane, Anthony P.	"	H	Ft. Towson, Ark.	Sept. 19, '42	Chr. dys, cont. in Fla.
28	Dwyer, John	"	K	Dog Island	Aug. 29, '38	Disease unknown.
29	Ervine, Lewis	"	C	Fort Micanopy	July 26, '38	Killed by Indians.
30	Fry, Christian	"	A	St. Marks	July 19, '38	Disease unknown.
31	Foxcroft, George	"	F	Fort Brooke	Nov. 25, '41	do.
32	Farmington, Salisbury	"	H	On march to Pease Creek	Nov. 15, '37	Accidental gun shot.
33	Foster, George	"	H	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
34	Fresh, John	"	I	Near Ft. Andrews	Aug. 29, '39	do.
35	Green, John	"	B	James' Island	July 17, '38	Disease unknown.
36	Gaffney, James	"	G	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
37	Gutser, Charles	"	K	Cedar Keys	Sept. 2, '40	Disease unknown.
38	Hardt, Michael	"	A	do.	March 15, '41	Phthisis pulmonalis.
39	Hunter, Alexander	"	B	Fort Towson, Ark.	Sept. 15, '43	Consump. cont. in Fla.
40	Handibede, Thos.	"	C	Cedar Keys	Nov. 11, '41	Disease unknown.
41	Hennessy, Richard	"	E	Fort Harrison	Oct. 12, '41	do.
42	Hall, Charles	"	F	Fort F. Brooke	May 5, '39	do.
43	Hart, Robert	"	F	Fort Brooke	Sept. 6, '41	Congestive fever.
44	Hatrick, Charles	"	H	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
45	Herbert, Seely	"	H	Cedar Keys	Feb. 22, '41	Chronic dysentery.
46	Harris, Daniel	"	I	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
47	Harriet, A. T.	Sergeant	I	Near Fort Andrews	Aug. 29, '39	do.
48	Hayden, Daniel	Private	I	Fort Andrews	Nov. 23, '39	Wounds rec. in action.
49	Hodges, Josiah	"	K	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
50	Ironsides, Benjamin	"	B	Fort Hulbert	June 5, '40	Disease unknown.
51	Jordan, John	Bugler		Fort Harrison	Oct. 6, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
52	Knight, Edward C.	Private	F	Fort Gardiner	Dec. 19, '37	Disease unknown. ['37.
53	Kipp, Robert S.	Corporal	H	Lake Okeechobee	Jan. 1, '38	W'ds rec. in ac. Dec. 25,
54	Knight, Isaac	Private	I	Fort Dade	Jan. 9, '42	Congestive fever.
55	Long, John	"	G	Ft. Columbus, N. Y.	Jan. 6, '41	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
56	Minard, Harman	Sergeant	A	Fort Brooke	Sept. 9, '37	Chronic dysentery.
57	McCarthy, John	"	A	On passage to N. Y.	Aug. 23, '40	Lost overboard at sea.
58	Monroe, James	Private	B	Near Fort Pleasant	July 13, '40	Killed by Indians.
59	McVey, Joseph	"	B	Ocklocknee river	June 18, '38	do.
60	Miller, John	"	D	Near Fort Pleasant	July 13, '40	do.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
61	McEneary, Thomas	Private	E	Cedar Keys	July 16, '841	Malignant fever.
62	McDonough, Bryan	"	F	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
63	Murphy, Peter	"	G	Cedar Keys	June 16, '41	Chronic dysentery.
64	Mullen, Patrick	"	F	Fort Brooke	Feb. 7, '42	do.
65	Minick, Henry	"	G	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
66	McLaughlin, Bern'd	"	H	Cedar Keys	March 2, '42	Phthisis Pulmonalis.
67	Malone, Patrick	"	H	Ft. Columbus, N. Y.	March 15, '41	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
68	McGlade, John	"	H	Cedar Keys	April 1, '41	Disease unknown.
69	Matthas, Martia	"	H	Fort R. Gamble	Nov. 18, '41	Pneumonia Biliosa.
70	Mackay, William	"	I	Fort Brooke	Sept. 11, '37	Remittent fever.
71	McGrath, Thomas	"	I	Fort Pleasant	Dec. 7, '39	Disease unknown.
72	Masters, Thomas A.	"	I	Ft. Hamilton, N. Y.	Nov. 23, '37	do., cont. in Fla.
73	Mahar, William	"	I	On passage to N. Y.	Nov. 4, '40	do. do.
74	McKirdy, Henry	"	I	Fort Brooke	Jan. 13, '42	Disease unknown.
75	Mortough, Michael	"	K	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
76	McFee, Robert	"	K	Fort Econfinee	May 21, '40	Disease unknown.
77	Mahoney, Kean	"	K	Fort Gamble	June 21, '40	do.
78	McCann, John	"	K	Fort Pleasant	Jan. 18, '42	Chronic dysentery.
79	Noble, Patrick	"	G	Fort Fanning	July 2, '40	Disease unknown.
80	Otto, Frederick	"	A	Fort Pleasant	May 16, '39	do.
81	O'Brien, Michael	"	G	Fort Fanning	July 1, '40	do.
82	O'Conner, William	"	H	Cedar Keys	Sept. 22, '40	do.
83	O'Sha, Michael	"	K	Fort Brooke	June 1, '40	do.
84	Pool, Robert	"	A	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
85	Pulsifer, Christopher	Corporal	E	Fort Harrison	Sept. 20, '41	Remittent fever.
86	Parks, David	Private	F	Near Ft. Andrews	July 21, '39	Killed by Indians.
87	Phillips, John	"	K	Fort Econfinee	May 26, '40	Disease unknown.
88	Perks, Charles	"	K	Fort Brooke	Oct. 26, '40	Pulmon'ry consumption.
89	Robinson, John	"	A	Dog Island	Aug. 30, '38	Brain fever.
90	Russell, James	"	B	James' Island	Aug. 13, '38	Drowned.
91	Rowland, Thomas	"	E	Fort R. Gamble	June 10, '40	Disease unknown.
92	Ryan, John	Corporal	F	On passage to N. Y.	Nov. 1, '40	do., cont. in Fla.
93	Rosencrans, Elias	Private	G	Fort Brooke	Sept. 25, '40	Remittent fever.
94	Rose, Elias	"	K	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
95	Sleephack, Henry	Sgt. Maj.	"	do.	Dec. 27, '37	Wounds rec. in action.
96	Schuler, George	Private	A	Dog Island	Sept. 3, '38	Brain fever.
97	Schultz, Thomas	"	A	Fort Harrison	May 14, '41	Dysentery.
98	Smith, S. M.	"	B	St. Andrews Bay	July 31, '39	Fever.
99	Shaugnessy, John	"	B	Fort F. Brooke	Nov. 25, '39	Disease unknown.
100	Stanley, John	"	B	Fort Brooke	Dec. 3, '41	do.
101	Stewart, R. bert	"	C	Fort Fanning	March 8, '40	do.
102	Schwartz, Robert	"	C	do.	June 8, '40	do.
103	Scott, James	Corporal	C	Fort Simmons	Jan. 24, '42	Accidental gun shot.
104	Schmidtwilkie, Jos.	Private	D	Fort Oscilla	Aug. 29, '39	Congestive fever.
105	Stottman, George	"	E	Fort R. Gamble	June 21, '40	Disease unknown.
106	Snow, Byrd	"	E	Cedar Keys	July 21, '41	Dysentery.
107	Swift, Gordon	"	F	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action. [Fla.
108	Sweet, Thomas	"	G	Ft. Columbus, N. Y.	May 5, '41	Dis. unknown, cont. in
109	Silk, Edward	Sergeant	H	Fort Dade	March 16, '37	Accidental.
110	Stoddard, Thomas	Corporal	H	Fort Stansbury	Aug. 8, '41	Disease unknown.
111	Shea, John	Private	I	Dog Island	July 18, '38	Killed by Indians.
112	Swords, John	Sergeant	K	St. Marks	Dec. 12, '38	Disease unknown.
113	Slaven, John	Private	K	Fort Fanning	June 19, '40	do. [Fla.
114	Stoddard, Samuel	Musician	F	Fort Smith, Ark.	Jan. 12, '43	Pul. consump. cont. in
115	Tripp, Joshua	Private	H	Cedar Keys	March 1, '41	Chronic dysentery.
116	Todd, David	Sergeant	I	Lake Okeechobee	Dec. 25, '37	Killed in action.
117	Taber, John	Private	I	Fort Andrews	Nov. 26, '39	Disease unknown.
118	Urquhart, Alex.	"	B	Fort F. Brooke	Dec. 7, '39	do.
119	Wakefield, Walter	Q. M. Sgt.	"	Way to Ft. Harrison	Sept. 1, '41	do.
120	Whitekop, Jehanne	Private	B	Fort Brooke	Nov. 23, '37	do.
121	Wright, Charles B.	"	C	Cedar Keys	April 18, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
122	Williams, James	"	C	Fort Towson, Ark.	Sept. 3, '42	do., cont. in Fla.
123	Weyman, Nicholas	"	D	Fort Oscilla	Aug. 14, '39	Congestive fever.
124	Whitmore, Joseph	"	D	Fort Towson, Ark	Aug. 3, '42	Chr. diarr. cont. in Fla.
125	Walkom, Jonathan	"	E	Cedar Keys	Aug. 9, '40	Disease unknown.
126	Wallace, John	"	F	Fort Brooke	Oct. 23, '37	do.
127	Whitmore, Philip	"	I	Fort Andrews	Sept. 22, '39	do.
128	Wood, James	"	K	Fort Econfinee	May 23, '40	do.
129	Walker, Luke	Sergeant	K	Alexandria, La.	Jan. — '44	do., cont. in Fla.

SEVENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

No.	Names.	Ran't.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
1	Gannett, T. B.	2d Lieut.	E	Filatka	Oct. 30, 1841	Yellow fever.
2	Stephenson, R.	Captain		do.	Nov. 26, '41	Disease unknown.
3	Sanderson, James S.	2d Lieut.	C	Near Ft. Micanopy	May 19, '40	Killed by Indians.*
4	Sherwood, Walter	2d Lieut.	K	do.	Dec. 28, '40	Killed by Indians.†
1	Austin, Jeremiah	Private	A	Near Ft. Wheelock	Aug. 13, '40	Killed by Indians.‡
2	Austin, Benoni	"	A	Fort Fanning	Aug. 9, '41	Congestive fever.
3	Appleton, John	"	I	Fort Micanopy	Feb. 13, '41	Catarhus.
4	Brown, Lewis	Sergeant	K	Near Fort No. 3	May 20, '39	Killed by Indians while riding express.
5	Burlingham, Lans'g	Private	C	Near Ft. Micanopy	Dec. 28, '40	Killed by Indians.§
6	Bridges, Abraham	Sergeant	C	Ocklawaha River	July 16, '41	Shot while charging an Indian encampment.
7	Busby, Charles	Private	A	Fort Wacassassa	May 16, '41	Dysentery.
8	Busby, Henry	"	A	Fort Macomb	Feb. 7, '42	Accidentally killed.
9	Bersham, George	"	A	Cedar Keys	Jan. 9, '42	Dysentery.
10	Bellinger, Thomas	"	B	Castle Pinck'y, S.C.	Sept. 8, '39	Yellow fev. cont. in Fla.
11	Burns, Thomas	"	B	Fort No. 2	June 3, '40	Dysentery.
12	Bennett, William C.	"	C	Fort Micanopy	July 22, '41	Typhoid fever.
13	Backman, James	"	E	do.	Jan. 21, '41	Ambustio.
14	Bulbin, Joseph	"	E	Near Ft. Micanopy	Oct. 13, '40	Drowned.
15	Boyer, George	"	F	Fort Brooke	Aug. 17, '42	Dysentery.
16	Bullman, Gassoway	Sergeant	H	Fort Fanning	April 18, '42	Disease unknown.
17	Burns, Anthony	Private	I	Fort No. 2	Sept. 23, '39	do.
18	Britton, Peter	"	K	Fort Wheelock	Sept. 16, '41	do.
19	Boylan, Patrick	"	K	do.	Feb. 2, '42	Chronic dysentery.
20	Bonaparte, Laia'tte	"	K	Fort Micanopy	April 12, '42	Gun shot wound.
21	Carroll, Francis	Sgt. Maj.		Near Ft. Micanopy	Dec. 28, '40	Killed by Indians.
22	Cuthbert, Arthur	Private	A	Cedar Keys	Nov. 12, '41	Chronic dysentery.
23	Capps, John	"	B	Castle Pinck'y, S.C.	Aug. 21, '39	Yellow fev. cont. in Fla.
24	Carr, John R.	"	B	St. Augustine	Nov. 10, '39	Yellow fever.
25	Costin, Patrick	"	B	Cedar Keys	Feb. 23, '41	Chronic dysentery.
26	Crowley, Thomas	"	B	St. John's Bluff	Aug. 24, '41	do.
27	Carey, John	"	B	do.	Oct. 23, '41	Dropsy.
28	Campbell, William	"	B	do.	Nov. 8, '41	Chronic dysentery.
29	Church, William	"	C	Fort Micanopy	Dec. 7, '40	Dysentery.
30	Coglan, Daniel	"	D	Fort Shannon	Jan. 30, '40	Disease unknown.
31	Code, Thomas	"	D	Fort Heileman	Oct. 21, '40	Congestive fever.
32	Carther, John C.	"	D	do.	Nov. 18, '40	Diarrhea.
33	Cowley, Owen	"	F	Fort Micanopy	Jan. 5, '41	W'ds rec. in action near Micanopy, May 18, '40.
34	Claffy, Francis	"	H	do.	Sept. 16, '40	Intermittent fever.
35	Duff, Christopher	"	E	Near Ft. Wacahoota	May 17, '42	Killed. [in Fla.]
36	Donolan, Michael	"	A	New Orleans	May 20, '40	Phthisis pulm'nalis, cont.
37	Douglass, Henry	"	B	Castle Pinck'y, S.C.	Aug. 21, '39	Yellow fev. cont. in Fla.
38	Dougherty, Henry	"	B	St. John's Bluff	Nov. 24, '41	Chronic dysentery.
39	Dolan, Patrick	"	B	do.	Jan. 8, '42	do.
40	Drennan, John	"	E	Ft. Columbus, N.Y.	Dec. 29, '40	Chr. disease, cont. in Fla.
41	Dudley, Thomas	"	F	Fort Micanopy	Jan. 24, '41	Diarrhea.
42	Dunn, John	"	K	Fort Brooke	June 1, '39	Cholera morbus.
43	Eldridge, Henry	"	I	Near Ft. Micanopy	Aug. 30, '40	Killed.
44	Eckard, Augustus	"	B	Fort Wacahoota	Sept. 6, '40	W'ds rec. under com. of Lt. Hanson, Sept. 6, '40.
45	Eberhart, Lewis	"	B	Cedar Keys	Oct. 18, '40	Chronic dysentery.
46	Evans, Andrew	"	G	Fort Micanopy	May 5, '41	Dysentery.

* "For wounds received at Bridgewater, and subsequent zeal and efficiency in all the non-commissioned grades, he was recommended by the officers of his regiment, and appointed 2d Lieutenant on the 1st of March, 1838. With thirteen men he attacked forty or fifty Indians, and was killed at the head of his party."

† "While escorting Mrs. Montgomery from Micanopy to Wacahoota, his party, consisting of eleven, non-commissioned officers, &c., were attacked by a large body of Indians—himself, Mrs. Montgomery, and four of the escort were killed. He was a young officer of great promise."

‡ "He was a soldier of long service and good character. He was killed while returning from escorting Assistant Surgeon Griffin to Fort Micanopy."

§ "Killed under command of Lieutenant Sherwood. He sacrificed his own, in attempting to save the life of a lady. His last words were, 'I did my duty.'"

|| "Killed, being at the time one of Lieutenant Sherwood's party. He was of Lieutenant Sanderson's party on the 19th May, when that officer was killed. In that action (19th May) he behaved with great bravery, and remained alone near the scene of action until next morning, when Lieutenant-Colonel Riley, in command of a portion of the 2d Infantry, visited it for the purpose of removing the dead. He served in the 7th Infantry from 1831 to the time of his death, filling with much credit, the several grades of Corporal, Sergeant, 1st Sergeant, and Sergeant-Major, eliciting by his good conduct and soldierly bearing, the respect and esteem of his officers."

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
47	Foss, William	Private	H	Near Ft. Micanopy	May 19, 1840	Killed, being one of Lt. Sanderson's party.
48	Fynn, Patrick	"	E	do.	Aug. 30, '40	Killed.
49	Finney, David M.	"	E	do.	do.	Taken pris. and killed.
50	Foster, David	"	A	Fort Wheelock	Dec. 18, '40	Dysentery.
51	Fell, John	"	B	Fort Heileman	June 16, '41	Congestion of brain.
52	Feeny, James	"	B	Fort Wacahoota	Sept. 27, '41	Disease unknown.
53	Fitzgibbon, Garrett	"	C	Cedar Keys	Dec. 24, '41	Chronic Pneumonia.
54	Finn, John	"	K	Fort Micanopy	May 3, '41	Disease unknown.
55	Grace, Richard	"	A	Fort King	May 9, '40	W'ds rec. under com. of Cpt. Rains, Apl. 28, '40.
56	Goodman, Lewis	Musician	B	Fort Heileman	Nov. 3, '39	Yellow fever.
57	Gaines, James	Corporal	C	Fort King	Oct. 1, '40	Disease unknown.
58	Gates, William	"	G	Fort Brooke	June 26, '42	Congestive fever.
59	Grey, Richard	Private	H	Ft. Columbus, N. Y.	Sept. 17, '41	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
60	Galligan, James	"	K	do.	March 22, '41	do.
61	Hogins, Isaac	Sergeant	C	Fort No. 5	Feb. 1, '40	Killed by Indians.*
62	Herring, Charles	Private	A	Near Fort King	March 24, '40	Killed—"A man of excellent character.
63	Hefferman, Michael	"	H	Ne'r Ft. Wacahoota	Sept. 6, '40	Killed under command of Lt. W. K. Hanson.
64	Horton, Gideon R.	"	B	Fort Heileman	Nov. 7, '39	Yellow fever.
65	Hopkins, John	"	B	Picolata	Dec. 13, '39	Disease unknown.
66	Hook, John	Musician	B	Fort Wacahoota	Dec. 29, '40	Chronic diarrhea.
67	Haskins, Samuel	"	C	Fort Micanopy	July 9, '41	Inflammation of bowels.
68	Henshall, Charles	Private	D	Fort Wacahoota	Feb. 2, '42	Epilepsy.
69	Hubbard, Benjamin	"	E	Cedar Keys	June 5, '41	Dysentery.
70	Hall, Fleming	"	H	Picolata	Sept. 7, '41	Disease unknown.
71	Jones, Levi	"	B	Castle Pinck'y, S. C.	Sept. 6, '39	Yellow fever. cont. in Fla.
72	Jenkins, John G.	"	E	Fort Micanopy	June 5, '41	Dysentery.
73	Keefe, Patrick	"	I	Near Ft. Micanopy	May 19, '40	Killed, being one of Lt. Sanderson's party.
74	Kercher, Henry	"	A	Cedar Keys	Jan. 9, '42	Chronic Euterites.
75	Keys, Patrick	"	D	Picolata	Dec. 3, '40	Cachexia.
76	Kohl, Augustus	"	H	Fort Heileman	Aug. 18, '39	Drowned.
77	Kelly, Hugh	"	A	Near Fort King	April 14, '40	Killed by Indians.†
78	Ledue, Cornelius	"	C	Fort Micanopy	May 1, '41	Dysentery.
79	Langan, Hugh	Corporal	E	do.	Oct. 31, '40	Cachexia.
80	Logan, James	Private	E	Fort Fanning	Nov. 28, '41	Intermittent fever.
81	Lillie, Henry	"	E	do.	Dec. 8, '41	Diarrhea.
82	Loglum, George	"	E	Cedar Keys	Dec. 12, '41	Dysentery.
83	Lightle, Martin	"	F	Fort Wacassassa	July 4, '41	do.
84	Long, John P.	"	K	Fort Brooke	Oct. 27, '39	Disease unknown.
85	Maher, James	"	B	Near Fort Drane	March 13, '40	Kil'd while escort'g wgs. fr. Ft. No. 2 to Mican'y.
86	Meir, Frederick	"	A	Near Fort King	April 28, '40	Killed in action under com. of Capt. Rains.
87	Maxwell, Abraham	"	I	Near Ft. Micanopy	May 19, '40	Killed, being one of Lt. Sanderson's party.
88	McDonald, Alex.	"	I	do.	Dec. 23, '40	Killed under command of Lt. Sherwood.
89	McNeil, Daniel	"	D	Ne'r Ft. Wacahoota	May 17, '42	Killed.
90	Morse, Albin	"	A	Cedar Key	March 24, '42	Disease unknown.
91	Meale, Edward	"	B	Fort Gal'n	June 16, '39	Congestive fever.
92	McQuay, James	"	C	Fort Micanopy	Dec. 30, '40	Dysentery.
93	McCalligan, James	"	E	Cedar Keys	March 13, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
94	McLaughlin, Pat.	"	E	do.	April 28, '41	Dysentery.
95	Moffit, William	"	E	Pensacola Harbor	July 1, '42	Chronic dysentery.
96	Milne, John	"	F	Fort Wheelock	Dec. 15, '40	Intermittent fever.
97	Murray, John	"	F	Fort Wacassassa	Oct. 3, '41	Dysentery.
98	Matthews, Thomas	"	F	do.	April 18, '42	Consumption.
99	McClelland, Robert	"	G	Picolata	April 5, '41	Mania.
100	Meeks, William	"	H	Fort Fanning	March 17, '42	Disease unknown.
101	McGunnigle, John	"	K	Fort Brooke	Aug. 11, '39	do.
102	McClaffrey, Patrick	"	F	Fort Wheelock	Feb. 22, '41	Chronic diarrhea.
103	O'Riley, Patrick	Prin. Mus.	I	Near Ft. Micanopy	May 19, '40	Killed by Indians.‡
104	Okey, Samuel	Musician	I	do.	do.	Killed, being one of Lt. Sanderson's party.

* "Being in charge of a party of four men, he was killed by a large party of Indians in ambuscade at the end of a causeway."

† "Shot through the body while on a scout under command of Lieutenant Scott, by an Indian, on whom he was rushing."

‡ "Killed, being at the time one of Lieutenant Sanderson's party. As an evidence of his good conduct in that action, his body was found by the side of Lieutenant S. He was a good and exemplary soldier."

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
105	Owens, Thomas	Private	D	Fort Heileman	Sept. 16, 1840	Congestion.
106	O'Sullivan, Patrick	"	D	do.	Oct. 24, '40	Diarrhea.
107	O'Riley, William	"	H	Fort Micanopy	Nov. 28, '42	Disease unknown.
108	O'Neill, John	"	K	Fort Wacassassa	Oct. 6, '40	do.
109	Pepper, James	"	I	Fort Wacahoota	Jan. 26, '42	do.
110	Prill, Frederick	"	K	Fort Micanopy	July 20, '41	do.
111	Perry, John	"	K	Fort Wheelock	Dec. 3, '41	do.
112	Quinn, George	"	E	Cedar Keys	Feb. 5, '42	Chronic Euterites.
113	Riley, Ferguson	"	B	Castle Pinck'y, S.C.	Aug. 21, '39	Yellow fev. cont. in Fla.
114	Ross, James	Corporal	D	Fort Heileman	Feb. 3, '41	Disease unknown.*
115	Regan, Michael	Private	G	Fort Micanopy	May 22, '41	Dysentery.
116	Rohrbach, Philip	1st Sergt.	G	Camp Scott	Feb. 25, '43	Disease unknown.
117	Redner, Alexander	Private	G	Fort Brooke	Aug. 16, '42	do.
118	Rainge, Henry	"	K	Near Savannah	June 23, '41	Dis. unknown, cont. in Fla. on passage to N.Y.
119	Smith, George H.	"	A	Near Fort King	April 28, '40	Killed in action under com. of Capt. Rains.
120	Smith, Thomas J.	"	C	Near Ft. Wheelock	Aug. 13, '40	Killed by Indians.†
121	Smith, John R.	"	E	Near Ft. Micanopy	Dec. 28, '40	Killed under Lieutenant Sherwood.
122	Shields, George	"	B	Near St. Augustine	Jan. 17, '40	Killed by a falling tree, gett'g timber for breast.
123	Smith, Isaac	"	D	Fort No. 5	June 24, '39	Bilious fever. [work.
124	Strong, Joseph	"	E	Fort Wacahoota	March 13, '42	Chronic dysentery.
125	Sheridan, John	"	H	Fort Micanopy	Aug. 16, '41	Disease unknown.
126	Slinker, Joseph	"	H	Fort Fanning	Feb. 16, '42	do.
127	Shepardson, John	"	I	Fort Micanopy	July 17, '41	Typhoid fever.
128	Theis, George W.	"	A	Near Fort King	March 24, '40	Killed—"Was a man of excellent character."
129	Thomas, Luallen	"	B	Fort Heileman	Nov. 27, '39	Yellow fever.
130	Tise, Henry	"	B	Fort Wheelock	Dec. 23, '41	Bilious fever.
131	Traey, Patrick	"	D	Fort Heileman	Sept. 5, '40	Congestive fever.
132	Thompson, Matth'w	"	G	Fort Brooke	Nov. 13, '39	Fever.
133	Tinker, Sperry F.	"	I	Fort Micanopy	Aug. 8, '41	Typhoid fever.
134	Tucker, John	"	K	do.	March 16, '41	Disease unknown.
135	Tighe, Martin	"	K	do.	May 17, '41	do.
136	Thurrell, Charles	"	K	St. John's Bluff	Oct. 7, '41	do.
137	VanTassell, Jesse	"	F	Fort Fanning	May 27, '42	Wds. rec. near Suwannee river, May 17, '42
138	Volnagle, Louis	"	D	Fort No. 5	Dec. 21, '39	Dysentery.
139	Williamson, Henry	"	D	Ft. Columbus, N.Y.	July 30, '39	Dis. unk'n, cont. in Fla.
140	Wetherspoon, Peter	Corporal	D	Fort Heileman	Aug. 30, '40	Congestive fever.
141	Williams, James C.	Private	F	Picolata	Feb. 18, '41	Dysentery.
142	Walsh, John	"	G	Fort Brooke	Feb. 17, '40	Fall from a horse.
143	Walton, Seneca	"	K	do.	July 10, '39	Disease unknown.
144	Wingham, Henry	"	K	St. John's Bluff	Nov. 24, '41	do.

EIGHTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

1	Harvie, John M.	1st Lieut.	K	Cedar Keys	Sept. 7, '41	Dis. incident to climate and severe service.
2	O'Brien, Lucius	2d Lieut.	H	Fort Brooke	Jan. 7, '41	Disease unknown. [Fla.
3	Riell, John A.	"	H	At sea	June 22, '41	Dis. inc. to cli. and sv. in
4	Wardwell, Henry	"	D	do.	July 21, '41	do.
1	Bates, Henry	Private	K	Fort Brooke	Sept. 15, '41	do.
2	Beachler, George	"	D	Cedar Keys	March 21, '42	do.
3	Bowles, Samuel	"	D	Fort Monroe	Dec. 26, '42	do.
4	Bowman, Lot	"	B	Tampa Bay	May 9, '41	do.
5	Bromeling, T. J. S.	"	I	Fort Brooke	Feb. 24, '41	do.
6	Brown, John	"	D	At sea	May 11, '41	do.
7	Buckley, Cornelius	"	E	Ft. Columbus, N.Y.	Aug. 23, '41	do.
8	Burdick, John	"	G	Punta Rossa	Oct. 19, '41	Drow'd on serv. [Fla.
9	Clews, James	Sergeant	A	Fort Brooke	July 5, '41	Dis. inc. to cli. and sv. in
10	Carney, Cornelius	Private	G	do.	Oct. 25, '41	do.
11	Clarke, Cyrus	"	G	Fort King	Nov. 25, '40	do.
12	Cooper, Thomas	"	C	Pilatka	Oct. 11, '42	do.
13	Doane, John	Sergeant	I	Big Cypress	Dec. 20, '41	Killed in action. [Fla.
14	Dines, Charles H.	Private	K	Fort Brooke	Aug. 29, '41	Dis. inc. to cli. and sv. in
15	Ducharm, Dennis	"	H	Tortugas Island	May 12, '41	do.
16	Dunlap, James	Corporal	D	Fort Brooke	March 25, '43	do.

* " Said to have served with credit in the 1st Infantry, having been engaged in several affairs with the Indians."

† Killed, "while returning from escorting Assistant Surgeon Griffin to Fort Micanopy."

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
17	Eaglesham, William	Sergeant	G	Fort Pierce	May 10, 1842	Dis. inc. to cli. and sv. in
18	Earring, Cornelius	Private	K	Fort Brooke	Jan. 12, '41	do. [Fla.]
19	Elliott, Stephen	"	D	Pilatka	Dec. 10, '42	do.
20	Ferris, Henry	"	D	At sea	May 12, '41	do.
21	Frank, Lewis	"	H	Fort Brooke	Sept. 29, '41	do.
22	Furor, Christian	"	I	Cedar Keys	Feb. 26, '42	do.
23	Gibson, Robert	"	C	Camp Brown	May 28, '42	do.
24	Gill, William	"	G	Fort Brooke	Nov. 30, '41	do.
25	Goodman, John	"	I	do.	Sept. 2, '41	do.
26	Granter, John	"	H	Fort Marion	July 1, '43	do.
27	Harman, Hiram	"	A	Cedar Keys	April 11, '42	do.
28	Hartnett, Patrick K.	"	H	Camp Ogden	July 17, '41	Killed in action. [Fla.]
29	Haney, Jesse	"	B	Key West	Aug. 14, '43	Dis. inc. to cli. and sv. in
30	Haywood, Samuel	"	C	Fort Wacassassa	Oct. 29, '42	do.
31	Hopping, Adin L.	"	K	Key West	Nov. 5, '43	do.
32	Jones, Thomas	"	D	Fort Brooke	Sept. 16, '41	do.
33	Jones, Thomas	"	E	do.	Nov. 11, '41	do.
34	Kelly, Joshua	"	B	Fort King	June 20, '41	do.
35	Kingsberry, W. M.	"	K	Wacassassa	Dec. 22, '42	do.
36	Leopold, Joseph	Sergeant	A	Fort Brooke	Nov. 26, '41	do.
37	Lampert, George E.	Private	C	Cedar Keys	April 29, '42	do.
38	Lewis, John R.	"	E	Fort Brooke	Feb. 26, '41	do.
39	McNamara, Patrick	"	G	Fort King	Dec. 29, '40	do.
40	Mellor, James	"	G	do.	Nov. 21, '40	do.
41	Merrill, Martin D.	"	I	Fort Brooke	July 7, '41	do.
42	Morris, William	"	G	do.	July 25, '41	do.
43	Morton, Thomas	"	H	do.	Feb. 9, '42	do.
44	Myer, Samuel	"	D	Cedar Keys	Dec. 27, '41	do.
45	Melvin, John	"	C	Fort King	Nov. 15, '40	Killed by accid. disch. of comrade's musk. on ser.
46	Neville, John	"	H	Fort Brooke	Dec. 29, '41	Dis. inc. to cli. and sv. in
47	Nobles, Michael	"	"	do.	April 19, '41	do. [Fla.]
48	Perkins, Rufus	"	B	Cedar Keys	Dec. 21, '40	do.
49	Perkins, Elon	"	G	Fort Fanning	Oct. 29, '40	Drow'd on serv. [Fla.]
50	Prociase, Peter	"	I	Fort Brooke	June 16, '41	Dis. inc. to cli. and sv. in
51	Raine, William	"	A	Punta Rossa	Sept. 26, '41	do.
52	Relling, Stephen	"	A	Fort Brooke	Nov. 20, '41	do.
53	Roberts, Nelson	"	I	do.	July 23, '41	do.
54	Ross, James	"	H	Wacassassa	Dec. 4, '41	do.
55	Rotier, Edward	"	H	St. John's Bluff	Feb. 6, '42	do.
56	Schmuck, Jacob	"	K	Fort Brooke	Oct. 18, '41	do.
57	Smith, Nathaniel	"	K	do.	Feb. 18, '41	do.
58	Schwartz, Andrew	"	C	Pilatka	Aug. 20, '42	do.
59	Scott, Philip	"	G	Fort Shannon	Dec. 14, '42	do.
60	Seward, Harvey	Sergeant	H	Wahoo Swamp	Feb. 12, '42	Killed in action. [Fla.]
61	Taylor, Charles	Private	C	Fort Brooke	July 4, '41	Dis. inc. to cli. and sv. in
62	Van Nostrand, J.	"	H	do.	Oct. 23, '41	do.
63	Van Patten, A.	"	H	do.	June 10, '41	do.
64	Watson, Robert	"	C	do.	Jan. 2, '41	do.
65	Willard, Addison	"	K	do.	Sept. 10, '41	do.
66	Weber, John	"	G	do.	Sept. 7, '41	do.
67	Weidell, J. C. F.	"	G	Fort Pierce	May 17, '42	do.
68	Wesser, Henrick	"	A	Fort Brooke	Sept. 23, '41	do.
69	Wilcox, Augustus	"	E	Pilatka	Dec. 28, '42	do.
70	Young, Charles S.	"	K	St. Augustine	Feb. 20, '42	do.

RECRUITS UNITED STATES ARMY.

1	Clarke, Charles	Recruit	Near Micanopy	April 29, '38	Killed by Indians.
2	Cooper, Henry	"	Picolata	— '37	Disease unknown.
3	Flowers, Joel E.	"	Heileman	March 25, '38	do.
4	Hosier, Alanson	"	Fort Mellon	March 5, '38	do.
5	Henderson, R. H. C.	"	Unknown	July 21, '39	Killed by Indians.
6	Jeffers, John	"	Picolata	April 8, '38	Disease unknown.
7	Ludwig, Thomas	"	do.	— '37	do.
8	McCaron, John	"	do.	Jan. 17, '38	do.
9	Reed, Charles	"	do.	March — '38	do.
10	Wever, Charles	"	Near Micanopy	April 29, '38	Killed by Indians.

List of officers belonging to the Medical Staff of the United States Army, who died from disease and other causes, from service in Florida.

	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Place of Death.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1	Clarke Richard	Surgeon	Major Gamble's, Fla.	June 29th, 1839	Disease cont'd in Fla.
2	Elwes, A. W.	"	Palatka	June 12th, '42	do.
3	Gatlin, J. S.	Assist. Surg.	Dade's Battle-ground	Dec. 28th, '35	Killed in battle.
4	Lee, Thomas	"	New York City	Sept. 6th, '38	Disease cont'd in Fla.
5	Nourse, B. F.	"	Key West, Fla.	May 19th, '36	do.
6	Noyes, Charles	"	St. Augustine, E. F.	July 26th, '41	do.
7	Robertson, John	"	At sea	May 20th, '42	do.
8	Sullivan, Wade	"	Camp Walker, E. F.	May 15th, '38	do.
9	Turtelot, A. C.	"	Washington, D. C.	Dec. 8th, '37	do.
10	Weightman, R.	"	St. Augustine, E. F.	Oct. 30th, '41	do.
<i>Pay Department.</i>					
	Maj. Jacob Brown }	Act. Paym. } U. S. A. }	St. Augustine, Fla.	Oct. 24th, '42	do.

Recapitulation.

<i>Med. Staff.</i>	<i>Lt. Cols.</i>	<i>Majors.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieuts.</i>	<i>Sergeants.</i>	<i>Corporals.</i>	<i>Mus., Art. and Priv.</i>	<i>Aggregate.</i>
10	3	4	20	37	84	57	1251	1466

TABLE,

Exhibiting the names of Officers, Seamen and Marines, belonging to the United States Navy, who died whilst employed in the Florida Squadron, operating against the Indians of Florida.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Vessel attached to.
1	McKinley, Edward	Assistant Surgeon	At sea	Oct. 23, 1841	Otsego.
2	Niles, Hezekiah	Midshipman	Fort Simmons	Nov. 11, '41	Van Buren.
3	Pepin, Ferdinand	Pas'd Mid. Act. Lt.	Pensacola	Oct. 27, '38	Wave.
1	Arnold, William	Landsman	Everglades	Dec. 2, '41	Otsego.
2	Banta, Wm.	Capt. Forecastle	Indian Key	June 26, '42	Madison.
3	Black, Samuel P.	Ordinary Seaman	do.	Oct. 18, '41	Flirt.
4	Blodgett, Phineas	Q. Gunner	do.	Dec. 24, '41	Wave.
5	Ferguson, Jno. A.	Ordinary Seaman	do.	March 1, '42	Phoenix.
6	Fisher, Alfred	Off. Cook	do.	Oct. 27, '43	do.
7	Freair, John	Landsman	do.	Oct. 21, '41	Otsego.
8	Goodwin, William	Ordinary Seaman	do.	June 23, '41	Wave.
9	Grace, Thos.	Seaman	do.	Feb. 19, '42	do.
10	Hall, Jos. S.	Quarter Master	do.	Feb. 2, '42	do.
11	Hogan, Daniel	Landsman	do.	Oct. 9, '41	Jefferson.
12	Houston, James	Ordinary Seaman	Key Biscayne	Dec. 24, '41	Madison.
13	Johnson, John	Landsman	At sea	Oct. 2, '41	Jefferson.
14	Kingsbury, Jerem.	Master-at-Arms	Fort Dallas	May 17, '42	do.
15	McCauley, Law'nce	Ordinary Seaman	Indian Key	Oct. 6, '41	Flirt.
16	Moran, Thomas		do.	Dec. 21, '41	Phoenix.
17	Netto, John	Off. Steward	Pensacola	Dec. 6, '38	Wave.
18	Oliver, Thomas	Seaman	Indian Key	July 18, '42	do.
19	Pons, Lewis	Ordinary Seaman	do.	Oct. 6, '41	Flirt.
20	Riley, William	Landsman	At sea	Sept. 8, '40	Otsego.
21	Sellers, Thomas	Seaman	do.	Aug. 31, '38	Wave.
22	Thompson, Joshua	Landsman	Indian Key	Nov. 18, '41	Phoenix.
23	Wolf, Charles	Ordinary Seaman	do.	Nov. 29, '41	do.

MARINES.

1	Ayers, John C.	Private	Indian Key	Nov. 11, '41	Florida Squadron
2	Cannon, David	Corporal	do.	Sept. 14, '41	do.
3	Dunn, Frederick	Musician	do.	Nov. 1, '41	do.
4	Elisha, Henry	Private	do.	Aug. 21, '41	do.
5	Ennis, Thomas	"	do.	Nov. 28, '41	do.
6	Gray, Robert	"	do.	Nov. 20, '41	do.
7	Griffin, Rufus	"	do.	Jan. 16, '42	do.
8	Kelly, Andrew	"	do.	Dec. 26, '41	do.
9	Nicholson, John	"	do.	Dec. 22, '41	do.
10	Pierpoint, L. D.	Corporal	do.	Jan. 20, '42	do.
11	Root, Joseph H.	Private	do.	Sept. 24, '41	do.
12	Sawyer, James B.	"	do.	Oct. 6, '41	do.
13	Schoolcraft, Steph.	"	do.	Dec. 9, '41	do.
14	Shultz, Jacob	"	do.	Dec. 5, '41	do.
15	Smith, Joseph	"	do.	Oct. 6, '41	do.
16	Walsh, Thomas	"	At sea	July 18, '42	Flirt.
17	Williams, William	"	Indian Key	Dec. 16, '41	Florida Squadron.

The foregoing list includes all of the diseased of the Squadron in Florida. The number of those belonging to the Squadron, who died elsewhere of diseases contracted in Florida, cannot be ascertained. From 125 to 150 sick men were sent to the North for treatment, their cases being looked upon, if not as hopeless, as quite incurable in Florida.

The General Hospital of the Squadron was established on Indian Key. All the deaths on the Key were Hospital cases.

JOHN T. McLAUGHLIN,
Commanding Naval Forces in Florida, &c.

A STATEMENT,

Exhibiting the names of Officers, non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, and Privates of the United States Marine Corps, who were killed in action, or died of wounds received, or disease contracted during the Florida War.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Co.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
1	Thomas P. Peterson	Drummer	B	Hatcheluskee Sw'p	Jan. 27, 1837	Killed in action.
2	Joel Wright	Private	B	do.	do.	do.
3	Andrew Ross	1st Lieut.		Fort Heileman	Dec. 11, '36	W'd rec. Nov. 21, '36, in battle at Wahoo Sw'p.
4	William Tait	Or'ly Sgt.	E	Upper post, Sanni-bar river	Dec. 5, '37	Of disease.
5	Henry Marks	Sergeant	A	Fort Brooke	Nov. 9, '36	do.
6	George King	"	D	On the passage from Tampa Bay to Phil.	Aug. 3, '37	do.
7	Charles Pike	Corporal	D	Tampa Bay	April 14, '38	do.
8	Matthew McKinley	"	E	do.	April — '38	do.
9	Daniel Brown	Private	D	Chattahoochee river	Oct. 13, '36	do.
10	John Shillingsford	"	E	Fort Brooke	Dec. 7, '36	do.
11	John Reardon	"	C	do.	March 14, '37	do.
12	Wm. W. Vancleaf	"	D	Tampa Bay	Feb. 21, '37	do.
13	Alexander Burke	"	E	Near Ft. Armstrong	Jan. 20, '37	do.
14	James O'Neil	"	E	Fort Brooke	March 1, '37	do.
15	William Steel	"	B	Black Creek	Aug. 11, '37	do.
16	John H. Durant	"	D	Fort Brooke	June 29, '37	do.
17	John Sweeney	"	E	Tampa Bay	April 27, '37	do.
18	Michael Sullivan	"	A	Fort Brooke	July 15, '37	do.
19	J. M. Waalfin	"	C	Mullet Key, E. F.	Aug. 22, '37	do.
20	Isaac Elburn	"	D	Fort Monroe	Oct. 1, '37	do.
21	William J. Henry	"	D	Fort Dulany, E. F.	Nov. 17, '37	do.
22	John Jackson	"	D	do.	Nov. 22, '37	do.
23	Richard T. Trask	"	E	Tampa Bay	April 2, '38	do.
24	John A. Perley	"	E	Fort Denaud, E. F.	Feb. 3, '38	do.
25	Thomas Fling	"	E	Columbus	Sept. 11, '36	do.
1	Daniel Cunningham	Sergeant.		W'd in battle of Hatcheluskee Sw'p,	Jan. 27, '37,	in both shoulders.
2	Leonard Stevens	"		do.	do.	in the thigh.
3	Peter Foley	Private		do.	do.	in the arm.
4	John M. Sullivan	"		do.	do.	on the lip.
5	Thomas Irwin	"		Wounded by a musket ball at Ft. Armstrong,	supposed by accident.	

TABLE,

Showing the number and names of Marines on Sea Service, who died in Florida between 1836 and 1842.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Place of Death.	Date of Death.	Remarks.
1	Thomas T. Starke	Corporal	St'm. Poinsett, E. F.	Dec. — 1839	
2	David Cannon	"	Indian Key	Sept. 4, '41	
3	Frederick Dunn	Fifer	do.	Nov. 4, '41	
4	Henry Elisha	Private	do.	Aug. 21, '41	
5	Joseph H. Root	"	do.	Sept. 24, '41	
6	James V. Sawyer	"	do.	Oct. 6, '41	Drowned.
7	Joseph Smith	"	do.	do.	do.
8	James J. Ayer	"	do.	Nov. 11, '41	
9	Thomas Ennis	"	do.	Nov. 25, '41	
10	Robert Gray	"	do.	Nov. 20, '41	
11	John Nicholson	"	do.	Dec. 23, '41	
12	Stephen Schoolcraft	"	do.	Dec. 9, '41	
13	Jacob Schultz	"	do.	Dec. 6, '41	
14	William Williams	"	do.	Dec. 16, '41	
15	Rufus Griffin	"	Fort Dallas	Jan. 16, '42	
16	Lorenzo D. Pierpoint	"	do.	Jan. 20, '42	
17	Jeremiah Kingsbury	"	do.	March 14, '42	
18	Thomas Walsh	"	Schooner Flrt	July 18, '42	At sea.
1	William Smith	Act. Corpl.	Wounded in a skirmish with the Indians,	Jan. 6, '41.	

LIST OF OFFICERS,

Of the United States Army and Marine Corps, upon whom have been conferred Brevets for services in Florida.

<i>No. and Date of Order.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank, Regt., or Corps.</i>	<i>Born.</i>	<i>Former Brevets.</i>	<i>Brevet Rank.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Gen'l Order No. 19 March 6, '43	A. C. W. Fanning	Lieut. Col 2d Artillery	Mass.		Colonel Dec. 31, '35	For highly distinguished conduct in the battle of the Withlacoochie.
Gen'l Order No. 46 July 6, '36	Julius F. Heileman	Major 2d Artillery	Mass.		Lieut. Col. June 9, '36	For gallantry and good conduct in the affair at Micanopy, in Fla.
Gen'l Order No. 69 Oct. 15, '36	B. K. Pierce	Major 1st Artillery	N. H.		Lieut. Col. Aug. 21, '36	For distinguished services in the affair of Ft. Drane.
"	Thomas Childs	Captain 3d Artillery	Mass.		Major Aug. 21, '36	For planning the attack on the Indians at Fort Drane, and good conduct in that affair.
"	William M. Graham	Captain 4th Infantry	Va.		Major Dec. 31, '35	For gallantry and good conduct in the affair of the Withlacoochie.
"	R. B. Lee	Captain 3d Artillery	Va.		Major June 9, '36	For gallantry and good conduct in the affair of Micanopy.
"	J. A. Ashby	Captain 2d Dragoons	S. C.		Major July 9, '36	For gallantry and good conduct in the affair of Welika.
"	Campbell Graham	1st Lieut. 3d Artillery	Va.		Captain Dec. 31, '35	For gallantry and good conduct in the affair of the Withlacoochie.
"	W. S. Maitland	1st Lieut. 3d Artillery			Captain Dec. 31, '35	For gallantry and good conduct in the affair of the Withlacoochie.
"	Alfred Herbert	2d Lieut. 1st Artillery	Va.		1st Lieut. July 27, '36	For gallantry and good conduct on several occasions in Florida.
Gen'l Order No. 18 June 27, '37	Zachary Taylor	Colonel 1st Infantry	Va.		Brig. Gen. Dec. 25, '37	For distinguished services in the battle of Kissimmee, in Fla., with the Seminole Indians.
"	William S. Foster	Lieut. Col. 4th Infantry			Colonel Dec. 25, '37	For distinguished services in Fla., and particularly in the battle of the Kissimmee.
Gen'l Order No. 23 July 12, '38	William Devenport	Lieut. Col. 1st Infantry	Pa.		Colonel July 7, '38	For meritorious services in Florida.
"	James Bankhead	Lieut. Col. 4th Artillery	Va.		Colonel July 7, '38	For meritorious conduct in the campaigns in Fla.
"	Thomas Noel	Captain 6th Infantry	Md.		Major Dec. 25, '37	For gallant conduct in the battle of Kissimmee.
Gen'l Orders No. 56 Aug. 26, '42	W. J. Worth	Colonel 8th Infantry	N. Y.		Brig. Gen. March 1, '42	For gallantry and highly distinguished services as Com'der of the Forces in the war against the Florida Indians.
"	Thomas Childs	Brevet Major 3d Artillery	Mass.		Lieut. Col. Feb. 1, '41	For gallant conduct and repeated success in the war against the Florida Indians, between Nov. '40, and March, '42.
"	W. G. Belknap	Major 8th Infantry	N. Y.		Lieut. Col. Feb. 1, '41	For general good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind., and for securing by military operations and negotiations a great number of prisoners.

<i>No. and Date of Order.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank, Regt., or Corps.</i>	<i>Born.</i>	<i>Former Brevets.</i>	<i>Brevet Rank.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Gen'l Order No. 56 Aug. 26, '42	Justin Dimick	Captain 1st Artillery	Vt.		Major May 8, '36	For gallant and meritorious conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	W. W. Morris	Captain 4th Artillery	N. Y.		Major Jan. 27, '37	For gallant conduct on several occasions, and general efficiency in the war against the Florida Indians.
"	George Andrews	Captain 6th Infantry	D. C.		Major Dec. 25, '37	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	Frederick Searle	Captain Q. M. Dept.	Eng.		Major Nov. 25, '39	The day when he rec'd the wound under which he is now suffering.
"	James R. Irwin	Captain in Staff	Pa.	July 7, '38	Captain Aug. 21, '36	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	John F. Lee	1st Lieut. Ordinance	Va.		Captain Jan. 27, '37	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	Robert Anderson	Captain 3d Artillery	Ky.	Oct. 23, '41	Captain April 2, '38	For gallantry and successful conduct in the war ag'nt the Fla. Ind.
"	J. E. Johnston	1st Lieut. Top. Eng'rs	Va.		Captain July 7, '38	For gallantry on several occasions in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	William Alburts	1st Lieut. 3d Infantry	Va.		Captain March 2, '41	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	W. J. T. Walker	1st Lieut. 6th Infantry	Ga.	Feb. 1, '38	Captain Dec. 25, '37	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	Douglass S. Irwin	2d Lieut. 3d Infantry	D. C.		1st Lieut. Sept. 7, '41	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
Gen'l Order No. 19 March 6, '43	D. D. Tompkins	Captain 1st Artillery	N. Y.		Major Sept. 11, '36	For gallant and meritorious conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	Harvey Brown	Captain 4th Artillery	N. J.		Major Nov. 21, '36	For gallant conduct on several occasions, and general efficiency in the war ag'nt the Fla. Ind.
"	John Harris	Major Marine Corps	Pa.		Major Jan. 27, '37	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind., particularly in the affair of Hatchee Lustee.
"	B. L. Beall	Captain 2d Dragoons	D. C.		Major Mar. 15, '37	For gallantry and successful service in the war ag'nt the Fla. Ind.
"	George W. Allen	Captain 4th Infantry	Mass.		Major Dec. 25, '37	For gallant conduct on several occasions, and general efficiency in the war ag'nt the Fla. Ind.
"	John Munroe	Captain 4th Artillery	Mass.		Major Feb. 15, '38	For conduct uniformly meritorious and efficient, dur'g three campaigns in the war ag'nt the Fla. Ind.
"	Samuel Ringgold	Captain 3d Artillery	Md.		Major Feb. 15, '38	For meritorious conduct, in activity and efficiency, in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	Washing'n Seawell	Captain 7th Infantry	Va.		Major July 18, '41	For meritorious and successful services in the war ag'nt the Fla. Ind.
"	R. D. A. Wade	Captain 3d Artillery	N. Y.		Major Nov. 6, '41	For gallantry and successful services in the war ag'nt the Fla. Ind.
"	George Wright	Captain 8th Infantry	Vt.		Major Mar. 15, '42	For meritorious conduct, in zeal, energy, and perseverance, in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	R. H. K. Whitely	Captain Ord. Dept.	Md.		Captain July 19, '36	For gallant conduct in the war ag'nt the Fla. Ind.

<i>No. and Date of Order.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank, Regt., or Corps.</i>	<i>Born.</i>	<i>Former Brevets.</i>	<i>Brevet Rank.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Gen'l Order No. 19 March 6, '43	T. B. Linnard	Captain Top. Eng'rs	Pa.		Captain Sept. 30, '36	For gallant conduct, activity and enterprise, in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	J. W. Anderson	1st Lieut. 2d Infantry	Va.		Captain Aug. 23, '41	For gallant and successful conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	W. G. Freeman	1st Lieut. 4th Artillery July 7, '38	Va.	Bt. Capt. Dec. 2, '38	1st Lieut. Nov. 21, '36	For gallantry on several occasions, and uniform good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	George Taylor	1st Lieut. 3d Artillery	Ga.		Captain Mar. 1, '42	For gallantry and meritorious services in the war ag'nst the Fla. Ind.
"	John T. Sprague	1st Lieut. 8th Infantry	Mass.		Captain Mar. 15, '42	For meritorious and successful conduct in the war ag'nst the Fla. Ind.
"	P. N. Barbour	1st Lieut. 3d Infantry	Ky.		Captain April 15, '42	For active and highly meritorious serv's in the war ag'nst the Fla. Ind.
"	Ripley A. Arnold	1st Lieut. 2d Dragoons	Miss.		Captain April 19, '42	For gallant conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	George H. Talcott	1st Lieut. Ordnance	N. Y.	Sept. 15, '36	1st Lieut. Dec. 31, '35	For gallant conduct on several occasions in the war ag'nst the Fla. Ind.
"	Horace Brooks	1st Lieut. 2d Artillery	Mass.	Feb. 8, '37	1st Lieut. Dec. 31, '35	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	William H. Fowler	1st Lieut. 1st Artillery	Md.	May 1, '39	1st Lieut. Jan. 15, '38	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	George H. Thomas	2d Lieut. 3d Artillery	Va.		1st Lieut. Nov. 6, '41	For gallantry and good conduct in the war against the Fla. Ind.
"	F. D. Callender	2d Lieut. Ordnance	N. Y.		1st Lieut. May 1, '42	For active and highly meritorious serv's in the war ag'nst the Fla. Ind.
March 4, '43	Archibald Henderson	Col. Comdt. of Marines	Va.		Bt. Brig. Gen. Jan. 27, '37	For gallant and meritorious services while in command of the Marines in Ala., Fla. and Tenn., during the campaigns against the hostile Indians.
"	William Dulaney	Captain of Marines	Va.		Brevet Major Mar. 3, '43	For meritorious conduct.
"	John Harris	Captain of Marines	Penn.		Brevet Major Jan. 27, '37	For gallantry and meritorious conduct.

NAMES OF OFFICERS,

Of the United States army recommended for brevets by Brigadier-General W. J. Worth, commanding the forces in Florida, April 25, 1842. Upon some of the number, the distinction has been conferred.

No. 129.

*Head-quarters, Army of Florida, Camp Wandell, }
Warm Spring, April 25, 1842. }*

SIR—In compliance with repeated instructions, I have the honor to submit the following list of officers for the distinction of promotion by brevet.

The peculiar nature of this service, offering constant occasion for the display of zeal, energy, and talent, patient endurance of hardship and privation, but few opportunities for the more brilliant exhibitions of those qualities which attract and fix attention in the presence of an enemy 'worthy a soldier's blade,' renders this a difficult and delicate duty.

I have numbered the list from 1 to 25, and propose to remark upon each, *seriatim*.

1st. Lieutenant-Colonel J. Garland, 4th infantry, was in commission during the last war, and has risen gradually to his present rank; is highly active, intelligent, and zealous; has served a former tour in this territory in the grade of major; given cordial and zealous support during this campaign, and conducted himself excellently well in the presence of the enemy: recommended for the brevet of colonel.

2d. Lieutenant-Colonel B. Riley, 2d infantry, has rendered much faithful and energetic service in this territory; is an old battle-officer in the war of 1812, of indisputable gallantry, much and unrequited service in that contest; has risen step by step to his present grade: recommended for the brevet of colonel.

3d. Major J. Plymton, of the same regiment, also a battle-officer in the war of 1812, highly intelligent, qualified, and moral, reached his present grade by regular promotion; has rendered zealous and efficient service during the past winter, and twice met the enemy in battle: recommended for brevet of lieutenant-colonel.

4th. Major W. G. Belknap, 8th infantry, eminently distinguished in the war of 1812—no man of his grade more so, and envied by many of higher; repeatedly wounded, never rewarded. Confessedly, at the assault upon Fort Erie, by the management of his picket, gave the army time to get under arms, and perhaps saved it. His whole career since has been one of intelligent usefulness, and constant exhibition of capacity for *any command*. In this territory, has been very successful in getting in hostiles,

and met them in battle: recommended for brevet of lieutenant-colonel, to date December 20, 1841.

5th. Brevet Major Thomas Childs, 3d artillery, likewise an officer of last war, received a grade by brevet in this contest in 1836; has been distinguished by zeal and capacity for command, and by success throughout: recommended for brevet of lieutenant-colonel.

6th. Captain T. P. Gwynne, 8th infantry, was engaged at the battle of Okee-chobee (then of the 1st) for habitual excellence of character and conduct, and, since his present regiment came here, for zealous conduct and success; has met the enemy in fight; is senior captain of his regiment, and would do honor to the preferment to which he is recommended—major by brevet.

7th. Captain B. L. Beall, 2d dragoons, has met the enemy in this contest oftener, perhaps, than any other officer; is brave and generous: recommended for major by brevet.

8th. Captain George A. McCall, 4th infantry, has formerly served with distinction in this service, highly accomplished, full of zeal, intelligence, and capacity for command, and would do more honor to the rank than it could confer upon him; his regiment will highly appreciate the compliment conferred upon this gallant captain: recommended for major by brevet.

9th. Captain W. Seawell, 7th infantry, distinguished for zeal, energy and capacity, and conduct in combat with the enemy; is an accomplished officer, and in all respects would do honor to the grade: recommended for major by brevet.

10th. Captain George Wright, 8th infantry—all that has been said of the high qualifications of the two preceding applies to him, except his active efforts have not brought him in contact with the enemy; qualified to command a regiment under any circumstances: recommended for major by brevet.

11th. Captain George Andrews, 6th infantry, distinguished and severely wounded at the battle of Okee-chobee; meritorious and capable in all respects: recommended for major by brevet.

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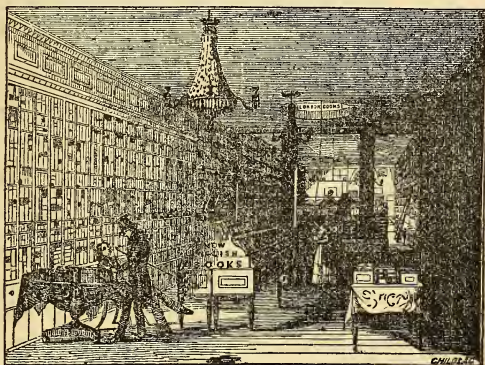
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
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
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
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[Letter from the Rev. J. R. Boyd, Author of the "Elements of Rhetoric and Literary Criticism," and "Eclectic Moral Philosophy."]

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Principal Jefferson County Institute.

November 27, 1846.

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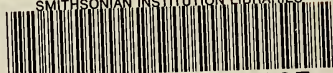
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