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Historic Notes and Documents: "Everything is Hubbub Here": Lt. James Willoughby Anderson's Second Seminole War, 1837-1842

by James M. Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt

As the Second Seminole War drew to a close in the spring of 1842, Lieutenant James Willoughby Anderson prepared to leave territorial Florida for a post in the Old Northwest. Pondering his experiences and life changes since entering the territory in 1837, Anderson would have looked back on many significant accomplishments. He had helped produce an important topographical map, accumulated distinguished service commendations, and made important professional relationships certain to advance his military career.¹ But most of all, Anderson would have thought of the important personal relationships forged during his four years of service in Florida: his courtship and marriage to Ellen Brown; the birth of their son; and his close personal ties to his wife's sister, Corinna, and her husband, Dr. Edward Aldrich, an army surgeon with whom he served.

James M. Denham is professor of History and director of the Center for Florida History at Florida Southern College. Keith L. Huneycutt is professor of English at Florida Southern College. This article is related to a forthcoming work entitled *Echoes from a Distant Frontier: The Brown Sisters' Correspondence from Antebellum Florida, 1835-1850* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004).

1. "Map of the Seat of War Compiled by Order of Bvt Brig.r Gen. Zachary Taylor Principally from the Surveys and Reconnaissances of the Officers of the U. S. Army. By Capt. John Mackay and Lieut. Blake, U. S. Topographical Engineers, Head Quarters, Army of the South, Tampa Bay, Florida, 1839," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Anderson was listed among eighteen other officers from whom "important information has been obtained."

James Willoughby Anderson was a native of Norfolk, Virginia, and the product of a family distinguished in Virginia military history. His father, William, was a hero of the War of 1812 and had served as commandant of the Norfolk Naval Yard. His mother's family was likewise well respected.² After graduating from West Point in 1833, he received appointment to the U.S. 2nd Infantry Regiment, serving in Maine and the Michigan and Wisconsin territories. When transferred to Florida in the early stages of the Second Seminole War, Anderson served at a number of forts before arriving at newly constructed Post #12 in the late summer of 1839.³ The post lay within Square Number 12 as defined by General Zachary Taylor's "Square System" that divided the territory north of the Withlacoochee into twenty-mile tracts, each with a fort constructed in the middle. Soldiers built roads linking the squares, and patrols scoured the perimeter of each tract for Indians.⁴

Post # 12 sat along the Bellamy Road, approximately five miles east of Newnansville, East Florida's largest inland settlement. The Alachua County seat offered easy access to Fort Gilliland (within the village itself), Fort Harlee on the St. Augustine Road about ten miles to the east, and Fort Clarke, ten miles directly south of Newnansville

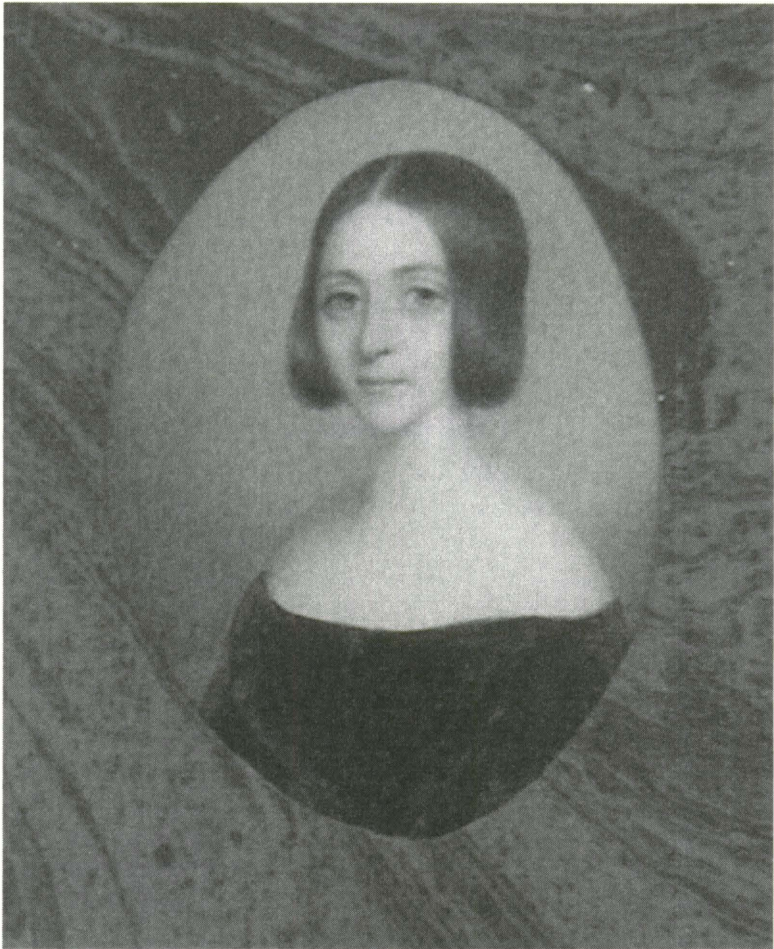
2. James Willoughby Anderson had two brothers and one sister: William Anderson, his youngest brother, died in Norfolk on 27 December 1837 at the age of twenty; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 11 January 1838. Benjamin Franklin Anderson was in the United States Navy, serving on the *Ontario*. After a brief stint at the Norfolk Naval School in May 1838, he resigned on 23 June 1838. Anderson's sister was Virginia Anderson. Family genealogy supplied to editors by Mannevillette Sullivan. See also George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the Military at West Point, NY From its Establishment, March 16, 1802 to the Army Reorganization of 1866-67*, 2 vols. (New York, 1868) 1: 563-64; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 2 vols. (1903; facsimile reprint, Urbana, Ill., 1965), 1: 164; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 24 August 1837, 10 May, 28 June 1838.
3. *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 14 September 1837, 28 March 1839, 26 December 1839.
4. John K. Mahon and Brent R. Weisman, "Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Peoples," in *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville, Fla., 1996), 196-97; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1971), 166-68; Francis Paul Prucha, *Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier* (New York, 1969), 295-300; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War 1835-1842* (1967; reprint, Gainesville, Fla., 1985), 249-51; John T. Sprague, *The Florida War: The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (Tampa, Fla., 2000; reproduction of the 1848 edition), 220-46; K. Jack Bauer, *Zachary Taylor: Soldier, Planter, Statesman of the Old Southwest* (Baton Rouge, La., 1985), 90-95.

on the other side of the San Felasco Hammock.⁵ Situated about fifty miles from the Georgia-Florida boundary just south of the Santa Fe River, the town had the region's only superior court by 1828. In 1842, the federal government established a land office. The Second Seminole War, beginning its fifth year in 1840, brought temporary prosperity to the frontier outpost. Federal dollars flowed in, and the town swelled with perhaps as many as two thousand pioneers from devastated farms. (Alachua County itself contained roughly eight-hundred whites and five hundred slaves.)

As the nexus of military, commercial, and social activity in the region, Newnansville offered respite to regular officers stationed on nearby isolated outposts. Evidently, Anderson first met Ellen Brown in the small town. The sister of Corinna Brown Aldrich, whose husband was a surgeon in the Florida militia, Brown had come to Mandarin, Florida, in November 1835 with Corinna, their brother Charles, and their aunts Mary and Anne Dearing from Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Another aunt, Delia Dearing, had migrated to the territory in 1832 where, not long thereafter, she married Dr. James Hall, an elderly planter with large holdings on the St. Johns River south of Jacksonville. Hall sold the newcomers a small tract adjacent to his plantation. Over the next two years, the Browns established a homestead, experimenting with citrus and other crops. In 1837, Corinna married Edward Aldrich. Within two years, the entire group (except for Delia Hall) relocated to Newnansville.⁶

Lieutenant Anderson visited the Aldrich home in Newnansville. Letters frequently referring to the young lieutenant suggest that Ellen Brown's sister and aunts did not know quite what to think of him. For example, in the spring of 1840, Corinna

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5. For more on Newnansville, see Susan Yelton, "Newnansville: A Lost Florida Settlement," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53 (January 1975), 319-31; Rebecca Phillips, "A Diary of Jessee Talbot Bernard: Newnansville and Tallahassee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 18 (October 1939): 115-26; Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey in the Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, ed. James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, Fla., 1953), 90-92; Mary Lois Forrester, comp., *Lest We Forget: A Town, Newnansville, Florida* (Alachua, Fla., 1999).
 6. For more information on Corinna and Edward Aldrich, see James M. Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt, "'Our Desired Haven': The Letters of Corinna Brown Aldrich from Antebellum Key West, 1849-1850," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79 (spring 2001): 517-45.



Ellen Brown Anderson painting by Mannevillette Elihu Dearing Brown. *Courtesy of Raymond and Jane Gill and Elizabeth Traynor*

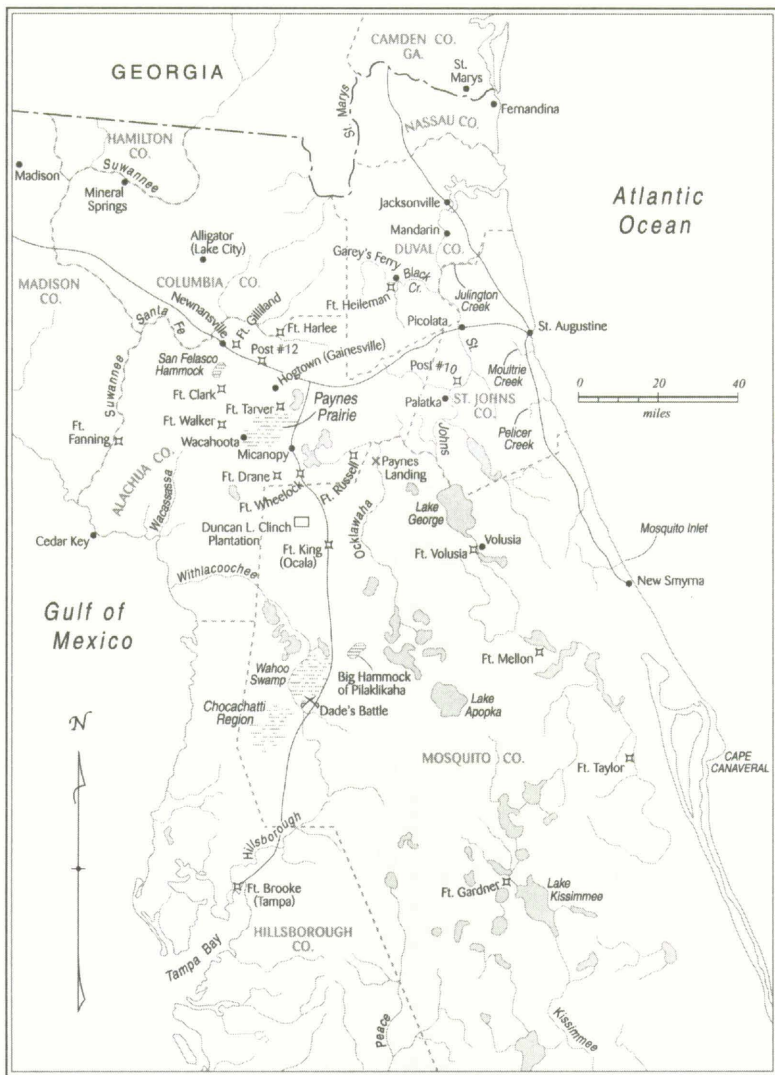
wrote her brother that “Ell is seated on the sofa with her beau . . . he is a Lieut. of the 2nd Infantry—about 30 years of age—will probably be a captain—He appears to be a clever fellow & gentlemanly man—but I am not in love with him! He is rather tall,” she continued, “but ugly as a rail fence. You must come home and take a peep at him. He commands the Post at No. 12. I believe he is of good family—a native of Virginia—I do not know that they intend

marrying soon.”⁷ The ladies of Dr. Aldrich’s household continued their good-natured sparring over their future in-law. In May, Corinna wrote that “Ell & Aunt Ann are battling about Mr. Anderson’s beauty! He is tall as a poplar tree, bright red whiskers & fierce looks.”⁸

As James and Ellen’s courtship continued through the spring of 1840, changes in military leadership were afoot. That May, General Zachary Taylor relinquished overall command of U.S. troops in Florida to General Walker K. Armistead.⁹ The 2nd Infantry also had a new commander: Bennet Riley, an aggressive and skilled commander who made Anderson’s Post # 12 his headquarters. The two men soon forged a strong professional and personal relationship.¹⁰ Although most Seminole hiding places were south of Alachua County, raids continued on pioneer homesteads. A series of retaliatory attacks against isolated Seminole villages effectively removed the threat from the upper peninsula, and Riley abandoned Post #12 in favor of Fort King (Ocala), site of the previous Indian agency and the place where Osceola and his men had killed Wiley Thompson and others in December 1835.¹¹

The following letters of Lieutenant James W. Anderson to Ellen Brown Anderson narrate and describe the Second Seminole

7. Corinna Aldrich to Mannevillette Brown, 22 March 1840, Anderson-Brown Papers, United States Military Academy, West Point, N.Y. The Library of the United States Military Academy at West Point (USMA) holds a large collection, bequeathed by Miss Mannevillette Sullivan, of the personal correspondence of her family from 1831 to 1900, including the letters of James Anderson, her great-grandfather. The authors of this article thank Mannevillette Sullivan for allowing them to use these letters, photographs, and genealogy materials.
8. Corinna Aldrich to Mannevillette Brown, 23 May 1840, Anderson-Brown Papers.
9. Walker Keith Armistead, a native of Virginia, was reputed to have fought in the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794) as a boy. Among the first cadets to be admitted to West Point Military Academy, Armistead graduated in 1803. He served on the Niagara River and the Chesapeake during the War of 1812. Over the next twenty or so years, Armistead served in the Washington and Boston areas. He served two stints in Florida before taking overall command on 5 May 1840. Relieved slightly more than one year later, he died in 1845 in Upperville, Virginia; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 274-75, 287; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 91; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 169.
10. *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 12 December 1839, 30 April 1840.
11. *Ibid.*, 28 May 1840; (St. Augustine) *News*, 15 May 1840.



James Willoughby Anderson's Second Seminole War

War from the perspective of a young officer who played an important role in these final campaigns. They also provide intimate details of the loving relationship of a husband and wife separated by military conflict and determined to cope with the hardships.

James poured out to Ellen his innermost hopes, fears, and frustrations—but also his dreams and desires.¹²

Fort King,¹³ E.F.
 May 25th, 1840
 Dear Ellen—

Our Command arrived here yesterday, leaving a large force in the vicinity of Micanopy—there are not over 200 troops here at present, the rest being upon the march in different portions of the country—An Express arrived last Evening bringing intelligence that 5 Citizens had been killed near St. Augustine—at the same point where Capt. [Frederick] Searle was wounded.¹⁴ The war apparently has just commenced. The Indians are infuriated by the loss of their crops & are now wreaking their vengeance in a most summary manner. As yet I can form no idea of the extent of service to be performed or the length of time we will be kept out. A Grand Expedition is talked of, to take place in a few days, which I hope will be the last as they will then let us go home & take care of

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12. Letters appear in their original form unless otherwise indicated. The editors have retained the original spelling and punctuation wherever the manuscript is clear. Additions and changes are noted in brackets. Around sixty letters between the Andersons survive. Unfortunately, James did not save Ellen's letters to him as long as he was stationed near her, so no 1840 letters from Ellen survive.
 13. Fort King (Ocala), established as headquarters of the Indian Agency in the early 1830s near the north boundary of the Seminole reservation boundary as laid out by the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, 1823, was approximately fifty miles south of Newnansville. For more on Ocala, see Eloise Robinson Ott, "Ocala Prior to 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 6 (October 1927): 85-110.
 14. This refers to the attack on the theatrical group between Picolata and St. Augustine. Frederick Searle was born in England and lived in Massachusetts before his appointment to West Point from that state. Graduating in 1823, Searle served on topographical duty in Virginia, Michigan, and New York before coming to Florida in 1836 as captain of the Mounted Creek volunteers. He was severely wounded at the Locha-Hatchee on 24 January 1838. Searle's wounds from the ambush on the road between St. Augustine and Picolata on 25 November 1839 were so serious that he remained on sick leave until his death in 1853; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 244-45; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 871. For the attack itself, see Jacob Brown to Paymaster General, 24 May 1840, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, 26 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1934-62), 26: 156; (St. Augustine) *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 29 May 1840; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 5 December, 19 December 1839; *News*, 29 November 1839.

our sick—The express between Micanopy and No. 12 was fired upon yesterday or the day before. Expresses from all quarters & Indian news occupy our time.

Yours truly,
Anderson

Fort King
May 28, 1840

Dear Ell:

When I left No.12 I little thought that so many important things would be brought about ere my return & I rested in perfect confidence that I should be so happy as to remain near you, during the summer. I hope, however, that the change which affects me most, viz my removal from No.12 will not take place immediately. Now generals bring new plans & I am so old a veteran in this war that I consider myself at perfect liberty to speculate upon all their acts & to grumble as much as I please. The 2nd Dragoons leave Florida & the infantry are to be established on a line from Pelicier Creek to Fort Fanning. Col. [Bennet] Riley has command of this section of country & will be stationed at this post with 4 companies of the 2nd so say instructions from Washington which I have just read. The change will take place gradually, so as not to expose the settlements, & 1000 militia are to be mustered into service to supply our places near the settlements.

Tomorrow morning at day light, our command amounting to over 200 men will proceed to scour the country bordering on the Ouithloochee & will probably remain from 15 to 25 days absent from this place.¹⁵ Although on the eve of a march, considered the most important from this post, I do not feel any confidence of meeting with Indians, and being now broken up

15. On 5 June 1840, Anderson's force came upon an Indian encampment on the Oklawaha and destroyed 150 acres of corn and pumpkins; *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 12 June 1840. See also Report of Lieutenant Colonel Bennet Riley, 9 June 1840, in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 2 July 1840.

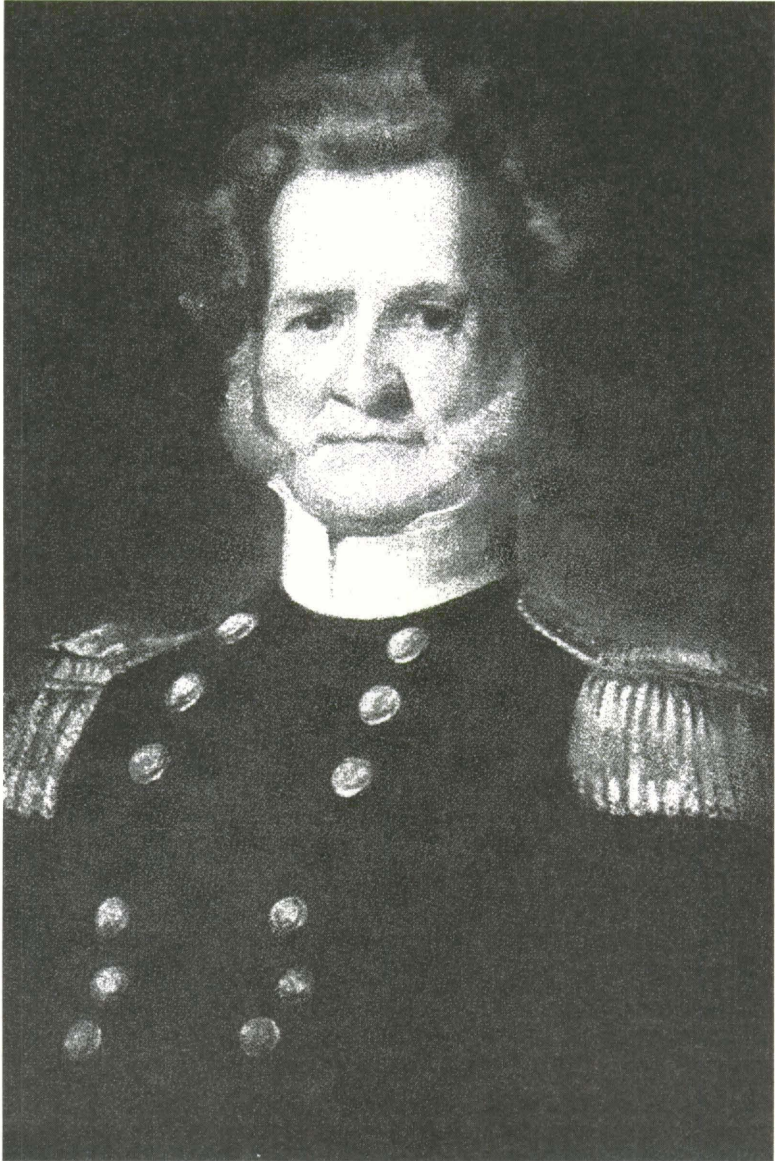
entirely in my arrangements for the summer, I should feel, as I did before I met you, did I not know that there was one who felt solicitous for my welfare. This post is a good one & I should be comfortable here were it where I would have it. Next winter we will be on the full jump in the Everglades. I presume from what I hear, No. 10, 11, & 12 will be abandoned in a month or so, also much of the other posts in the vicinity of the settlements, all of which also are garrisoned, will be garrisoned by the militia.

Remember me to the Doctor & tell him that he must prepare for very important changes in the military world around him. My love to Mrs. A and say to her that I miss her nice cake very much. Soldiers' fare is our portion, hard bread & [old] meats, with a sour orange occasionally. You must excuse my scrawls, Ellen, I write so much & the weather is so excessively warm, that my fingers are cramped & my head is a blaze. Many of our men are sick & more will be before we have done scouting. Of myself, I feel very confident, more so than usual at this season & do not remember ever to have been better off as regards to my health. Genl. Armstead is here, of which you no doubt have heard, but [Secretary of War] J[oe]l. R. Poinsett at Washington is the one now who directs our movements in Florida. Such being the case, it is to be hoped that the failure of this war will at length fall upon the proper shoulders at Washington, where the blame should have rested long ago. . . . Good night

Yours,
Anderson

No. 12 E.F.
July 2, 1840

We anticipate our orders by return mail from Black Creek, tomorrow. Consequently I am in a big stew about this time, rummaging among Mosquito Bars & Drumsticks—Haversacks & camp kettles, axes & fifes, muskets & musty floor. There is but little after all in the active service of a Soldier's life, to foster the high notions



Bennet Riley (1787-1853) was James W. Anderson's commanding officer in Florida, Buffalo, New York, and Mexico. *Courtesy U. S. Cavalry Museum, Fort Riley Kansas.*

of Chivalry with which we enter the profession. Scenes of martial strife are, *generally* indeed I may say *always*, portrayed *by the pen*, in glowing colours & *graphically* all armies are made to contend in full uniform—Whereas there is much that the pen overlooks or garbles & much that the pencil omits or beautifies. But very few battles are on record where contending armies ever fought in full dress—The fatigue dress & often any dress one happens to have is worn on all such occasions. Graphically the Colours are always represented flying, whereas they are seldom exposed, as they are *perhaps* too great a temptation to the Enemy—All the pomp of war, that I now expect to anticipate can be compassed in the sound of an Indian Rifle—or should I live to see a war with a civilized nation—in the Sound of Drums & the thundering of Cannon—There is a peculiar click to an Indian rifle that is not at all pleasant to the Ear & I infer that the thunder of Cannon is not much more agreeable. But as I was once told by a Superior officer that if all our duties were agreeable there would be no hardships for us to relate to listening ladies.

I will close my digression & talk of matters more to the present purpose I intended to have gotten you to select something for the jackets—but I fear I shall have barely time to bid you good bye & tell you to be a good girl until I return. Make them of the cotton; if anything, it is better for the woods, the Piny Woods, the barren Piny Woods—Woes me! I shall cry my eyes out at Fort King from very spite that Twiggs has at length an opportunity to gain at his having succeeded in breaking up No. 12—my No. 12—My beautiful little post so near the pretty little city too—What shall I do? What shall I do? . . .

Ever yours

W

Pilatka [Palatka]¹⁶ E.F.
July 24, 1840

16. By the summer of 1840, General Walker Keith Armistead had relocated the main supply depot from Garey's Ferry to Palatka on the west bank of the St. Johns River. See Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 279.

Dear Ell—

As I sat, last evening, writing up the proceedings of the Court Martial¹⁷ I heard the sound of paddles and going to the wharf, I had the satisfaction of finding a steamer putting in from the creek & on boarding her, I had the still greater satisfaction of finding a bundle of papers directed by you to this place. I was of course not at all curious until I reached my room, where upon searching the packet—I found what do you suppose. Why, I found that you had defrauded the mail. Now, as you knew that I would not resist in sharing in the fraud by opening and reading your billet as soon as I saw it, I think that the matter might be considered as resting with yourself. But alas! I am too willing to share in such frauds. Consequently I am as guilty as yourself & as it is perhaps not the first pleasure I have stolen from 'Uncle Sam: why, my conscience is not very much oppressed. It gives me much pleasure to know that you are in good health. I am all the time wishing myself back to No 12—poor No 12—I was the first to raise it up & the last to abandon it. It is a green spot in the oasis of my existence.

The court will meet the last time tomorrow morning & we will disperse to our posts. I shall go immediately to Fort King & will be as busily occupied there with Regimental papers that have been neglected necessarily in consequence of the Regt. having been on the move for 2 or 3 months past & my not having been able to attend to them during that time. At the end of that time, I will endeavour to get a leave for 5 or 6 days in order not to let you forget me—as you threaten.

Do you wish to be astonished?²—since I last wrote I have seen Mrs. so & so, Rosa Reed,¹⁸ the misses so & so of

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17. On 17 July 1840, the *News* reported that "A Court Martial is now in session in Palatka, for the trial of soldiers and mutinous conduct at that post a short time since. Col. Riley President, Lt. Col. Whistler, Maj. Wilcox, Caps Bonneville, Barnum, Hawkins, and Lt. Anderson"; quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 30 July 1840.
18. Ellen's friend Rosalie Reid was the twenty-one year old daughter of Judge Robert Reid, who became governor in December 1839. Rosalie Reid eventually married Charles Black and bore a child, Rebecca. Both Rosalie and her baby died in July 1840 at her plantation, "Blackwood," near Tallahassee; *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 30 July 1841.

St. Augustine—the famed St. Augustine. Last Saturday morning one of the members of the court was sick & the court adjourned over until Monday. I immediately mounted Dick, crossed the river & put off through the woods for St. Augustine. I got lost, never having been on the East side of the St. Johns & did not get into the town until sundown. I started off as I was, in my round jacket, & visited several ladies, whom I have treated very shabbily by forgetting their names. Among others I visited [were] those at the house where Rosa Reed is staying—of course I cannot give any opinions of the ladies as I cannot remember their names—The lady of the Sea Wall Gentleman (Your particular friend) is one of them that I refer to. Rosa spured¹⁹ some questions about you—or rather gave me several hints—that she had heard something—I told the truth. That I was well acquainted with Miss Ellen & that I thought very highly of her—after visiting there I went the same evening to the house where the 3 misses somebodies are (I forget their names) quite lively, plenty to say & the gentleman I went with was so wrapped up in one of them that he served me the same tonick that I have served others viz—kept me at the house until ? past 12 a.m. The next morning, being Sunday, I heard the ugly chime of the Catholic bells, but could not go to church, as I was to leave at 11 o'clock to return here. I intended to go through the fort & to look at the Sea Wall, neither of which did I accomplish, but left the place in ignorance whether there was anything to be seen but a few low houses with narrow lanes between them, a few officers of the Army, & a few young ladies. . . .

I have been & am yet very busy here. Since the moving of the 9th of this month I have been a busy clerk, having written between 4 & 500 full pages. The court has disposed of the mutineers at this post & a number of other prisoners amounting to about 30. I am tired & sick of my writing that is not for you. . . . I thank you for saying that you will not go away without me & remain assured I shall be with you as soon as possible. I do not intend resigning

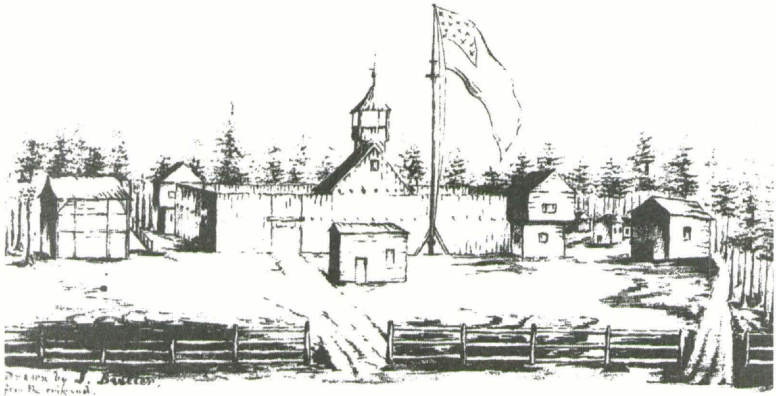
19. This usage of "Spur" as a verb is an obsolete variant of "Speer," an "inquiry, questioning, or interrogation"; *Oxford English Dictionary*.

my company exactly. I have no right to be in command of one, as I am the staff officer of the Regiment. Col. Riley thinks that I am active & permits me to retain the command as he knows that I do not wish to lose it & as he also thinks a little more experience will be of service to Lt. Hoffman ere he has the command of it. I think you misunderstand my motives—Ell sometimes—I am perfectly willing to tell you all & every thing in which I am concerned if you wished me so to do. Yet such things as relate to the military are rather incomprehensible sometimes to the best of us—or rather inexplicable. Some of my duties again are not pleasant & I avoid speaking of them. Do not fear to tire me. Your remarks in your last only have the effect of making me renew my request that you might write without restraint. I have a good mind to get lost tomorrow on my way to Fort King & find myself at Newnansville. What say you, would it not be a good idea?—if it were not that these red skins are rather hostile at this time I would certainly do it, as it is, if I meet with Mr. Coacoochee, he might insist upon having a one handed duel, which would not be very pleasant; besides the escort that brought me here, was fired upon on their return to Fort King & as I love you so well, nor wish to lose my life, I will be as cautious as circumstances will admit of. Remember me to all.

Ever Yours, Willoughby

[P. S.] Pilatka now begins to present the appearance of a village—stone houses & dwellings are going up rapidly & the stores will soon be transferred from [Black] Creek. Genl. A.[rmistead] has gone to Cedar Keyes—Lt. [James Wilkinson] Penrose²⁰ is sick & on his way out of the territory. I suppose Col. Riley & myself will be left alone this summer. Every body else appears to be getting sick—

20. James Wilkinson Penrose was a native of Missouri and graduated from West Point in 1828. Penrose entered Florida as first lieutenant of the 2nd Infantry on 3 July 1838. After leaving Florida in 1842, Penrose was stationed in Plattsburg, New York. He served in the Mexican War and died in Plattsburg in 1849 at the age of 41; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 337; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 783.



Fort King. - Fla.

See Journal Monday April 29th 1839

Fort King (Ocala, Florida) ca. 1839, as James and Ellen Anderson would have remembered it. The authors wish to thank Frank Laumer, Richard Mathews, and the Seminole Wars Historic Foundation for bringing this line drawing to their attention. First publication of the sketch appeared in the Foundation's edition of *The Florida War* by John T. Sprague, published by the University of Tampa Press in 2000.

though I am made somewhat a pack-horse. I will not give up until I am sick & then I shall bolt home. W.

Do I get peaches & watermelons?—Yes Maria,²¹ occasionally—but they do not taste so well as those of Newnansville.—I send you some kisses but they are not so good as those in Newnansville. Good night & God bless you. Ever Yours A—

Fort King
August 17, 1840

Dear Ell—

After leaving Newnansville, I pursued my course in the direction of Fort Clarke at a gentle pace, thinking of

21. Ellen's middle name.

nothing that I am aware of but your own sweet self. When I found myself in what I call a pretty considerable of a hammock,²² I began to wake up to a sense of my situation. I then told Dick that he had ruminated long enough at your house & that I now wished him to be on the alert, where at he took to his heels & neither of us halted until we arrived safe & sound at Wacahoota. There I took an escort of 8 men & jogged on the next morning to Fort Wheelock & from thence I came through last night, arriving here at ? past 10 p.m. The Sickness here has abated considerably—3 men have died—& all now sick are convalescing. The Colonel is about starting on his monthly rounds to Forts Russell & Holmes & talks some of going to St. Augustine.

We hear today by a train that arrived here from Pilatka, that it is very unhealthy at Black Creek—Also that the Genl. [Leigh] Reid [Read]²³ who was in Newnansville is to raise 1500 militia & is to have a staff of Regular officers. 'Tis said that he himself came in with the rank of Brig. General. I cannot vouch for the truth of the report—it comes however from a good source. If such be the case, I may probably be on mustering duty; for which I have applied & shall have more opportunities of being in the settlements. We hear nothing of Indians in this vicinity. The large party of them that were committing depredations on the settlers, passed on to the Acklewaha [Oklawaha] within about 30 miles of this post. I find Mrs. Wescott²⁴ quite sick. All the rest are well. Mrs. [Arabella] Riley asked not a word as to where I

22. This is the San Felasco Hammock just south of Newnansville.

23. Militia General Leigh Read was appointed in early summer. For his orders, see Secretary of State to Leigh Read, 14 July 1840, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 168-69. Leigh Read was an extremely controversial figure. Serving in a number of political posts, including U. S. Marshal of the Middle District of Florida, Read was involved in a number of violent political confrontations and fought a number of duels. He was murdered by Willis Alston in the streets of Tallahassee in April 1841, roughly a year and a half after he had killed Alston's brother, Augustus, in a duel. See James M. Denham, "The Read-Alston Duel and Politics in Territorial Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (April 1990): 427-46.

24. George Clinton Westcott was a native of New Jersey and second lieutenant in the second infantry. Westcott's brother James D. was a leading Democratic politician in Florida. In 1845, he became one of the state's first two U. S. senators; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 1020.

have been. I presume however that she thought it would not be agreeable or she would have done so. The Colonel's wishes are laws with her—suppose I add "as *they* should be?" Not pretending to say that *all* husbands' moods or wishes should be laws to their wives, as I myself will admit that I have seen some husbands whose wishes were anything but reasonable. However even a Soldier is not bound to obey any order against law or reason—such is in his contract—Of the Marriage Contract there are many interpretations: but that only is the true one wherein the parties concerned are made happy who enter into it. . . .²⁵

Ever yours
Willoughby

Fort King E.F.
November 15th, 1840

Dearest Ell,

We reached this place on Tuesday Evening safe & found General A. [rmistead] here with his staff; also 10 companies of the 8th Infantry & the Arkansas Delegation of Indians—Soon after our arrival the General succeeded in effecting a meeting with about 140 hostiles with Harlock [Halleck Tustenuggee] Emaltha at their head about 2 miles from the post in one of the most beautiful places for an ambushade. This was on Thursday. The talk between the Gl. & Harlock amounted to but little in the course of which the Genl persuaded the scamp to trust himself at the Fort & they rode up together. Harlock states that he could not talk before Cosa-Tustenacoochee [Thlocklo Tustenuggee] came in—but lo & behold, after receiving the usual quantity of presents, etc, we awoke this morning and found all our prisoners gone but one & on sending out to the camp 2

25. Reverend J.T. Prevat officiated over the marriage of James and Ellen on October 26, 1840, in Newnansville. Ellen remained in the town while James, at Fort King, began constructing a house for them. See Alachua County Marriage Records, 1837-1849, Book 1, 22, microfilm copy in State Library of Florida, Tallahassee; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 10 December 1840. See also copy of marriage license in Affidavit of Samuel Russell, 9 March 1852; Affidavit of Ellen Anderson, 2 April 1852, in materials supplied to editors by Mannevillette Sullivan.

miles from here where the hostiles were watching for Cosa, as they said, no trace of them could be found—Thus is it ever & thus must it ever be I fear.²⁶ The Doctor was present at the talk & can tell you all that transpired . . .

Since my arrival I have applied for quarters & a building has been turned over to me which I shall have finished in 2 or 3 weeks. . . . My house as I said before, will be finished in 2 or 3 weeks, but our goods cannot reach Newnansville probably in less than 4 or 5 weeks or even six weeks from this date. . . .

To day, I have marched some 17 or 18 miles to no purpose after the runaways—troops have been out all day, but none of us know whither they (the Indians) have gone. Everything wears a melancholy aspect & moody faces may be seen in the General's quarters & in the Soldiers tent—with the Generals, the disappointment has been very great. I have not been free from gloom; but it is because the Doctor is leaving me—So long as he remained I have felt as if there was a hope that I would not be long away from you—I cannot bear to be so longer than I have mentioned & as there is a very strong probability that we will remain here for some time to come, I want my Ellen with me—I confess my weakness—with you I am happy—without you, I am not—I once thought that if you were mine I could bear separation better—but I find that I did not think truly. Give my love to Mrs. Aldrich & Miss Dearing—Also to George—tell Mrs. Aldrich I would have tried to keep the Doctor longer, but I find that he is homesick & being in the same predicament I have a fellow feeling for him. Tell George if he can expedite

26. The two chiefs to whom James referred were Tiger Tail (Thlocklo Tustenuggee) and Halleck Tustenuggee. For more on their meeting, see Secretary of War to Walker K. Armistead, 31 December 1840, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 233; *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 14 November 1840; Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 282; James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1993), 99-100; Sprague, *The Florida War*, 246-65. Of "The Talk," the *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat* reported on 20 November 1840, "We learn that the talks at Fort King have been concluded by the abrupt departure of the Indians who had come in . . . A loud order from Gen. Armistead informs the military that the truce is ended—(a queer truce it was that enabled Wild Cat's party to grin over the fences at us, within sight of the town while they robbed negro houses and murdered on the highway.)"

matters & have our goods at Newnansville with the first of his, he will greatly oblige me. So long as General [Walker Keith] Armistead remains in Command we will remain here to a certainty. God bless you Ell, I would have written more fully & better were I not fatigued. . . . Always state in your letters the fact, should you be sick, which may God forbid, for should you conceal it, I might not be with you, when if you told me, I should, at all risks—God bless you Ell

Fort King E.F.
November 17, 1840

Dearest Ell

I wrote to you a day or two ago by the Doctor, telling you of my prospects of remaining at this post during the winter. There is no danger of our being removed so long as General Armistead remains in command & I am hard at work at my building. Today we received orders to be in readiness for field service & I presume by Thursday we shall be off on a scout of some eight or ten days on the Ocklawaha—5 companies of the 8th Infantry are now out on a scout. The armistice is at an end & the General has told officers & men in orders that he was satisfied with our endeavours heretofore & expected that we would comply cheerfully with the increased demand on his part for activity & zeal on ours etc. etc. Alas, Alas, that we should still have to struggle in this inglorious warfare. 3 of the Arkansas delegation of Indians have gone out into the Indian county to make a last effort on the hostiles. It is folly, even they themselves had no hope & shook hands with their comrades before going, evidently never expecting to see them any more. Lt. [Washington Irving] Newton²⁷, Lt. [Benjamin L] Beall²⁸ & Lt. [William

27. Washington Irving Newton was a native of Washington, D.C., and joined the army in 1838 as a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd Dragoons. He retired at the rank of major in 1861; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 746.

28. A West Point graduate who served briefly in the army before resigning his commission, Benjamin L. Beall came to Florida following the outbreak of the Second Seminole War as captain of the Washington City Volunteers. In March 1837, he was brevetted to major for "gallantry and successful service against the Florida Indians"; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 202.

Joseph] Hardee²⁹ 2nd Dns. are ordered to France to learn the Dragoon Drill.³⁰ Newton goes through Norfolk from here & had I any cakes, I should have sent some by him, as he has politely asked me if I had any commands. Lt. [George W.] Patten³¹ is here on a Court of Enquiry ordered by the Col. in a matter between Lt. Penrose & Lt. [Bryant P.] Tilden³² of the Regiment. Another court is to sit soon at Fort Russell. The whole of the 8th Infy. & the General to boot will probably leave this in the course of a week or ten days. This General has expressed the opinion to the Colonel that the officers of the Regt ought all to remove their wives to this post, as he does not deem it safe either at Fort Russell or Holmes, but it will not be done, there being a difference of opinion in that matter.

Since I have returned I received your last letter to me before I joined you Ell & I read it as greedily as ever. When I first came back I thought the Colonel was inclined to treat me with coldness & I kept my distance. For the last two days, however, I have noticed a change,

29. Georgia native William Joseph Hardee graduated from West Point in 1838 and joined the 2nd Dragoons as 2nd lieutenant. Serving with distinction in the Mexican War, Hardee resigned his commission and fought for the Confederacy, achieving the rank of general. He died in 1873; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 499.

30. (Savannah) *Republican*, 21 November 1840, quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 26 November 1840.

31. A native of Rhode Island, George W. Patten graduated from West Point in 1830. Patten, who also graduated from Brown University, published several books of poetry. A member of the 2nd Infantry, Patten came to Florida in 1837, serving there until 1842. He fought in the skirmish on the Oklawaha River on 4 March 1841. After leaving Florida, Patten fought in the Mexican War as a captain. He participated in the Siege of Vera Cruz and lost a hand in the Battle of Cerro Gordo. In the 1850s, Patten served on the western frontier and held administrative posts during the Civil War; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 377; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 774.

32. Massachusetts native Bryant Tilden graduated from West Point in 1840. A member of the 2nd Infantry, he served in Florida from 1840 to 1842. Tilden served with distinction in the Mexican War, fighting in the battles of Churubusco, Contreras, and Molino del Rey, and was present at the assault and capture of Mexico City. He resigned his commission in 1848 and thereafter became a mining engineer and educator. He died in Olean, New York, in 1859; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 607; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 961.

but for such things I care not. I shall hereforth do my duty to the best of my ability & ask no favours of any one. I care for no such matters. My duty is governed by my conscience & my love is all yours. I anticipate much pleasure in having you with me during the winter. I think it better, Ell, my own dear, Ell, that such should be the case unless the state of your sister's health should demand your presence. I cannot at this time bear a long separation & have cursed my folly ever since the failure of the treaty that I did not overstay my leave. Now that I am here I have a great deal to do on account of the sickness of the other officers & am bound to remain. I could not get away without deserting. I cannot reconcile it to myself that I am only 50 miles from you—the distance seems at least 1000 miles. . . . Give my love to the Doctor & tell him that we are so overrun here I am afraid he did not enjoy the force as he might have done. I wish you also to ask him whether an escort was offered him from Micanopy—I wish to know the last particularly. My love to Mrs. Aldrich & Miss Dearing & George. I suppose there can be no doubt that everything you send for reaching Newnansville by Christmas. At any rate, I shall come for you certainly by that time unless you tell me it is too early. I cannot stay long when I come perhaps two or three days. I have never had more to do than I have at the present time, indeed all sorts of duties fall on my shoulders for want of officers & so long as I continue well, I am willing but no longer. I think it better to be so employed than to have time to think much. Today, however, I have received a letter from the 2nd auditor stating that all money matters between me & the government were settled, which information has given me much satisfaction, as I had unsettled accounts of several years standing. Uncle Sam has now no chance of ever calling me a defaulter. Many an officer would give a great deal for such a document as I received to day. Good night, Ell, God bless you

Your own Willo—
until death—

Fort King E.F.

November 20, 1840

Dearest Ellen,

God Bless You. I have just received your letter of the 14th, which reaching me as it does the day before I enter the field, where I shall be for the next fourteen days, has cheered me up vastly. This, however, will not interfere at all with my arrangements to have you with me as soon as our Chattels can reach you. Everything is hubbub here and I think I may also add humbug. The General has been humbugged, Capt. [John] Page³³ & the Arkansas Delegation have been humbugged & I suppose we shall all be humbugged during the whole winter. I keep clear of all councils either about Indians or army movements & keep myself employed in obeying orders. Troops are moving in all directions. The General is I suppose doing all he can but no results will be produced that will be of any consequence this winter. Tomorrow Col. Riley starts from here into the Chocochatee region with all the officers & men we can raise from our three posts Forts King, Russell, & Holmes, leaving behind the crippled, maimed & sick to take care of said posts. Genl. A was going to issue an order that the ladies of the 2nd. Infy should be all brought to this post from Forts Russell & Holmes, but Col. Riley suggested to him that they were not *subject to martial law* & that his order might be disobeyed, which suggestion has silenced the General. What think you of being subject to martial law? I certainly did not anticipate that you were entering into a contract subjecting you to it when you married me, or I should have told you of it. "I could say some things" as Dr P would say, that might not flatter my superiors but it is best to keep a civil tongue in my head unless I am ruffled wilfully & as the matter does not refer to you or me, I am silent. The 8th Infy & the Genl. leave here on Monday next for Tampa. Dr. [Peter]

33. John Page, a native of Maine, joined the army in 1818. At the time Anderson was writing, Page oversaw the removal of the Seminoles from Fort Brooke (Tampa). Captain of the 8th Infantry, Page was killed in the Battle of Palo Alto on 8 May 1846; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 765.

Porcher³⁴ has just left my room, which bye the bye, is far too convenient for a lounge, & as he is to go to Tampa before I get back & he bids me good bye, desires to be remembered particularly to yourself, the Dr. & Mrs. A—he has amused me much by his visits, but no more of such.

I must now refer to yourself Ellen—take good care of yourself, for, as true as I live, my life depends upon you. God knows, I would be with you now & am constantly cursing my folly for coming to the confounded treaty. Every facility has been kindly extended to me by my brother officers, in order that I might bring you here & I shall come without fail, as soon as I can feel assured that our chattels, as I before said, are at N—it would be unwise for me to come before as I should certainly overstay my time, perhaps rather most probably so long as to cause the Colonel to notice it. The Colonel is my friend & I have no doubt will always be. In regard to his Lady & yourself I have something to communicate when we meet. I have taken a course which I conceive to be the proper one & I shall abide the issue. A Captain of the 8th some days ago, made remarks rather tending to the prejudice of our regiment before Mrs. Riley. An officer afterwards hinted at them at a mess table where I was sitting with perhaps a dozen others. I immediately stated that I was certain the remarks were not made before any officer of our regt. & told the gentleman that if [he] would repeat his remarks before me he would find one officer of the Regt. who would defend its reputation with his person, since which I have not visited the camp of that Regiment. Today while in the height of my duties I received a friendly visit from him—he was rather too friendly & as he mentioned nothing of his remarks on a former occasion, which had been commented on by me at the table & which comments had been reported to him, he of course had left an impression on my mind that he is no true son of the Old Dominion.

34. Dr. Peter Porcher, a native of Charleston, practiced medicine and owned a plantation near St. Augustine when the Second Seminole War broke out. He served as regimental surgeon in the Florida militia; E. Ashby Hammond, *The Medical Profession in 19th Century Florida: A Biographical Register* (Gainesville, Fla., 1996), 505.

While with me, he talked of but little but his wife & children. I did not speak of you dear, dear, wife but I thought of the risk I had run deeply. That I should have fought him under the circumstances is but too certain, had he repeated his remarks nor could I have retreated & now although I would have gained the victory on him, I feel dissatisfied with myself that I should have been so near fighting a duel.

Fort King E.F.

December 1, 1840

Dearest Ell,

I reached here this evening from our scout in the Chocochatee Region where we have been running about to little purpose—not having seen an Indian since we started from Fort King.³⁵ We visited among other places the fields that we destroyed last summer & found that they were entirely abandoned, the Indians evidently not having visited them since we ran them off—On my arrival here Dearest, I was vexed at our ill success & fatigue, but two good sized letters from your own dear self [have] put me in such good humor that I could scribble all night—indeed Ell, you must not think seriously of adopting any new modes of action or of affecting any material change in yourself—I do not know how I should love you in your new character—Of this I am certain, I love you with all my heart as you are & no change in you can make me love you more—Of course it is your province to dabble in household matters & far from disliking the subject, somehow or other when you speak of it I find that it pleases me When I come for you, I shall endeavour to bring with me an ambulance, which will be the best possible conveyance for you over the rough roads

[L]ike myself Ell—you have been wounded sometimes by your best friends, to be sure, it may have been on their

35. On 5 December 1840, a correspondent of the Savannah *Republican* reported that "Col. Riley's command [had returned] to their respective posts, Forts King, Russell, and Holmes. They scouted to the south to within 30 miles of Tampa and back—some of them marching 250 miles without even a sign of an Indian having been discovered"; quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, December 1840.

part unintentionally; but the effect is the same, it makes you suspicious sometimes of their motives—Of Corinna's attachment, of her love for you, you cannot doubt & the Doctor's friendship for us both I feel convinced: yet I cannot help looking upon our connexion with them in a worldly point of view. It may be pride, whatever it is, if I am wrong correct me But thank God—my dear Ell—you are my own wife—I was going to say that I was content—but I am not with 50 miles between us—at this distance I suppose from the length of my face sometimes I might indeed be called a *mourning*. My house is progressing—it will be finished long before I come for you. At any rate it will be sufficiently finished by the 20th—You wish to know whether there will be a campaign. By orders the Country is divided into districts & each Regiment has a district—Ours is the Ocklewaha so that we will remain operating in the country where we now are—None of our Campaigns or scouts will last over 14 days from our posts—such will be our destination during the winter. . . . your affectionate h-u-s-b-a-n-d
Willo—

Fort King E.F.
December 4, 1840

Dear Ell:

Having an opportunity by a branch contractor for cattle at this post to send to Newnansville direct, I hasten to embrace it. I returned from the front on the afternoon of the 1st having been eleven days out. We visited the old fields destroyed by us last summer & went within a few miles of Tampa, but after marching through vines & bushes through mud or over sand hills saw nothing whatever of the enemy. On my return to this place I found two letters from you for which I thank you. I was tired & disappointed at having our trouble for nothing—perhaps we will have better luck next time when we go on the Oklawaha and the receipt of those two letters had a charm that restored me immediately & I sat down & wrote you a letter immediately, but as the said letter may be some days on its way, I embrace the present opportunity

if it is only to say that I am delighted to find that the hateful ague & fever is not likely to trouble you any more & that I am well. Mr. [Britton] Branch³⁶ leaves in a few minutes, so should my letter be short you will know the reason. . . . I am at work at my house & it will be sufficiently furnished in a week or fortnight at farthest to inhabit. The colonel talks some of going to Micanopy in a week. So he told me I would have a chance to visit you, but it depends upon his getting a guide before that time arrives. We will remain scouting in the Oklawaha district this winter if Genl. A. remains in command & our command will not probably be out even over 10 days or a fortnight from our posts. As soon as our chattels arrive, drop me a line & I will be with you. I may possibly be able to stay 3 or 4 days in Newnansville but not longer. In these busy times, the Colonel cannot spare so *important a personage*. I had an invitation yesterday from the Col to bring you here at once to stay with Mrs. R. until my house is finished. But although the idea of having you with me was very pleasing, I declined at once. Mrs. R has complained that I did not go to her house. I called yesterday & she was very particular in her enquiries after you. She is getting very lonesome. The Col. has recovered entirely, & since the scout cooks as well as ever, buy up some chickens, Ell, as we can't do without eating yet (not have the talent) they will be useful. God bless you. I must finish as Mr. Branch is about starting I enclose this to the doctor & as I do not write to him, remember me to him & tell him the reason. Remember me to all. I am getting very homesick. In haste. Ever Yours

Willo

P.S. Send the letter in post office at Newnansville to me. All [public] letters are not "free."

Yours truly

W

36. Britton Branch of Alachua County filed an application for an Armed Occupation Act Land Grant. See Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 720.

Fort King E.F.

December 5, 1840

Dearest Ell—

I received your affectionate, kind & good letter . . . by the express & I do assure you there is but little chance of my tiring in reading your letters. . . . Col. Riley is in com'd of the Oklawaha district & has also assumed com'd of this post in consequence of some transactions that have occurred. He is getting to be very rigid in his orders & the young officers have to stand about. Should our Regiment have an opportunity to go north next summer to recruit & refit he will no doubt make it, if not the best at least one of the best in service. In consequence of his assuming command of the post, my duties are doubled, besides Capt. [Silas] Casey³⁷ has gone to Palatka for his wife & Lt. [Edwin R.] Long³⁸ is absent at the same place on duty. Lt. [Bryant] Tilden is also absent on Court of Inquiry at Fort Russell, leaving but few officers at the post for duty. The Colonel will not go on another scout until he gets a guide, when that will be is uncertain. No Indian news.

It gives me also much pleasure to hear that Mrs. A will visit us at Fort King & that she is fast recovering from her sickness. I presume the governor is preparing for his exit from office by this time . . . he will have to abdicate. I am as sure as can be. Genl. [Duncan Lamont] Clinch³⁹ is

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37. Silas Casey graduated from West Point in 1826 and joined the 7th Infantry. Also that year, he was assigned to the 2nd Infantry, making 1st lieutenant in 1836. In 1839, he was promoted to captain. He fought with distinction in the Mexican War and served the Union as general in the Civil War. He died in 1882; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 289.
38. North Carolina native and 1829 West Point graduate, Edwin Long came to Florida in 1839 as a member of the 2nd Infantry, Long was engaged in the Rout of Halleck Tustennugge's Band and in the Battle of Big Hammock of Pilaklikaha, 19 April 1842. He died in Detroit in 1846; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 357; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 639.
39. General Duncan Lamont Clinch, a native of North Carolina, joined the U. S. army in 1808. He was a leading figure in the Second Seminole War. He owned a large plantation called Auld Lang Syne between Micanopy and Fort King, the grounds of which were often occupied by the troops as part of Fort Drane. Resigning from the military in September 1836, Clinch settled in St. Marys, Georgia; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 311; Rembert W. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville, Fla., 1963), 137-79; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 65-66.

spoken of as the next governor of the territory & will no doubt get it, if he so desires. The change must be beneficial as [Gov. Robert Raymond Reid] is not fit for the present troublesome times & every body speaks so highly of Gl C. . . .⁴⁰

Our new and elegant mansion has two rooms of the same size, both measuring 15 feet 9 inches one way & 15 feet 7 inches the other. They were intended to be 16 feet in the clear, but as you perceive, lack a few inches of it. . . . You have given me every proof that I could ask of your love & I were base to doubt it or that my happiness was not your own, as yours is & ever will be mine. Remember me to all, God Bless you

Ever Yours Willo

Fort King E.F.

December 16, 1840

You will no doubt be somewhat anxious to hear from me by the time this reaches you, as I am in arrears considerably—indeed it is some time since I have written or heard from you—On my part, it is entirely attributable to my time being so much occupied that I could not even steal a moment to devote to you my best of Wives. On the 7th of this month 3 Indians (warriors) came in to this post under a white-flag & agreeably to the written orders of the General, the Colonel notified them that they were prisoners until he could hear from the General—he permitted one of them to go out on the same day, he came in, & on the next day, he brought 4 other warriors, 3 squaws & 3 children to the post—On the 9th an interpreter & 2 of the Arkansas delegation came here to confer with them from Tampa & a few days after instructions came from the

40. After William H. Harrison (Whig) defeated Martin Van Buren (Democrat) for president, Reid was sacked. He died of yellow fever soon after his removal; *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 16 July 1841. President Harrison appointed Richard Keith Call as governor. See Arthur W. Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy on the Florida Frontier* (Gainesville, Fla., 1961), 71; Herbert J. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854* (Gainesville, Fla., 1959), 11; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 295; Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida During the Territorial Days* (Athens, Ga., 1944), 254-55.

General to liberate the whole posse, so that they are now at liberty to return to the woods when they please. One of the delegation & one of the hostiles have gone out together to see Echo-Emathla, the principal Mickassuckie [Miccosukee] chief & should have returned to this post today: as yet however they have not done so although it is tattoo. . . .⁴¹

By the middle of next week, I shall have all my fixture[s] at Fort King completed, but I shall await your summons as I cannot possibly remain long in Newnansville—I am sorry but at this time it is impossible for me to be long absent. The Colonel has been very kind to me; indeed, as he has assumed command of the post; I do as I please—provided I do my duty first & I do not believe that I ever was accused of slighting my duty in any instance—I am jealous of my reputation in that respect as any one—for it is all that an officer has to depend upon—I have come to the conclusion after reading your last letter that you possess more moderation than I do & that we differ [with] . . . regard [to] dueling. Yet it pleases me that you do not agree with me in that respect—which very fact you may construe as an argument in your favour—that it is morally wrong, I am convinced—Yet under certain circumstances were I not to fight, even you, you who advocate that it would be morally wrong to do so, would blush for me—so far, since I have been in the Army, I have escaped without being challenger or challenged, yet I assure you, the reason has been that I am known as one who can be provoked to combat.

You ask if there are any other ladies at the post—Mrs. [Henry] Wessells & Mrs. Casey are also here. Mrs. W I fear is not very long for this world. She looks badly & is evidently in a delirium. Mrs. Casey is a very pleasant & agreeable lady & strictly religious I believe. Both of the ladies arrived here within a few days past. . . . I have stated to you that the Colonel David Twiggs has been very kind to me—I find that his coldness to me on my return was caused by

41. The "tattoo" is "a signal made, by beat of drum or bugle call, in the evening, for soldiers to repair to their quarters in garrison or tents in camp"; *Oxford English Dictionary*.

my getting married without telling him of it—he felt hurt, it appears. That I did not confide the matter to him as a friend I am sorry—but in some matters friends are worse than foes & besides, where you are concerned I should not consult my father. I wish to see you very much dearest & hope I shall receive my summons, at the farthest a fortnight from this time—the instant you find that the *things* are at Newnansville, let me know & I will come down with an ambulance, one waggon & an escort—at the farthest I cannot stay over 3 days—I am having your house built agreeably to your desire so you are bound to bring something to inhabit it. . . . A servant will be absolutely necessary to you here & if you prefer Amanda, we will bring her along with us. . . .

Willo

[P. S.] [B]y the way—on our last scout—I found that there were a dozen Germans who sing well in our command & one evening I assembled them together. Among other songs they sang “Thou, thou who reignest in this bosom” in German (the original) it was beautiful—and under the circumstances that it was sung—its effect was thrilling—I cannot promise you much music here—We have good drummers & pipers—Good martial music, but no more—We are raising a band in New York harbour to be ready for us, as soon as—as—The Florida War is over.

Fort King, E.F.

December 23, 1840

Dearest,

I should have written to you by the last mail, but in consequence of delaying to do so until the night before the express left, I lost my opportunity entirely; cause why, an express arrived from Tampa just as night set in & the Colonel’s demand for my services was not to be refused. While Colonel [Gustavus] Loomis⁴² was here, he blun-

42. Vermont native and 1811 West Point graduate Gustavus Loomis fought in the Niagara theatre during the War of 1812. Serving in Florida during the 1820s at Ft. Gadsden and the Cantonment Clinch, Loomis returned again in 1837,

dered as usual upon the subject of Religion at a most unseasonable time in presence of Col. R. & states to him that his duty to his God was paramount to all others & his duty to his Country next. Col. R. replied "no—my duty to my country before all others"—& in saying so, I believe he was perfectly sincere. Now, were the question started whether my duty to you or to my country should be uppermost, I have an idea that be my decision what it might it would be somewhat unsatisfactory. I had rather the two should not be placed in opposition.

A Merry Christmas & a happy New Year to you—after all, it seems I cannot eat my Christmas pie with you & I very much fear that your summons will not be forthcoming in time for me to spend New Year's day with you. I received your letter of the 12th by the last express & in looking at the device upon the seal, I thought surely the summons had come—but on opening I was disappointed. Do not apply my railings at poor human nature so forcibly to your friends. *Your friends* are *my* friends & I believe I do them justice. I fully appreciate their kindness to me as well as to yourself. As to Corinna I think her a pattern of a wife & think it doubtful whether you can be a better. My remarks have appeared harsh to you & you have undertaken to defend your friends. You do so warmly & I am glad to see it—but remember Ell my appreciation of your friends is in proportion to your evaluation of them. Use some other term however. You may have noticed before that I liked it not. During the treaty—two nights before the Indians bolted, Harlick Lustnugger & other Indians said to me, slapping me on the shoulder "Fliend! Fliend! You my best fliend"—& for what? Barely because I gave them whiskey. 'Tis true, we often know not our best friends.

fighting in the Battle of Okeechobee on 25 December of that year. Promoted to major of the Second Infantry on 7 July 1838, and then lieutenant of the 6th infantry on 22 September 1840, Loomis remained in Florida until 1842. Loomis fought in the Mexican War and returned to Florida again in 1856 when hostilities between the Seminoles and the whites broke out again. Loomis served in the Union Army, achieving the rank of general by war's end; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 118; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 641.

I am now occupying my new quarters. The Colonel told me yesterday that he wished me to go for you about the 1st of next month, but I am somewhat in doubt about going until I can hear from you—as I could not remain many days in Newnansville—he goes at that time to Pilatka & on his return wishes me here to join him on a scout on the Ocklewaha. If I come to the conclusion that your brother can be back with his goods by the 10th proximo, I shall come down about the 1st of the month; if not, I will abide my time as best I may, & await your summons. About transportation, I would state my dear Ell, that if I have not mentioned anything about it to you, it is because I did not give it a moment's thought—it is always at my command. I have rigged up an ambulance with four fine sorrel horses (in which the ladies ride out here every day, very imprudent by the bye at this time & I told them so) in which I intend to drive down in Stile with the Colonel's body guard. 20 horsemen, or a part of it. I shall also bring a waggon. I could bring some more but the ambulance will hold considerable & we will be as comfortable I think as you will expect or desire—if you prefer, by borrowing a side saddle, you can ride part of the way on horse back.

I have given up Dick—on the last Scout he tumbled while nearly at full speed, heels over head & I found my *head* stuck in a gopher hole. I now have a fine coal black charger as gay as a lark & handsome to behold. In my opinion he is a perfect beauty—speaking of *horses* reminds me to tell you that I was called upon two or 3 nights ago to marry a couple in my capacity as Adj. to the Regt. but declined, not being legally authorized. I gave [Francis R.] Sanchez⁴³ no advice to marry—nor do I think would advise any man on the subject as I do not think there are many Ellens in the world. God bless you. May we soon meet is my earnest prayer. Give my love to Mrs. A. & tell her that I think she deserves much credit in outwitting

43. This was probably Francis R. Sanchez, a leading citizen of the area. He was a member of the Alachua County Commission; See Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 40. He also was Lieutenant Colonel of the Alachua County volunteer regiment; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 28 November 1839.

Madame [Zilphia] Stanley.⁴⁴ & that she must take care the old lady does not make it up. Remember me also to Miss D. & the Doctor. I wish them all a Merry Christmas & happy new year—& wish heartily I could spend the holliday in—Fort King is much improved & the idea that you are coming here has reconciled me to it. I will give you the news on an extra sheet. Good night—“’Tis vain to tell her all I feel” so saith the Song & I think it a pretty one.

Your own Willo—

Extra—Indian News—2nd Infantry &c

All the Indians who came in at this post have been sent by the Colonel to Tampa Bay. There to meet the General—Capt. Casey with a command of 50 men went with them. One of the delegation (nephew to Echo Emathla) by name *Co-chuck-e-ne-hajo* & a hostile, by name *Har-lop-pe-emathla* were sent out from here by Col. R. to see Echo-Emathla & were to have returned here in six days. They returned on the 11th day & stated that they had succeeded in their mission. Echo-Emathla & his people (the Tallahasseees) are on their way to Tampa & we have already received official intelligence of their having been in the Fort No. 4 where 4 companies of the 3rd Infantry are now stationed. Hurrah for Riley & the 2nd. What the terms of the treaty will be I cannot tell you—other Indians are arriving daily at Tampa from other quarters & a serious effort will be made there to end the war.⁴⁵ I wish to see an end to this warfare; yet I fear it will only be the prelude to my leaving this country. To leave Florida after all her many pleasing associations connected with it & I may go far & fare worse. This letter may be some time in coming

44. Zilphia Stanley, a native of Georgia was forty years old in 1840 and operated boarding house in Newnansville; Population census, 1850, Alachua County, 32.

45. See Secretary of War to Walker K. Armistead, 31 December 1840, and John Page to T. Hartley Crawford, 24 January 1841, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 233-34, 243-45; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 284-85. Florida settlers were outraged by Armistead's treaty. Some likened it to Macomb's "false peace" with the Seminoles. For example, see "Public Meeting of the Citizens of St. Johns County, E. Florida," in *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 31 December 1840. See also *Ibid.*, 19 March 1841.

to you in consequence of the uncertainty of Expresses. Should I not be with you write on the receipt of it—'Tis late, *Mon Amie*—God bless you

Willo

Fort King E.F.

Dec. 31, 1840

My Dearest Ell,

Your favour by Capt. [Benjamin L. E.] B[onneville]⁴⁶ was duly received by me to day. I returned to the post last evening from Pilatka where I had been in order to bring up a detachment of one hundred & odd recruits for the Regt. While on the Road between that place & Fort Holmes, 2 waggons (not belonging to my command) 3 miles in my rear were fired upon by Indians & one of the waggoners killed, the other ran in to my command when I counter-marched & proceeded to the spot—on my way back, I met the Col. who had come up & flushed the Indians before they had done much further mischief & giving me his escort, I galloped back but it was dark before I reached the spot. I lay there all night, was joined by Lt. [Israel Carle] Woodruff⁴⁷ with 16 footmen & Lt. [Daniel G.] Rogers⁴⁸

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46. Bonneville was a native of France and graduated from West Point in 1815. Serving on the western frontier in the 1820s, Bonneville participated in an exploratory mission to the "Far West" across the Rocky Mountains from 1831 to 1836. His journal from that exploration was edited and published with the help of Washington Irving in 1843. Bonneville served in Florida as a member of the 7th Infantry from 1839 to 1843, and with distinction in the Mexican War, fighting in the battles of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churbusco, Molino del Rey, the Storming of Chapultepec, and the capture of Mexico City. Retiring from active duty just before the Civil War, Bonneville held various Union posts during the entire war; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 157; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 230.
47. New Jersey native and 1836 West Point graduate Israel Carle Woodruff served only briefly in Florida. He became an assistant professor of engineering at West Point not long after his graduation. Serving in various western posts and as a member of the topographical engineers, he attained the rank of general during the Civil War; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 509; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 1058.
48. Pennsylvania native Daniel Rogers graduated from West Point in 1840. Serving only briefly in Florida, Rogers was stationed later in Texas and the Indian Territory before dying at Vera Cruz, Mexico, on 21 July 1848 at the age of 30; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 617; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 842.

from Pilatka with 26 Dragoons & as soon as it was light, we put off in pursuit, but it was too late. I picked up a few articles they had taken from the waggons on their [exit], but the Indians escaped. I hope you have not heard any garbled or unpleasant account of the matter, as often happens. I was in hopes that by this time I should be on my way to join you, but as you say I must be patient; why, I will exert myself to be so. I am very anxious to have you with me—every thing is getting distasteful, & I drudge along without one pleasurable feeling unless I am writing to or thinking of you. . . .

Gen. Armistead is at Tampa. The Indians are coming in there & at Punta Rosa [Rassa] before Tampa. It is generally thought that the Tallahassess & Hospitakae's band will all come in. I notice our marriage in the Army & Navy Chronicle & send you the paper containing it. Give my love to Edward & Corinne—tell C. that I am much obliged to her for thinking of me in her Christmas arrangements & hope yet to have the pleasure of sharing the rewards of her good fare. As to the loss of my money—to speak the truth, I should not care the snap of my finger were it not the occasion of some inconvenience. It is slight however & I am in hopes it will never deprive you of the gratification of a single wish. The Colonel speaks of going on a scout for some 7 or 8 days before long & should I not receive your summons ere he starts, I must go with him. We go on the Ocklewaha. Remember me also to Miss D & George. I hope, at any rate, he will be with you by the time you receive this. I have had some very disagreeable duties to perform lately & feel as if I had a strong desire to escape from them, if it should be only for a day or two. In plain truth duty is getting to be a great bore & I require your presence & assistance to render it bearable—I have had strong idea of bolting from the Colonel, but he has been so kind to me I cannot do it—What are we but slaves after all either to some one's influence or another? There is no such thing as Freedom. Good bye. I write in haste. . . . Summon me soon & write often, for I need your letters. God bless you. Your own—Willo

In 1841, the Second Seminole War was winding down. Even as the number of Indians diminished, those who remained harassed Florida's frontier settlers. The first three months were punctuated by violent engagements between the Seminoles and their adversaries. Walker K. Armistead, however, initiated a series of uncoordinated peace overtures, using a combination of bribes and threats. Halleck Tustenuggee, Tiger Tail, and Coacoochee took full advantage of Armistead's disjointed peace policy, promising to emigrate only to escape with their bands to fight again once they were re-supplied.⁴⁹ Florida settlers grew dissatisfied with Armistead's policy, especially as rumors spread that Armistead was on the verge of concluding a treaty reminiscent of Macomb's 1839 pact allowing the Seminoles to stay in the lower peninsula. Public meetings at St. Augustine, Jacksonville, and other communities denounced any "arrangement other than the absolute removal of all of the Indians in Florida."⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Ellen joined James in Fort King that spring, and their happy reunion produced their first child in November 1841. Throughout the next two years, Ellen and Corinna (who remained in Newnansville with Edward and her brother George) visited St. Augustine often. Corinna had formed a far more favorable impression of her brother-in-law. On January 3, she wrote that James is "I believe a kind hearted & good man & stands high as an officer He is of an excellent family in Virginia."⁵¹ According to Corinna, Ellen was also thriving: "Ell enjoys her health finely—I never saw her look better than when I left Fort King."⁵²

49. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 274-87; Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida*, 99-100.

50. See "Public Meeting [Jacksonville]," 5 February 1841; "Great Public Meeting [St. Augustine]," 8 January 1841; 29 January 1841, all in *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*. For an overall assessment of the situation as of the middle of March, see "Tampa Bay, Gen. Armistead, Capt. Page, and the Indians," *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 19 March 1841.

51. Corinna Aldrich to Mannevillette Brown, 3 January 1841, Anderson-Brown Papers.

52. Corinna Aldrich to Mannevillette Brown, 30 May 1841, Anderson-Brown Papers.

Fort King
January 5, 1841

Dearest Ell—

I wrote you a few lines by the last mail including Lt. [Richard C.] Gatlin's⁵³ account of the tale of Mrs. [Elizabeth Fanny Taylor] Montgomery⁵⁴—I know not why it is, unless it be that my mind reverted to you, that I have been so affected by her fate.⁵⁵ It appears that Lt. [Nevil] Hopson⁵⁶ was going to Wacahoota with a waggon for his wife & that Lt. [Walter] Sherwood⁵⁷ & Mrs. Montgomery

53. North Carolina native and 1832 West Point graduate Richard C. Gatlin, a lieutenant in the 7th Infantry, served in Florida from 1839 to 1842 and fought in the Battle of Monterrey in the Mexican War. As a major in the 5th Infantry, Gatlin resigned his commission on 20 May 1861 to join the Confederacy; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 415; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 450.
54. Pennsylvania native and 1834 West Point graduate Alexander Montgomery came to Florida in 1839 with the 7th Infantry. Montgomery married Elizabeth Fanny Taylor only three months before she was killed on 2 September 1840 in Cincinnati. Montgomery did garrison duty at Pensacola from 1842-1845 and was transferred to Texas in 1845. Serving on quartermaster duty during the Mexican War, Montgomery returned to Florida in 1854, serving at Tampa Bay until 1856. Montgomery held various administrative posts during the Civil War; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 462; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 719; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 10 September 1840.
55. The Brown-Anderson collection contains a letter from R.C. Gatlin to "Dear Knight," written 20 December 1840 from Micanopy and describing the attack, which took place on November 28th. He explained: "Lts [Walter] Sherwood and [Nevil] Hopson and Mrs. Montgomery with an escort of eleven mounted men left this post with the view of visiting Wacahoota. They had not preceded more than 4 miles (where Martin was shot) when a large body of Indians surprised them. Lt. Sherwood, Mrs. Montgomery, Sgt. Major Carrol and three privates were killed. Mrs. M. was the young bride of Lt. [Alexander] Montgomery of Inftry. The bodies fell into the hands of the enemy. Mrs. M. was taken by them but killed on the ground. One soldier was found mortally wounded near her. He said to Lt. M. when he rode u— 'Lt. I fought for your wife as long as I could stand. You see that I am now dying.' The bodies have been brought to this post and interred." See Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 284-85; Sprague, *The Florida War*, 249, 484; "Another Horrid Massacre," *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 8 January 1841; *News*, 1 January 1841.
56. Kentucky native and 1837 West Point graduate Nevil Hopson fought in Florida from 1839 to 1843 as a member of the 7th Infantry. Following his service in the Mexican War he was dismissed for drunkenness; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 545; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 542.
57. New Jersey native and 1837 West Point graduate Walter Sherwood served at Ft. Gibson, Indian Territory and did recruiting service before coming to Florida in 1840 with the 7th Infantry. He died in hand-to-hand combat near Micanopy; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 542; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 882.

rode out with him, having the Sgt. Major & 11 mounted men with them—when they arrived near the point of [the] hammock where [John W.] Martin⁵⁸ of our Regt. was shot; they saw the Indians advancing & Lt. Sherwood who was the ranking officer, & in whose charge Mrs. Montgomery was placed, ordered the whole party to dismount & prepare for action, directing Mrs. M. to get into the waggon. Lt. Hopson was ordered back to Micanopy to bring a reinforcement.—*Bad management* & showing Lt. S' want of experience. It is a most unfortunate affair—but perhaps I may have done as he did rather than risk the imputation of cowardice. I think however I should have looked to the safety of the lady by sending her back forthwith, but Lt. S. no doubt thought her safer in the waggon than in going back. I am disgusted with these butcheries, & since that affair have kept aloof from all Florida topics. Would to God that this horrible war was ended.⁵⁹

Having had but little opportunity lately to read, I am as yet to enjoy the pleasure of reading the President's Message, Report of Secy of War, Navy, &c. All papers as contain such important matters I wish you to lay violent hands on & keep for me. I say keep, as I will see you before the end of the month, and between this time & then would not probably command sufficient time to read them. I am tired of this roving life—Ell—and I have a living example before me of its effects on our worthy Colonel. With a naturally quick & active mind, he has been confined all his life to the Border and Camp life, without having read any work perhaps, of depth or profundity. His conversation is, of course, rough as well as his manners, being almost entirely composed of anecdotes &c. I find too, that in myself it

58. Virginia native John W. Martin was 2nd lieutenant of the 2nd infantry; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 692. On 19 May 1840, he was shot three times near Micanopy. According to an extract of a report published in the Savannah Georgian, Martin "received three balls, one through the abdomen, one through the arm, and one in his hand—one of his men and all the horses killed—the other two missing"; quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 4 June 1840; also see *News*, 29 May 1840.

59. Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett ordered an investigation of this incident; Secretary of War to Walker K. Armistead, 10 January 1841, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 238-39.

begets a restlessness, that I can scarcely control. I return to the post, and after being there a day or two, the mechanism of writing, if I may so style it, becomes absolutely so distasteful that I find considerable effort necessary to fulfill my duties. I speak of such writing as my duties require of me—to write to you is my only consolation in my *tribulation*. I ought to fear being called a grumbler—such however is not my natural disposition & were I at your elbow, my troubles would vanish. I didn't like the idea of not spending either Christmas or New Year with you, so I determined to be most supremely miserable and effected my purpose to a greater degree, than was at all comfortable; afterwards I reflected that it would please you more if you supposed me enjoying myself & I set out to work to get out of my dumps, but it would not do. My strength was not equal to the effort. Withal however the influence has been good, as it led me into a train of serious reflections, which may leave some good results behind them.

The bridge on the Ocklawaha is completed, the party are just arriving & I suppose in 4 days we will be in, not the field, but the woods again. The Cursed Indians—I try to restrain, but it is useless. Were I in Montgomery's place, I would get to Tampa, give a great feast to all the Indians there and blow them to the Devil while they were at [the] table by springing a mine of powder under them. I will shake no Florida Indian by the hand again. That is a sign of friendship I will not extend to them as I cannot feel it.

You asked in your last, why Mrs. T.I. Smith has gone to W. A very rational answer occurs to my mind—viz that her relations are there—if you had asked, why she left her husband, I should then have been at a loss. I think she is the daughter of a baker or butcher in Washington and ran away with Smith. It was rather a romantic affair & was chronicled in the papers at the time it occurred. Give my love to Mrs. A., the Doctor, Miss D. and your brother George. Tell the Doctor to take care of his scalp and run no risks—there are yet 1000 warriors in the Territory—tell George also. Tell Mrs. A that I much fear Mrs. [Mary] Wessells will not live to see another winter. She is about but looks dreadfully. Good night. God protect and watch over you. Your own Willo

By June 1841, the army in Florida had a new commander. Colonel William Jenkins Worth took charge of operations against the Seminoles and devised tactics calculated to bring the war to a close. Worth understood one way to speed the removal of the Seminoles was to encourage settlers to return to their homes. St. Augustine's *News* reported on July 2, 1841, that "Col. Worth . . . with a view to encourage the settlement of the country, has asked authority from Washington that rations be allowed to all such of the inhabitants as shall return to their abandoned households and also that both the pay and rations of soldiers of the Army may be allowed to all such persons as shall now step forward and make new settlements—at least for one year." Major Wilcox had "commenced a tour along the border settlements extending from the Atlantic to the Gulf for the purpose of encouraging the citizens to return to their abandoned homes and also for the purpose of enrolling the names of those who may choose to avail themselves of this beneficent provision of the government." The purpose for this new tactic was to "encourage the occupancy of the country by hardy, fearless pioneers, to whom protection will be afforded by the Army, as far as practical." By October, local newspapers reported seven new settlements established in previously unoccupied territory.⁶⁰ Worth's plan was a precursor to the Armed Occupation Act.

During August and September, while Ellen endured her first pregnancy in St. Augustine, James and his unit continued operations against the Seminoles. His letters to Ellen written in August discussed his latest exploits.

Fort King
August 15, 1841

Dearest Ell,

Singular as it may appear, I have not yet had a line from you. My trunk has reached Fort Russell & I presume

60. *News*, 2, 9 July 1841. For the listing and description of the settlements see *News*, 8 October 1841; and *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 8 October 1841. Likewise the Washington National Intelligencer reported on 31 August 1841 that Wilcox had enrolled 298 settlers to establish new settlements and resettle old ones. "These armed settlements are chiefly in a section of the country heretofore much annoyed by Indian depredations, and may be expected to exert the happiest influence in repressing the inroads of the enemy and giving confidence to the border settlers"; quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 2 September 1841.

all is safe among the shirts and stockings. I know the reason, however, at least I suspect that I am in arrears to the Post Master for postage & he will not now a days let a letter go from the office unless paid for before hand—I have sent him money & hope to God he will send my letters, for I am sadly in want of them. I hope you enjoy your health—Ell—I have just returned from a severe scout in which I caught a warrior near Lake George and made him lead me to his camp where there were between 30 and 40 Indians, but he pretended to lose his way in the night as we were stealing on the camp & led us about at such a rate that they all escaped before we entered. I tied him up for it in his own camp and gave him a flogging and told him that if he did not lead me to his people the next time, I would hang him & tomorrow I go out to surprise them. They lay near the mouth of Lake George on an Island.⁶¹ No very recent news from Tampa.

Capt. [Thomas P.] Gwynn caught 3 warriors of Harlock's the other day—the fellow I caught is a sub chief & has 17 warriors at his command—by name Aleck-Hadjo.⁶² When I get back from the next scout, I will write you more fully. At present I am so engaged getting ready for the expedition that I am hurried very much. The indians are around Micanopy and have killed one citizen near Hog town [Gainesville]. Troops have been running all over the country but as yet they have been unsuccessful. I am in hopes to get in Alec hadjo's people through his means & if so it will no doubt be the means of getting in Harlock Tustenugen. He promises fair & if he fails I have my orders to hang him which he knows. God grant I may be so fortunate. If I am, it will be the only good luck that ever fell to my share except when you married me. Col Riley, Lt. Tilden, Lt. Hoffman Lt. Wescott & Lt. Rogers 2nd Inf. are all so sick as not to be able to go in the field. I am as

61. On 20 August 1841, the *News* reported the "capture of a sub-chief by Lt. Anderson whilst on a scout of Halleck Tustenuggee's band. He says Halleck is on an Island in the St. Johns"; see *News*, 27 August 1841.

62. For Gwynne's attack, see (Washington) *National Intelligencer*, 26 August 1841, quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 2 September 1841.

hearty as a buck and in high hopes of success. Lts. Justus McKinstry⁶³ and [William B.] Davidson go with me—on the last scout Lts R. & McKinstry were with me—I wish to see you very much & if . . . allowed me time, I should be mighty homesick. . . .

Good bye Yours as ever,
Willo

Fort King
August 25, 1841

Dearest Ell,

I returned . . . day before yesterday from my second scout bringing in with me 6 squaws & 3 children—also 5 rifles. To narrate all the particulars would take more time than I can spare this morning. I will however give you some idea of what we did. I left here with Lts. McKinstry & Davidson & 80 men part horse & part foot, taking with me 4 canoes in order to reach the Islands in the St. Johns river above Lake George—with Alec-hajo (my last capture) as guide. In consequence of the difficulties of crossing the Ocklewaha I had to leave one canoe behind. I reached Fort Butler on the 18th, put our canoes in the water, & finding there was no chance of using my whole force, left it at Fort B., taking with me Lt. Mc: Lt. D: & the 3 crews of 8 men each. We found a corn field on the River the afternoon of the 18th & from thence proceeded to Lake George & landed on an island about 9 o'clock p. m. & as soon as we touched shore, I took a trail & went up into the island for 400 yds where we found ourselves in a camp of 18 wigwams with fresh

63. New York native and 1838 West Point graduate Justus McKinstry was in Florida from 1838 to 1841 with the 2nd Infantry. McKinstry served in the Mexican War, fighting in the Battles of Churubusco, Contreras, and Chapultepec. Returning to Florida in the late 1850s, McKinstry was stationed at Fort Brooke and Fort Myers. He served in Missouri as brigadier general during the Civil War, only to be dismissed from the army for "Neglect and Violation of Duty" on 28 January 1863; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 568-69; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 674.

signs in and around them. From thence we returned to our boats & lay by them all night. Next morning we discovered the fires of the enemy about 4 miles from us across the St. Johns on the mainland, and lay by all day on the 19th watching. While so doing, a canoe was seen to glide from the grass on the Lake shore about 11 a. m. & make toward us—but did not come sufficiently near for us to capture it without alarming the main camp of Indians. On the night of the 19[th], we tried to hunt up the enemy's canoes, but on account of their being hid in the long grass & the darkness we could not find them. I then land[ed] abreast the fires & was creeping towards them from 9 p. m. that night until daylight, when we rushed into camp. Morris (the negro Interpreter) Alec-hajo (our Captive) & the Indians taken by Capt. [Washington] Seawell all of whom I had with me, crying out to the Indians, "not to fire & they would not be injured."⁶⁴ But the warriors from 18 to 22 in number sprung to their rifles, fired & made for a cypress Hammock, which skirted the camp on 3 sides at 6 or 8 yds distance. As they ran our men delivered their fire. Several of them were seen to fall but they crawled off or were dragged into the Hammock. We captured 5 Rifles 6 Squaws & 3 children—their utensils, skins—their meal for the day, composed of Catfish & venison. In fact everything they had. Had I been able to take my whole command with me, I might have captured the whole party of between 50 or 60 Indians—as it was, having only 24 men & the Hammock being so close & they so like partridges that I did as much as I anticipated. One Squaw was accidentally killed—having been taken for a warrior as she was running—on our side the Guide Alec-hajo was the only one injured by the fire of the Indians. He got a flesh

64. Virginia native Washington Seawell graduated from West Point in 1825 and joined the army as 2nd lieutenant in the 7th Infantry; Seawell became 1st lieutenant (1833) and captain (1836). In 1841 he was brevetted major for "meritorious and successful service in the war against the Florida Indians." He retired in 1862 and died in 1888; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 872. For Seawell's capture of the Indians see *News*, 30 July 1841.

wound through the arm. It was a complete surprize—Enough of Indians!⁶⁵

We got back on the 22nd about 3 o'clock. My health continues good so far—I have rec'd but one letter from you besides the one in the trunk—dated the 17th. I will send you the furniture by first opportunity—directed to Dr. A.—If I can do no better—I will send it to Claghorn and Wood, Savannah, and they will forward it to St. Augustine. . . . Lt. [Henry] Wessells⁶⁶ started on a scout this morning after the Attiachee and the Creeks who are said by Alec-hajo to be in the Wahoo. News from Tampa very favorable. Tigertail and his party are to be in this morn & I now think I see the end of this war.⁶⁷ Good Bye. God bless you—I am as anxious to see you as I can be but I am much afraid I cannot bring it about. Take care of yourself. Yours as ever, afftly Willo

Keeping Ellen informed of camp and war news, James explained in his August 27 letter that Chief Tigertail seemed to be ready to meet with Colonel Worth to discuss the Indians' removal

65. On 27 August 1841, the *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat* reported "A Camp of Aleck Tustenugee's tribe was surprised on the 20th by Lt. Anderson, 2d Infantry, under the guidance of an Indian previously captured. The camp was fired on at daylight and a squaw killed—six squaws and three children captured. The men escaped." See also *National Intelligencer*, 31 August 1841, quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 2 September 1841, 275. The *Georgian* described Anderson's exploits to a public eager for good news from the front: "For two days and two nights, they, like their wily and ever watchful foe, crept u to the Indian cam which contained 57 of Alluck's band, thereby showing the savages that the white man, born and bred in the habitation of civilization, can for the soldier's reward—applause of a grateful people—play the 'sneak game' as well as themselves. With a force of but 24 men they routed the lurking savage, and but the treachery of their guide, would have avenged in characters never to be effaced, the monstrous cruelties practiced on the defenseless inhabitants of Florida"; quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 23 September 1841.

66. Connecticut native Henry Walton Wessells entered West Point in 1829, the same year as Anderson. Upon graduation, both were assigned to the 2nd Infantry in 1833. Wessells later served in the Mexican War and then on the Union side in the Civil War. He remained in the U.S. Army until 1871. He died in 1889; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 1019; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 1: 560.

67. Sprague, *The Florida War*, 298; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 301-03. Also on Worth's summer 1841 campaign, see Joseph Knetsch, "Into the Cove Again: Worth's 1841 Campaign," *At Home: Citrus County Historical Society* 16 (November/December 1999): 1, 10-11.

from Tampa. James's efforts that summer earned him Worth's recommendation for promotion to brevet captain for his "great cleverness which resulted in the capture of a party of the enemy." Worth's report commended Anderson as "a young officer of high promise and merit."⁶⁸ On September 3, James proudly sent to Ellen an extract from Worth's letter of commendation to Colonel Riley.⁶⁹ The newspapers had taken notice of the young officer as well. On September 11, Savannah's *Georgian* reported that "Anderson, McKinstry, and Davidson, young officers who have for several years, in this harassed territory, panted for the soldier's reward, and in common with numbers of brave officers and men, have been unjustly taunted by imbecile writers, as inactive and hugging inglorious ease, have at length been blessed with an opportunity of exhibiting their attachment to country—their devotion to her cause."⁷⁰ Sometime in October or November, James transferred to Palatka, Colonel Riley's new headquarters. Ellen gave birth to Edward Willoughby Anderson on November 11 in St. Augustine, where she remained with her sister's family until James prepared accommodations in Palatka. On December 5, he wrote that he expected her to enjoy Palatka: "I like the atmosphere here on the river. Palatka has been healthy during the Summer & I would not care if I was stationed here during the rest of my Florida service. I have half a mind to jump on board a steamboat & go to Savannah in order to arrange matters for our supply this winter."⁷¹

As 1842 began, Worth's relentless attacks pushed the Seminoles deeper and deeper into the peninsula. From January to April, Riley's 2nd Infantry pursued Halleck Tustenuggee's band throughout the upper St. Johns River area, gaining some fame for their exploits and ability to endure hardships. One newspaper proclaimed that "Riley can sleep in the swamp like an alligator," adding that "we like the Colonel's appearance—he has the go-ahead look about him."⁷² Campaigning through the summer

68. Worth's recommendation on James's brevet captaincy was confirmed on 6 March 1843. Names of Officers of the United States Army Recommended for Brevets by Brigadier-General W. J. Worth, Commanding the forces in Florida, 25 April 1842, in Sprague, *The Florida War*, 554.

69. The 30 August 1841 letter was published in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 23 September 1841.

70. *Georgian*, quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 30 December 1841.

71. James Anderson to Ellen Brown Anderson, 5 December 1841, Anderson-Brown Papers.

72. *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 24 December 1841, 7 January 1842.

months, Worth pressured Hallock Tustenuggee, Coacoochee, Tiger Tail, and their followers until they agreed to emigrate.⁷³

Simultaneously, Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act, legislation calculated to garrison the frontier with settlers on what had been Indian lands south of the Alachua County line. Introduced by Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, the act offered 160-acre tracts to heads of households or single men who built cabins, occupied them, cultivated at least five acres, and after five years secured title to the lands. When the federal land office opened in Newnansville, almost 950 claims were issued.⁷⁴ Remaining Seminoles fled to the lower Peace River and the Everglades. By the spring of 1842, roughly three hundred Indians remained on a small reservation in the lower peninsula. Worth, having successfully killed or removed the rest, declared the war over in August 1842.⁷⁵

On May 25, 1842, Anderson's 2nd Infantry departed Florida for its new posting at Buffalo, New York.⁷⁶ The Anderson family, accompanied by James's sister, Virginia, journeyed northward as well, arriving at the new post by August where Anderson served as the regimental adjutant under Bennet Riley. Over the next several years, Ellen and James remained in the North, except for one brief visit to St. Augustine to visit the Aldrich family.

The Andersons spent three uneventful years on the northern frontier until his unit was ordered to Mexico in the fall of 1846. By the time he arrived as part of Winfield Scott's invasion force, the U.S. and Mexico had been at war for nearly five months. As a member of the 2nd Infantry, James participated in the amphibious

73. *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 6 May 1842. For the 2nd Infantry's actions against the Indians from January to May, see *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 4, 25 February, 29 April 1842; *Georgian*, quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 30 December 1841, 29 January, 12 February, 19 March, 21 May 1842.

74. On the Armed Occupation Act, see Daniel L. Schafer, "U. S. Territory and State," in Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 217-18; Martin, *Florida During Territorial Days*, 93-96; Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, 149.

75. On this phase of the Second Seminole War, see Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 274-320; Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida*, 96-109; Mahon and Weisman, "Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Peoples," 196-98; Prucha, *Sword of the Republic*, 297-303; Edward S. Wallace, *General William Jenkins Worth: Monterey's Forgotten Hero* (Dallas, Texas, 1953), 51-55; Sprague, *The Florida War*, 286-493; Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, 168.

76. *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, 27 May 1842.

landing at Vera Cruz and the other battles leading up to Scott's capture of Mexico City. However, only days before Scott's triumphant march into the Mexican capital, Anderson was wounded in the attack against Churubusco Convent, dying on August 21, 1847.⁷⁷

Ellen Anderson survived as well as she could with her three children. In the remaining years before her death in 1862, she lived with her sister and brother-in-law in Key West and then finally in New York City where she struggled financially, despite receiving a widow's bonus, a regular pension, and help from her two brothers. Still, for the grieving widow and her children, James Anderson's service in Florida and Mexico provided future benefits. In 1860, the aging Winfield Scott lived only blocks from Ellen Anderson in New York City. He ensured that James Anderson's son, Edward Willoughby Anderson, received an appointment to West Point.

77. For Anderson's service in the Mexican War, see James M. Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt, "With Scott in Mexico: The Letters of James W. Anderson in the Mexican War, 1846-1847," *Military History of the West* 28 (spring 1998): 19-48.