Our society was founded September 12, 1923 as a non-profit organization. The purpose is to bring together the citizens of Baldwin County to insure the preservation of our rich heritage for posterity.

The Quarterly affords each member an opportunity to have published items of local historical interest and thereby contribute to recorded history.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF
THE BALDWIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
INCORPORATED
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At the time Fairhope was founded in November 1894, several boats served the Eastern Shore. Daphne, Montrose, Battles Wharf, Point Clear and Zundel's Landing, all had bay boat service to and from Mobile. These towns were served over time by The Ocean Wave, Annie, Heroine, Apollo, Bay Queen, Pleasure Bay, James A Carney and others. But the Single-Taxers wanted daily reliable service to and from Mobile. They didn’t feel they could rely on private bay boats to meet their wishes or needs. Also, some of the Fairhopeans wanted to reduce the winter rate increases and “a competing boat would do that,” they said.

On October 8, 1900, those locals interested in building a public steamer gathered. Since the Fairhope Industrial Association constitution forbade interest-bearing debt, a trustee plan was adopted, which would offer investors a reasonable profit. However, all earnings from the boat after operating expenses, were pledged to retire the stock. The boat would then be turned over to the Association.

The 95-ton bay boat “Fairhope” was launched on June 27, 1901, but it was not without trauma nor was it as successful as they had hoped. On December 12, 1901, the Heroine and Fairhope, proceeding on their regular trips across the bay, had a near miss. “The Fairhope left the dock a few minutes ahead of the Heroine. A short time later when Heroine was approaching Fairhope to pass, she blew for her side,” reported the Baldwin Times. “Fairhope answered and gave the right of way. Just as Heroine was about halfway past, the Fairhope pulled in, ostensibly to get the suction from Heroine and in doing so, struck Heroine a little back of the wheelhouse. The only damage was a couple of planks broken on Heroine, but Fairhope careened so badly that the passengers on Heroine who saw the accident thought she would surely turn over.” Notwithstanding this event, the boat continued daily service between Fairhope and Mobile.

In 1905, the Fairhope received a complete overhaul of the boiler and machinery. This overhaul cost $6,000, which had not been insured because the trustees thought insurance was too expensive. Shortly after it returned to service, the Fairhope burned to the waterline on November 21, 1905 while moored at the Fairhope pier. But the Colony itself did not suffer in the deal. Settlements were made out of court and the trustees were relieved of further responsibilities.

In 1906, another bay boat was purchased on behalf of the Single-Taxers by the Fairhope Improvement Company, which had no legal connection with the Fairhope Industrial Association (later called the Fairhope Single Tax Corporation). The “Fairhope II,” an iron hull craft, ran directly between Fairhope and Mobile, leaving Fairhope early each morning, except Sunday, and returned leaving Mobile in mid-afternoon. This allowed for passenger connections to the train heading north out of Mobile on weekday mornings. The boat also left Fairhope for Mobile on Saturday afternoon late and returned on Sunday morning, allowing for an overnight stay in the city. The adult fare was 25 cents each way and children between 5 and 12 years old paid 15 cents. The boat served well until mechanical problems demanded that it be retired in 1910. It was returned to creditors in Mobile where it made a brief, but unsuccessful attempt to resume service to the Eastern Shore. Other bay boats continued to serve Fairhope daily, even after the Cochran Bridge Causeway was opened in 1927. Unfortunately, business dropped off rapidly as personal automobiles and commercial trucks had easy access over the bay.

The last of the steam-powered bay boats, “Eastern Shore” sailed her final trip across the bay on Thursday, October 12, 1933. A romantic and historic era ended as the sun set on shallow draft steamers on Mobile Bay.

Photograph Courtesy: MobileBay VintagePhotos
When the tide changes near daylight the fall fishing should be good. The running lights and compass cast eerie red, green and blue halos in the dense October bay-fog. I cannot see the bow of the boat, the water, the trees, or the creatures of the night that I am certain can see and hear me. As I creep along there are muffled swirls and splashes, but I am unable to judge their distance or direction. Mullet are jumping somewhere nearby. My mind is certainly focused, but I am not exactly frightened by the fog and the darkness and the splashes. Not exactly.

Twenty miles or so above here the waters of two great rivers, the Alabama and the Tombigbee, join and flow together for a few miles, before separating again to form the second-largest river delta in the United States. As if they dislike flowing together, they quickly transform themselves into a wondrous tapestry of dozens and then hundreds of slews, channels, cutoff lakes, bayous, creeks, swamps and marshes. To be sure, there is land here, but the land of the delta is wet and subservient, owing its existence to the water, continuously altered by the ebb and flow of the ever-present water. The rich alluvial land in the delta supports miles of magnificent forests and some of the largest trees in Alabama. On the north bank of Jessamine Bayou, west of Stockton, stands a water hickory that is 135 feet tall, with a trunk that is more than 12 feet in circumference. Nearby, in the alluvial swamp, a monstrous old baldcypress stands 131 feet tall, with a girth of more than 27 feet. These two giant trees are state champions, the largest of their kind known to exist in Alabama.

Swamps and marshes are very different things. Swamps are dark and shady, with tupelo, red maple, baldcypress, sweetbay and ash trees towering above dark, still waters. Marshes are sunny, often with exposed wet ground, and they are dominated by herbaceous plants. Some of our most beautiful native wildflowers are marsh plants: lovely purple pickerelweeds, stunning red cardinal flowers, swamp hibiscus, blue flag iris, and pure white spider lilies are all frequently seen in our delta marshes. Many of these famous marsh plants are cultivated and sold at garden centers and plant sales.

Some places have an aura, a special feeling about them. One such place is Mound Island, on Bottle Creek in the heart of the delta. There, seven hundred years ago, the Mississippians,...
one of the most advanced pre-European cultures in North America flourished. They built at least 18 earthen mounds for their homes and temples. The largest of these is an astonishing 45 feet high. Archaeologists tell us that by about 1500 the mound builders were mysteriously gone. A strange, formal feeling comes when one stands on that ancient ceremonial site, thinking of the people who lived and loved there, who built their houses, made their beautiful pottery, raised their children, worshipped their gods, and are no more. We can feel their presence in that sad, quiet place, and sometimes I think I can hear their spirits as they whisper to each other among the soaring trees.

I relax a bit when the pale yellow glow of dawn appears low in the eastern sky. As the fog clears into a beautiful fall morning, I decide not to fish. I have my cameras, and I spend the day slowly cruising and drifting along the tree-lined sloughs and channels in the center of the delta. Along the muddy, sunny banks there are hundreds of arrowhead plants, which were collected as a food staple by the moundbuilders and later Indians for their starchy, nutritious roots. American Lotus is magnificent along the largest waterways, with ten-inch creamy white flowers that mature into strange fruits that look like inverted showerheads. Fumbling with the camera, I miss a terrific photograph of a great blue heron that flies by on slow-beating wings, with its body reflected on the still water. I take a passable photo of a ten-foot alligator as it climbs out of the water after warily eying me for several minutes.

My reveries are banished by the low growl of late afternoon thunder and a gray metallic sky to the north. The delta is no place to be during a thunderstorm with lightning, so I head back to the Causeway and to safety. To my right as I head home I see the Mobile skyline, with its bridges and great buildings. To my left the high bluffs of Baldwin County rise out of the banks of the Blakeley River. I wonder how many of those thousands of people on both sides of the delta are aware of the incomparable treasure they have in their midst, just a few miles from their doorsteps.

Today, as I pen these lines and recall that perfect fall day in the delta, my thoughts drift onto the distant shores of the future. I hope the majestic Mobile-Tensaw Delta will always be here; that the dreamers and idlers of tomorrow will share my delight in majestic blue herons, stunning wildflowers, and the splashes of mullet in the creepy darkness. My hope for those kindred spirits is that they will always have big trees as their cathedrals and the quiet solitude of dark delta waters to restore their souls.

In Full Bloom. The Delta, the Bay, the Beach; The Plants and Gardens of Baldwin & Mobile Counties. Birmingham. AL: American Image Publishing. 2008

Two early morning views of the Delta:
Autry Greer & Sons

A BRIEF HISTORY OF AUTRY GREER & SONS, INC.
OWNERS & OPERATORS OF GREER’S FOOD MARKETS
AND SAVE-MORE DISCOUNT FOOD STORES

By J. Barton Greer

Autry Greer, founder of the business, was born at Iron City, Alabama on September 23, 1871 and died in Mobile, Alabama on August 26, 1964. His parents were Julia Barton Teague and Joseph Autry Greer. He was educated in the public schools and at Jacksonville Alabama College. His early business life was devoted to sales work in Atlanta, Georgia, where he went following his marriage to Lilly Z. Dumas, whose birthplace was Arlington ( Wilcox County ), Alabama. There were four sons and three daughters born to their marriage. All are living except the first born son, Dumas, who was given his mother’s maiden name. A widower, Autry Greer later married Mrs. Almy Pistole Kennedy who died in 1964. The family moved from Atlanta to Mobile in 1907, and in 1916 Autry Greer opened a grocery store at the northwest corner of Water and St. Michael Streets. This store sold strictly for cash and made no deliveries, pioneering in this area, the new idea of the Cash and Carry food store. Self-Service soon followed and from this combination of Self-Service and Cash and Carry, evolved the modern supermarket in operation nationwide today.

The Greer store at Water and St. Michael was the first, and for some time, the only grocery store in Mobile to advertise prices. They were obviously lower prices because the other grocery stores sold on credit and delivered. At this time the founder pioneered another departure in grocery and feed retailing - a mail order division. Before more adequate roads were constructed to serve rural communities and when so few automobiles were operating, he realized that country customers could pay freight and parcel post charges and still save substantially by buying supplies from him at cash and carry prices. The mail order department developed quickly and soon about twenty-five hundred names were on the mailing list receiving a monthly price list and the orders came fast for shipment on the steamboats serving towns on the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers and Baldwin County and from communities served by the four railroads entering Mobile. The mail order department flourished until good roads and automobiles became common. Although the public response was considerable, the young business with the new approach was inadequately financed; and for a number of years survival was uncertain and was accomplished only as the result of the founder’s determination, the confidence of one banker and two suppliers and family teamwork and sacrifice. ( As the four sons of Autry Greer became of age, they were admitted to interest in the business. ) The senior son, Dumas Greer, died in 1935.

Forty-seven neighborhood stores owned by the company were in operation when the trend to fewer and larger stores began and the firm now operates twenty supermarkets located in the Alabama counties of Mobile, Clarke and Monroe and at Lucedale, McLain and Waynesboro in Mississippi. The business operated as a partnership until 1958 when it was incorporated with the founder, Autry Greer, as Chairman of the Board; and sons, Autry V. (Jack) Greer, President and Treasurer; J. Barton Greer, Senior Vice President; E. S. Green, Senior Vice President and Secretary; and grandsons, Barton Greer, Jr.; Assistant Vice President; Jack V. Greer, Assistant Secretary; and
Mac B. Greer, Assistant Treasurer. Operating executives, the grandsons currently hold office as Vice Presidents. The officers own all of the corporate stock. The firm also operates a ship and institutional supply division and senior officers own an affiliated corporation holding substantial real properties. Consolidated net assets approximate four million dollars, combined annual gross sales and revenues exceed nineteen million compared to 1916 gross sales of one hundred thousand dollars. There are approximately five hundred employees and the annual combined payroll is well over a million dollars.

The corporation is not planning spectacularly or speculatively but expects to continue conservative growth from retained earnings. This has always been the firm’s policy and there is no outside long term debt, nor is there any need for, or us of regular bank financing.

The firm’s ship supply division received a Superior Service Citation from the War Shipping Administration for outstanding performance in supplying vessels of the United States and its allies in World War II. The firm has a record of profitable operation in each of its fifty-five years in business and enjoys Dun and Bradstreet’s highest credit rating.

Compiled September 20, 1971 - our 55th year, by A. V. Greer, President and Treasurer. In August 1973, our 57th year, J. Barton Greer brought the record up to date. The occasion of the history was a special advertising campaign. Two years having passed, certain figures have changed, however substantially it is the same.

An additional supermarket was opened and last year six supermarket stores were purchased, one having since been closed. Three of these stores are located on the Mississippi Coast: one at Pascagoula, one at Ocean Springs and one at Gulfport. The other two are in Mobile.

Each of the three senior Greers; A. V. Greer, J. Barton Greer, and E. S. Greer have been with the company for the entire fifty-seven years. The father passed away on August 26, 1964.

Submitter’s Notes (April 2014)

The above was previously published in the Vol I No. 2 issue of *The Quarterly* in January 1974.

Although the Greer’s grocery store chain began in Mobile County and didn’t move into Baldwin County until many years later, the mail-order operations in the early days were important to many Baldwin County families. There is also little doubt that many purchases were made at the downtown Mobile Greer’s store by families who rode the Bay Boats from the Eastern Shore to Mobile to shop for items not readily available in Baldwin County. Many of my personal memories of living a few miles southwest of Foley in the 1940’s/50’s are of trips to Foley to shop at the Greer’s grocery store.

The system of grocery stores begun by Autry Greer is now in its fifth generation of family ownership, is closely approaching its centennial and is going strong with more than thirty stores in Alabama, Florida and Mississippi.
Nomination of Joseph Pulaski Kennedy to the Alabama Lawyers’ Hall of Fame

Submitted by: David A. Bagwell

Joseph Pulaski Kennedy was a major player in the West Florida Revolution of 1810— the “Star of the West” flag of which was blue with one star— and a fascinating man. He made his living as a lawyer and he was never a judge. But he was a revolutionary. Judge Toulmin, who was admitted earlier to this Hall of Fame, and Kennedy hated each other’s guts. But there is no reason why Judge Toulmin should be allowed to blackball Joseph P. Kennedy for this Hall of Fame.

1. Joseph P. Kennedy in General. Here’s how Col. Richard Sparks, Commandant of Fort Stoddert, hardly a friend, described Kennedy in a letter of July 12, 1810 to Secretary of War Eustis: Once the son-in-law of Abraham Baldwin, Sr... and also brother-in-law to Joel

1 When Mississippi seceded from the Union in 1861 it filched this flag as the flag of Mississippi, and an Irish troubadour who happened to be there made the flag famous by his lyrics “The Bonny Blue Flag That Bears a Single Star”, sung to the old Irish tune of “My Irish Jaunting Car”. During the Civil War the flag became a sort of B-Team Confederate Flag.


4 Baldwin County, Alabama [and also Baldwin County, Georgia, of which the County seat is Milledgeville] takes its name from Abraham Baldwin. The website of Baldwin County Alabama [http://www.co.baldwin.al.us/PageView.asp?edit_id=156] gives this thumbnail history of him: “Baldwin County takes her name from a native of Guilford, Connecticut who had never been to the county, much less the entire State of Alabama. Somewhat of a prodigy, Abraham Baldwin graduated from Yale University after studying both theology and law at the young age of 17 years. In 1784, after serving as an educator and chaplain in the American Revolution, Abraham Baldwin moved to the State of Georgia to take up the practice of law, where later that
Barlow⁵ . . . He is a young man, educated in the Eastern States, ambitious, intriguing and popular; and although without real talents, yet in a seditious intrigue, or for the low arts that serve popularity, he must be acknowledged eminent. He is a man of engaging address, popular manners and daring, and although I doubt his capacity to conduct, yet I am well assured he is seconded by a character⁶ who has been several years a resident of this country and well calculated to meet any deficiency of the first.

In 1807 Joseph P. Kennedy had a huge disagreement with Ensign Francis W. Small of the 2d Regiment of U.S. Infantry, apparently stationed at Fort St. Stephens just above the 31st Parallel. Ensign Small seems to have disappeared from history after that, but we know something about

same year, he was elected to the Georgia State Legislature.

Considered one of Georgia’s earliest progressive leaders, Abraham Baldwin is credited with assisting in the authorship of the Georgia State Charter and with the concept of a complete state educational system which directly led to the founding of the University of Georgia - the first of the state universities. Abraham Baldwin served as the University of Georgia’s first president.”

During the Twenty (20) years Abraham Baldwin Spent in Georgia before his death, he had signed the United States Constitution at the Constitutional Convention which formed the United States of America and served in the United States House of Representatives & United States Senate during the Presidential Administrations of George Washington, John Adams & Thomas Jefferson.

When Alabama was still considered the Alabama Territory, before Statehood on December 14, 1819, many of the county’s settlers, who migrated from the State of Georgia, suggested the county be named after Abraham Baldwin to honor his life and accomplishments.

⁵ Joel Barlow graduated from Yale in 1778 and became a writer and one of the group [which included John Trumbull] known as “The Hartford Wits”. He helped Thomas Paine publish “The Age of Reason” while Paine was imprisoned in France during the Reign of Terror. He was U.S. Consul at Algiers and negotiated a treaty with Tripoli during the Barbary Wars, and in 1811 became U.S. Ambassador to France; attempting to meet with Napoleon he became involved in Napoleon’s retreat and died of exposure in Poland. Oddly, he is best known today for the mock-heroic poem “Hasty Pudding”. See generally James Woodress, A YANKEE’S ODYSSEY: The Life of Joel Barlow (Lippincott Press 1958).

⁶ Cox says this “may have referred to Colonel James Caller”, id at 445.
this from a tract privately published by J.P. Kennedy at St. Stephens in 1807\(^7\), ambitiously entitled “To the World”. Kennedy was obviously by then stirring up discontent in the Tensaw country against Spanish rule south of the 31\(^{st}\) Parallel and against U.S. government. Small apparently published a letter or column in the Louisiana Gazette in July 7, 1807, in which he claimed among other things that Joseph P. Kennedy had invited a bunch of friends to the home of his brother Joshua Kennedy, “where after they had drank a sufficiency of whiskey or Taffia”\(^8\), Joseph Kennedy supposedly produced a resolution or memorial—likely against Spanish Rule below the 31\(^{st}\) Parallel and U.S. connivance with it and quite possibly the 1807 arrest at McIntosh, Alabama of Aaron Burr -- and got them to sign it. Apparently the newspaper article also accused Kennedy of having gone to New Orleans and bought a bunch of stuff and not having paid for it, and further slandered Kennedy for a series of other wrongs and disputes of various kinds. Kennedy in his published response entitled “To the World”, led in by saying “I had once flattered myself, that my journey through this troublesome life, would be such, that no individual should force me into a paper war; but sad experience and the cowardice of those, whose profession it is to be brave, force me to this \textit{dernier resort}, for the vindication of that which is dearer than life”. He got sworn affidavits from five people who were there which

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{This publication is 15 pages in length and is preserved in microfilm in various libraries.}\\
\text{\textsuperscript{8}} \text{A website from the West Indies speaks of “taffia” as the ancestor of rum. Readers of a certain age may remember the Kingston Trio’s song about “a Captain bold from Halifax who dwelt in country quarters, [who] seduced a maid who hanged herself one Monday in her garters”, and when “his wicked conscience smited him” he took to drinking ratafia and thought upon Miss Bailey”. Ratafia is an altogether different drink from taffia, but the origin of the word “ratifia” is thought to be derived from “taffia”}\end{align*}\]
said “there was no Whiskey or Taffia drank at said meeting, but there was Good Brandy drank; and no person whatever intoxicated at the time of signing”. After that, he and the affiants refuted the charges in a bewildering document which among other things shows clearly that (1) Kennedy and the Army officers at St. Stephens hated one another, (2) life and its affairs were very dirty back then, (3) Kennedy hated the Panton, Leslie partners, and (4) Kennedy was a brawler on most every level.

2. **Joseph P. Kennedy in The West Florida Revolution of 1810.** By the summer of 1810 the Americans in the Tombigbee District, and those living in Spanish parts in Mobile and Baldwin Counties in Alabama, were about to reach what we might today call “escape velocity”. On June 20, 1810, Perez, Commandant at Mobile, wrote to the Spaniard St. Maxent [who was temporarily taking Folch’s place while Folch was in Havana] that American settlers near Fort Stoddert in the Tombigbee District had formed “the Mobile Society”, that with 200 men they intended to attack and take Mobile and plunder the stores of John Forbes & Company there, and capture the Fort. Their head was said to be the lawyer Joseph Pulaski Kennedy, and Zenon Orso of Mobile was implicated. The Spaniards got from Orso the Kennedy’s letter inviting Orso to join The Mobile Society and, thus armed with evidence, forced Orso to confess. St. Maxent wrote to Colonel Richard Sparks, then commanding Fort Stoddert, and asked him to break up

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9 Kennedy’s letter of June 7, 1810 to Zenon Orso in Mobile is reproduced at Volume II, THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (Oct. 1896 to July 1897) at 700, along with a number of other letters furnished by Thomas McAdory Owen “from his rich collection of manuscript materials for the history of Alabama”, id at 699. The Alabama Department of Archives and History does not have the originals of these, letter of Norwood A. Kerr, Research Archivist, to David A. Bagwell, May 24, 2007.

10 Cox at 440.
Colonel Sparks investigated in late June and found the claims to be true, that the
Society existed, and he took steps to suppress it and so wrote St. Maxent. Judge Harry
Toulmin at first doubted the rumor because he did not think its leaders were competent to
keep it a secret, but he finally changed his mind and credited the account, but figured that
the precautions of Sparks and the Spaniards had spoiled the plan. Colonel Sparks, for
his part, reported to Secretary of War Eustis that he expected the Society to try to take the
stores and ammunition of Fort Stoddert, neutralizing the Army and to then attack Mobile
and Pensacola, presumably to steal everything at the Panton, Leslie stores in both cities.

The settlers were raising hell. They were angry about the Spaniards’ delaying a
group of settlers from Kentucky and Tennessee, who had been forced to pay duties at
Mobile and detained so long that they ran out of money and food, giving further support
to the complaints of Tennessee politicians who had lately been complaining about the
difficulties of coming through the Mississippi, New Orleans, and Mobile, instead of the
much shorter overland route from the bend in the Tennessee and Muscle Shoals via the
overland route through Creek Indian country; as Cox put it in language seldom used by
historians these days, “[t]he savages daily used these rivers to trade with the Spaniards
and were always ready to ally themselves against the Americans.” And finally, the
leaders-- the Kennedies and Callers and Kempers of the area--

11 Id at 441.
12 Id at 442.
13 Id.
14 Id at 443.
stirred up the people against the United States Government, against Jefferson who had dropped the ball in failing to follow the lead of Congress in the Mobile Act, and against the local U.S. officials such as Judge Toulmin.

On July 19, 1810, Joseph P. Kennedy wrote a letter to D. Perez, the Spanish Commandant at Mobile, that “I have been informed that you have in your possession letters of mine relative to an intended attack on the town of Mobile”, but told Perez that “[a]s a member of the Mobile Society I can with certainty inform you that the citizens of these counties never will make an attack on that country without the concurrence of the general Government”, meaning the United States government, and amazingly enough, that if the United States Government did agree to attack Mobile, “I shall hold it my duty to give you timely notice”, thus apparently anticipating Rule 1 of “Gene Autry’s Cowboy Code”, that “The Cowboy must never shoot first.” Kennedy finished by saying that he was going to “the States, and shall not return until October.”

It might well have been that Kennedy was simply trying to get Folch to relax and to take his eye off the game for another reason. For some thirty-six days between July 25, 1810 and August 29, 1810 there was convened in Louisiana—first at St. John’s Plains and then at Baton Rouge—a sort of revolutionary Congress for the creation of a Republic of West Florida, resulting

Id at 443-444.


http://www.geneautry.com/geneautry/geneautry_cowboycode.html

in the creation of a government. The records of that convention have been preserved in the Library of Congress and have been reprinted in the Louisiana Historical Quarterly.\textsuperscript{19} They are a remarkable resource. But a very significant chunk of that history happened here on the Alabama coast, and it is that which concerns us in this paper.

At about the end of July of 1810, not long after Kennedy’s letter to Perez, Judge Toulmin got hold of a letter which said that Kennedy expected Caller to raise 400 men for an attack on Mobile\textsuperscript{20}, double the number that Colonel Sparks had heard about earlier in June, just the month before. Kennedy said that after taking Mobile the group planned to hold it for the U.S. Civil government or deliver it to the military at Fort Stoddert; Kennedy said that since the U.S. government wouldn’t do anything to oust the Spaniards from the Mobile District it was up to the people themselves to do it. Kennedy knew there was a danger of prosecution, but figured that since a group was involved, he could expect only a light imprisonment, especially from “a patriotic judge”\textsuperscript{21}.

Toulmin wrote about all of this to Governor David Holmes of the Mississippi Territory, who on July 31, 1810 had written to Caller about the rumors, and expressing a sincere hope that there was no basis to them.\textsuperscript{22} Governor Holmes also wrote to Toulmin that the United States was

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{20} Cox at 445.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{21} Id at 445-46. It is hard to know what judge he considered “patriotic”; John Caller as Justice of the Peace in the Forks of the Tombigbee was “patriotic” to the rebels but not to the United States; Judge Toulmin, the Territorial Judge, was “patriotic” to the United States but not to the rebels. I figure he meant Caller.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{22} Id at 446.
\end{quote}
dead set against this plan and that it would be disastrous. He reported it also to Secretary
Smith, but seemed to think that the plan was now dead.\textsuperscript{23}

But Kennedy’s plan to visit “the States” until October, as reported by him to
Perez in order to calm him down, did not necessarily do so. James Innerarity in Mobile
wrote his brother John in Pensacola that Kennedy was going to Georgia to get help for
his Tombigbee revolutionary, and that the four hundred members of The Mobile Society
were connected somehow to the Baton Rouge rabble of the Kempers, and that the
revolutionary were still preparing for war even with Kennedy gone to Georgia, where
he was expected to get help from, using Professor Cox’s words, “a man there of violent
temper, named Troup, [who] was supposed to favor the cause”\textsuperscript{24}. This was George
Michael Troup [1780-1856], whom Kennedy very likely knew because Troup was
raised in McIntosh, and, as a matter of fact, he WAS a McIntosh. George Troup, later to
become Governor of Georgia, was the son of George Troup and of Catherine McIntosh,
and in Georgia politics favored the aristocracy rather than the common man.\textsuperscript{25} Catherine
McIntosh was the youngest daughter of General John McIntosh, and George
Troup was first cousin of Creek Chief William McIntosh, and thus related to the
McGillivray clan of Creek mixed bloods. Troup’s country estate, “Val d’Osta”, gave the
name to “Valdosta”, Georgia, as he gave his name to Troup County. He was a War Hawk
in Congress about the time

\textsuperscript{23} Id at 446-47.

\textsuperscript{24} Id at 448.

\textsuperscript{25} Abernethy, Thomas P., THE FORMATIVE PERIOD IN ALABAMA 1815-1828 (U of Ala Press 1965) at 121.
Kennedy went over to meet with him\textsuperscript{26}.

Governor Holmes of the Mississippi Territory wrote that such an expedition must not take place, and before long President James Madison– who had become president in January of 1810 following Jefferson– learned about it. President Madison wrote to John Graham, by now Chief Clerk of the State Department\textsuperscript{27}; Graham had been active in Spanish West Florida for many years, making missions to Folch and the like.\textsuperscript{28} President Madison told Graham that the State Department should instruct Holmes to do his duty to maintain the laws, and should examine the laws relating to such illegal violations of the neutrality of other nations in order to figure out how to suppress this one.\textsuperscript{29}

The word “filibuster” wasn’t in the American vocabulary until 1851\textsuperscript{30}, and its U.S. predecessor term “Aaron Burr Scheme”\textsuperscript{31} hadn’t yet quite taken off either, but we did have a Neutrality Act. The Neutrality Act had a noble lineage. Chief Justice Melville Fuller wrote in 1897\textsuperscript{32} that the original Neutrality Act of 1794 had a strong provenance, in that it “was a

\textsuperscript{26} Griffith, Benjamin W., Jr.; McINTOSH AND WEATHERFORD, CREEK INDIAN LEADERS (U of Ala Press 1988) p. 3; and maybe not so scholarly but readily available and reasonably dependable, the Wikipedia Entry for George Troup.

\textsuperscript{27} Cox at 449.

\textsuperscript{28} Cox at 173.

\textsuperscript{29} Id at 449.


\textsuperscript{31} Id at 1.

\textsuperscript{32} The best discussion of the early history of the Act is his opinion in THE THREE FRIENDS, 166 U.S. 1 (1897).
remarkable advance in the development of international law, was recommended to Congress by President Washington in his annual address on December 3, 1793; was drawn by Hamilton; and passed the Senate by the casting vote of Vice President Adams. It had a number of failings, however, and it was not amended to strengthen it until 1817 and 1818. It wasn’t very useful against the Kennedy and Kemper revolutionaries. But Secretary of War Eustis looked to strengthen the garrison at Fort Stoddert, which was a more direct help.

And on September 8, 1810 Governor Holmes sent out a blizzard of letters to militia and others in the Tombigbee Country, including Colonel Sparks and Judge Toulmin, telling them to make sure that these fires were damped, because Congress was likely to do something in the coming term about the West Florida mess, and a military raid on Mobile would be counterproductive.

In September of 1810, anticipating by almost half a century the anti-filibustering efforts of Justice John A. Campbell in the William Walker and Harry Maury matters, Judge Toulmin convened a grand jury of Washington County on the illegal expeditions. We don’t seem to have today a copy of Toulmin’s charge to the Grand Jury, but there were two very significant problems with charging the Kemper/Caller/Kennedy revolutionaries with violations of the Neutrality Act, even weak as it was before 1817 and 1818. One basic problem was that Toulmin believed that

33 Id at 52-53.
34 Cox at 449-50.
35 Id at 450-51.
Mobile and West Florida was now AMERICAN territory rather than Spanish territory, by reason of the Treaty of San Ildefonso and the Louisiana Purchase. But, even if Toulmin was wrong about that issue, there was a serious question as to who owned West Florida, because in 1808 Napoleon had defeated Spain and put his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the throne as “King of Spain”, and the United States had not yet recognized that government of Spain, trying to stay neutral between King Joseph Bonaparte on the one hand, and the representatives of King Ferdinand VII on the other, and the U.S. had so far been successful in straddling that fence. But Judge Toulmin’s grand jury charge seems to have both temporarily checked the expedition AND made Toulin increasingly the enemy of the restive Tombigbee settlers.37

Drawn to the fire à la moth to candle, Reuben Kemper showed up at Fort Stoddert on October 24, 1810, apparently in the middle of Judge Toulmin’s court week, learning that there were only fifty soldiers in the Fort at Mobile, and that some of the cannons were just painted logs and that during the dry autumn the moats were dry and useless. Kemper figured that a company of infantry from Baton Rouge would suffice to take Mobile. The officers at Fort Stoddert seemed to encourage him, noting that if he only raised his flag a mile below the Spanish/US borderline [the 31st parallel] he would draw 150-200 men capable of bearing arms, and while the Spanish officers might resist, as was the case in 1781 with the Battle of the Village at Daphne there was little realistic chance of reinforcement from Havana38.

Toulmin decided to try an indirect approach to Folch, having Toulmin’s son-in-law James B. Wilkinson write to James Innerarity an account of Kemper’s visit. The Wilkinson letter said

37 Cox at 452-54.

38 Id at 457-58.
“the Star of the West” flag, if raised below the line, would attract plenty of “boatmen
and sharpshooting Kentuckians”, and advised Innerarity that the people in West Florida
should apply directly to the American government for protection, as the only way to
checkmate the Kemper/Caller/Kennedy forces and to avoid foreign intrigues. Innerarity
answered that he was satisfied with the Spanish government—no surprise there—but that
if there had to be a change, he much preferred the United States to what he called the
“anarchy” [anarchy] of the Kemper/Caller/Kennedy forces; Toulmin promptly reported
this to President Madison on October 31, 1810.39

President Madison, however, was way ahead of Toulmin on this. On October 27, 1810 President James Madison issued a proclamation simply (1) claiming West
Florida, or (2) taking over West Florida, on the theory that West Florida was part of the
Louisiana purchase by reason of the Secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, which proclamation
is worth inserting in its entirety:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas the territory south of the Mississippi Territory and eastward of the river
Mississippi, and extending to the river Perdido, of which possession was not delivered
to the United States in pursuance of the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th April,
1803, has at all times, as is well known, been considered and claimed by them as being
within the colony of Louisiana conveyed by the said treaty in the same extent that it had
in the hands of Spain and that it had when France originally possessed it; and

Whereas the acquiescence of the United States in the temporary continuance
of the said territory under the Spanish authority was not the result of any distrust of
their title, as has been particularly evinced by the general tenor of their laws and by
the distinction made in the application of those laws between that territory and foreign
countries, but was occasioned by their conciliatory views and by a confidence in the
justice of their cause and in the success of candid discussion and amicable negotiation
with a just and friendly power; and

39 Id at 459-60.
Whereas a satisfactory adjustment, too long delayed, without the fault of the United States, has for some time been entirely suspended by events over which they had no control; and Whereas a crisis has at length arrived subversive of the order of things under the Spanish authorities, whereby a failure of the United States to take the said territory into its possession may lead to events ultimately contravening the views of both parties, whilst in the meantime the tranquillity and security of our adjoining territories are endangered and new facilities given to violations of our revenue and commercial laws and of those prohibiting the introduction of slaves:

Considering, moreover, that under these peculiar and imperative circumstances a forbearance on the part of the United States to occupy the territory in question, and thereby guard against the confusions and contingencies which threaten it, might be construed into a dereliction of their title or an insensibility to the importance of the stake; considering that in the hands of the United States it will not cease to be a subject of fair and friendly negotiation and adjustment; considering, finally, that the acts of Congress, though contemplating a present possession by a foreign authority, have contemplated also an eventual possession of the said territory by the United States, and are accordingly so framed as in that case to extend in their operation to the same:

Now be it known that I, James Madison, President of the United States of America, in pursuance of these weighty and urgent considerations, have deemed it right and requisite that possession should be taken of the said territory in the name and behalf of the United States. William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Orleans Territory, of which the said Territory is to be taken as part, will accordingly proceed to execute the same and to exercise over the said Territory the authorities and functions legally appertaining to his office; and the good people inhabiting the same are invited and enjoined to pay due respect to him in that character, to be obedient to the laws, to maintain order, to cherish harmony, and in every manner to conduct themselves as peaceable citizens, under full assurance that they will be protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

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

Done at the city of Washington, the 27th day of October, A.D. 1810, and in the thirty-fifth year of the Independence of the said United States.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President:
R. SMITH,

Secretary of State.

Professor Cox calls this “the momentous proclamation that translated into concrete action the plausible arguments of the past seven years.” Cox at 489. Chief Justice Marshall on the other hand—no minor authority there—writing for the U.S. Supreme Court in 1829 in Foster v Neilson, downplayed the importance of this proclamation, calling it simply a claim of title, noting that:

The convulsed state of European Spain affected her influence over her colonies; and a degree of disorder prevailed in the Floridas, at which the United States could not look with indifference. In October 1810, the president issued his proclamation, directing the governor of the Orleans territory to take possession of the country as far east as the Perdido, and to hold it for the United States. This measure was avowedly intended as an assertion of the title of the United States; but as an assertion, which was rendered necessary in order to avoid evils which might contravene the wishes of both parties, and which would still leave the territory “a subject of fair and friendly negotiation and adjustment”. Id at 307-08.

Unfortunately, whatever the importance of the Madison proclamation of October 27, 1810, transportation and communication being what they were in those days, the proclamation did not reach Washington, MS until December 1st and it did not reach Fort Stoddert until Colonel James Caller arrived there from Natchez with it on December 13th, which caused “great

Cox at 489.


Id at 307-08.

Id at 493.
rejoicing” among the Tombigbee people; Colonel Sparks immediately sent a copy of it to Folch, who likely shared it with James Innerarity in Mobile, who did not get the proclamation at Mobile until the middle of December of 1810, by which time the revolution here was over.

On November 3, 1810, Joseph P. Kennedy was commissioned by Reuben Kemper as a Colonel in the Service of West Florida, with power in Kennedy to appoint his subordinate officers and to determine any and all necessary articles and rules of war; “by this act Kemper definitely arrayed himself against Judge Toulmin and the element in the American settlements that stood for law and order”. That same day Kemper sent a message to the Spaniards at Mobile that since Bonaparte had annihilated Spain and it no longer existed, the people of West Florida had “a natural Right by the Laws of God and Nations” to organize themselves into a new government, in which Kemper offered the top Spaniards a position as high as they themselves held.

Kemper’s new man Kennedy “was the most popular man in the community, was familiar with legal and military matters, and had influential friends in the United States and in West Florida, where two of his brothers resided”, which brothers “were on good terms with the Spanish officials, but would join the insurgent standard as soon as he gave the word”.

44 Id at 508-09.


46 Cox at 460-61.

47 Id at 461-62.

48 Id at 463.
Kemper’s and Kennedy’s plan was to take both Mobile and Pensacola and to make Mobile the capital and send emissaries to propose to the United States that West Florida be annexed. They planned to raise their ill-starred, one-starred flag just below the Spanish/U.S. line on November 25th, where Kennedy promised to meet with two companies from “the upper country”, and Kemper with five hundred men and two eighteen-pound cannon, with which they expected easily to take Mobile, and then within a couple of months, Pensacola and St. Augustine.49 They borrowed money from a New Orleans merchant named Abner L. Duncan, and with it contracted for a boat, powder, lead, and provisions, and they hoped to get a twelve-pounder cannon from Pascagoula.50

Just about everybody in the Tombigbee settlement supported the revolution except for Judge Toulmin, who warned the Tombigbee men that they might well end up under Britain instead of the United States. Toulmin was increasingly a pariah in the Tombigbee because of his opposition to the revolution, and so he started reporting directly to President Madison, who promptly wrote back a letter circulated by Toulmin which expressed his disapproval of the Kemper/Kennedy/Caller plan to take Mobile. Toulmin also wrote to the Baton Rouge supporters of Kemper and warned against the program, for all of which reasons James Innerarity thought that Judge Toulmin was owed a debt of gratitude by every inhabitant of West Florida.51

Judge Toulmin wrote President Madison on November 22d that Kemper and Toulmin had stormed at each other but Kemper insisted they would “raise the ‘star’ below the line on

49 Id at 464-65.

50 Id at 465-66.

51 Id at 467-68.
November 25th, whatever the number of his followers” and assured Toulmin that Army Commander Colonel Sparks thought the plan was just and that thousands would flock to the banner.

On November 23rd the revolutionaries were gathering at the place they called “Bunker Hill” which was at a place then called “McCurtin’s Bluff" in the Tensaw country, and was almost certainly at the head of what we now call Hastie Lake, just off the Tensaw River in what is now Baldwin County.

There at what they called “Bunker Hill” the revolutionary troops started to gather, with Captain Jones from “the fork” of the Tombigbee and the Alabama with one company of men, Captain Moffet about fifty men, and another officer twenty-two. Kennedy was running late but he sent ahead “some powder, lead, drums, his own trunk containing the colors, and (ill-omened harbinger) a barrel of whiskey”. Kemper wrote that “Our Cockade” is mounting”, but that there were contrary “villainous exertions” by Judge Toulmin, that “base Devil filed with deceptive and

52 Id at 469.
53 Id at 474.
54 Cox at 469.
55 A “cockade” is a sort of ribbon rosette which during the Revolutionary War soldiers wore on the three-cornered or cocked hats; George Washington said “[a]s the Continental Army has unfortunately no uniforms, and consequently many inconveniences must arise from not being able to distinguish the commissioned officers from the privates, it is desired that some badge of distinction be immediately provided; for instance that the field officers may have red or pink colored cockades in their hats, the captains yellow or buff, and the subalterns green.”
Judge Toulmin, however, was just about the only opponent of the revolution in the Tombigbee Territory and on November 28, 1810 he wrote to President Madison that he could not depend on the military, since most of the soldiers had joined the revolution; he could not convene a grand jury because they would not indict and, even if they did, the trial juries would not convict, and even Governor Holmes had stopped answering him; his main purpose was to preserve the honor and dignity of the government, and he advised the Spaniards to appeal directly to “the United States” for their protection.57

The best way Toulmin knew to get that message to the Spaniards in Mobile was to write to James Innerarity, which he had been doing since at least the middle of November.58 And Folch for the Spanish government, such as it was by then with Joseph Bonaparte on the throne, came to Mobile where he engaged in direct talks with James Innerarity in which he said that if the revolutionaries would not cause problems, he would rescind the commercial duties which were the main source of the problem and then deliver the territory to the United States in trust, but there was no effective way that anybody could end the upheaval at that point, and Folch said that if the upheaval continued and he had no choice he would fight.59

Meanwhile the West Florida government established a Navy. Just two days after

56 Id at 570.
57 Id at 470.
58 Id at 471.
Madison’s proclamation, on October 29, 1810 the Convention of the West Florida Republic “[r]esolved that a Naval Force is necessary to Cooperate with the Land Force in the Reduction of Mobile & Pensacola, & that the Legislature authorise the Executive to employ the Same”.60 On December 4th President Skipwith of the West Florida Republic made Joseph Collins of Mobile and of Magnolia Springs the head of the Naval forces. He was instructed to go to the “Chifonte”61 on the Eastern Shore of Lake Pontchartrain and there treat with two businessmen from New Orleans for their purchase and equipment, and then to proceed to Dog River off Mobile Bay and cooperate with land forces to reduce Mobile. Any prizes were to be taken to the Admiralty and Prize Court which was more or less established by the Convention on the same day the Naval forces.

Toulmin kept up efforts to get the men to stand down, and tried to enlist John Caller, the Justice of the Peace brother of James Caller, but both the Callers were firmly in the camp of the revolution. Kemper’s sixty or seventy men who had gathered at “Bunker Hill” were moving around on the Eastern shore of Mobile, where they burned a house and a sawmill, and generally terrorizing the populace, most of whom sought shelter in Mobile.62


61 What they called the “Chifonte” is a river in Louisiana sometimes spelled “Tchifonta” or more commonly spelled “Chefuncte” and occasionally appearing as “Tchefuncta” or “Tchifonctee” which rises near the Mississippi line and flows south some 40 miles to empty into Lake Pontchartrain near the present town of Houltonville. During the War of 1812, a settlement of the same name existed on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain at the river’s mouth on land now occupied by the Chefuncte River State Park. Chefuncte is an Indian word meaning chinquapin, an American dwarf chestnut tree.

62 Cox at 475-80.
Folch, utterly without help from any local source whether Spanish or American, decided to send an emissary directly to President Madison with his offer to give the U.S. all of West Florida, and he asked Colonel John McKee to be his messenger. McKee was a Virginian of Scotch-Irish stock who was at various times agent to the Cherokees, Choctaws and Chickasaws, and he is given a good bit of credit for the fact that in the Creek War those tribes fought with the whites; later he was a Congressman from Middle Alabama and helped negotiate the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek with the Choctaw.\textsuperscript{63}

Of more relevance here is that James Innerarity had trusted McKee,\textsuperscript{64} along with Captain Edmund Pendleton Gaines,\textsuperscript{65} to be his messengers with Judge Toulmin, and both were evidently generally trusted among the Spanish/Innerarity/Toulmin faction.

Folch meanwhile twice tried to fight the revolutionaries, but could not find them, evidently due to their moving around. Sparks invited Kemper up above the line to talk about Folch’s offer to eliminate the hated duties, but when Kemper and Caller and vvKennedy showed up, Toulmin had them all arrested,\textsuperscript{66} causing them to miss the war.

Meanwhile Folch, with a hundred regulars and militia, left Mobile in boats and landed on


\textsuperscript{64} Innerarity said so in his letter to Toulmin, Id.

\textsuperscript{65} Gaines of course, as a young Lieutenant in the Army, had arrested Aaron Burr at McIntosh. He later married Myra Clark, who after many decades of litigation and about seventeen trips to the U.S. Supreme Court, was held to be the largest landowner in New Orleans, as heir to Daniel Clark, ally of Aaron Burr.

\textsuperscript{66} Cox at 482-83.
December 10, 1810 near “Sawmill Creek” camp of the revolutionaries, which was apparently what we now call Gunnison Creek, near Saraland, and off Bayou Sara. The revolutionaries at this point were down to about two dozen in number and apparently drunk on the whiskey that Kennedy had shipped them. As the Spaniards attacked the revolutionaries, unfortunately for Folch one of his Spanish soldiers prematurely shot his gun and thus alarmed, the revolutionists killed two of the Spaniards and wounded four. The Spaniards killed four revolutionists, wounding three, and took seven prisoners [including Cyrus Sibley, who was later released, and William Hargreave, a Revolutionary War veteran who had been a Justice of the Peace in Baldwin County but who nevertheless ended up at hard labor in Havana as a Spanish prisoner]. He seized their provisions, their “large boat”, and their flag; “[i]n this inglorious fashion the “star” of West Florida disappeared from the Mobile”.

The most readable historical treatment of the event came from Albert James Pickett’s work, the first history of Alabama in 1851, in which he said–after interviewing Dr. Thomas G. Holmes [an ancestor of Mobile lawyer Broox Holmes, and later a survivor of Fort Mims] who

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67 Id at 483-484.
68 Id at 484.
69 Id at 485. This fact in Cox seems to suggest that Sibley was released quickly, but Pickett’s version, discussed later here, says before he was released he served time in prison in Havana.
70 Id at 423-24.
71 Id at 485.
72 This suggests that the mill must have been at or near the mouth of Sawmill Creek at a navigable waterway, for which see above.
Before the new republic was annexed to Louisiana the convention despatched its colonel, Reuben Kemper, to the Tombigby river to enlist an army for the purpose of expelling the Spaniards from the Mobile district. The hatred of all these people for the Spaniards facilitated the movements of Kemper, who operated in conjunction with Colonel James Caller, a man of wealth and considerable frontier influence, at whose house he lodged. Troops were secretly raised. Flat-boats, with provisions, were despatched down the Tensaw river to Smith’s plantation. Nov. 1810: Major Kennedy and Colonel Kemper crossed over to the Boat Yard, where they were joined by Dr. Thomas G. Holmes and other fearless and ardent spirits, together with a company of horse under Captain Bernard. Arriving at the White House, one mile above the present Blakeley, Kemper despatched young Cyrus Sibley with a letter to Governor Folch, who had just taken command of Mobile, demanding the surrender of that place. A party under Dr. Holmes was also despatched to scour the surrounding country for arms, ammunition and provisions, which the inhabitants generally secreted and withheld, because, being Spanish subjects, they were not dissatisfied with that government, which exacted no onerous duties of them. The command dropped down to the old fields of Minette Bay, opposite Mobile, where they appropriated to themselves without scruple forage and provisions, the property of Charles Conway, Sr. Captain Goss arrived with a keel-boat laden with whiskey, corn, flour and bacon, which had been sent by the Baton Rouge Convention down the Mississippi; through the lakes. The whiskey put the whole expedition in good spirits. Glowing speeches were made by Kennedy, who pointed them to the ancient Mobile, which, he said, they would shortly capture. But cold, rainy weather, which the troops were forced to encounter without tents or covering of any kind, now sat in. This circumstance, together with a personal difficulty which arose between Dr. Holmes and Dr. Pollard, in which the former was compelled, in self defence, to severely wound the latter with a pistol, influenced Kemper to conduct the campaign on the other side of the bay. With a portion of the party, Major Hargrove proceeded in the boat to Saw-mill creek, on the west side of Mobile river, twelve miles above the town. With an abundance of whiskey and several fiddlers, a frolic was there kept up, which was intended to last until Kemper and the horse company could go round by the Cut-Off and join them. An evil old man in the neighborhood, who often drank with them, went one night to Mobile and assured Governor Folch how easily they might be captured. The latter sent Parades, with two hundred regulars and citizens in boats, up the river late one evening, who entered Saw-mill creek, ascended it to the American camp, and while the poor fellows were dancing and shouting, at 11 o’clock at night, fired upon them. Many of them fled in all

As Elmer Keith, a gun expert, whose autobiography is entitled “HELL I WAS THERE!”.  

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73 As Elmer Keith, a gun expert, whose autobiography is entitled “HELL I WAS THERE!”.
directions. Four were killed and others were wounded. Major Hargrove rallied a few of his men and fought, but was overpowered. He and nine more were loaded with irons, carried to Mobile, thrown into the calaboose, and from thence conveyed to Havana and immured in the dungeons of Moro Castle. Cyrus Sibley, afterwards recognized as the bearer of the despatch to Folch from Kemper, was seized, and also sent to Moro Castle. Nov 1811: These men remained Spanish prisoners in the Castle for five years. This affair broke up the “Kempper expedition,” which was further embarrassed by opposition from the Federal authorities about Fort Stoddert.  

Judge Hamilton boils down Pickett’s version even more:

Kemper led a band of filibusters down the Tensaw River, where Dr. Thomas G. Holmes and a few other fiery spirits joined them. Near the old Apalachee settlement, they made speeches and gesticulated towards ancient Mobile, and even sent Cyrus Sibley over to demand its surrender by Folch. But whiskey from Baton Rouge and dissension ruined the expedition. Part crossed over Sawmill Creek, twelve miles above Mobile, but, while fiddling and dancing, were betrayed by an old countryman. Two hundred soldiers sent up in boats under Parades captured the party.  

Claiborne went to Baton Rouge and demanded the same thing in Louisiana. On December 10th, 1810, the “Star of the West” flag at Baton Rouge was lowered, they stacked their guns “and saluted the emblem whose descent marked the close of the short-lived republic of West Florida.”  

3. Kennedy After the West Florida Revolution. After the Revolution of 1810, Kennedy


75 Just remember that we said above that this word did not come into the English language until 1851.

76 Hamilton at 400.

77 Cox at 505.
stayed prominent, and as Brigade Major of a group of soldiers with Captain Uriah Blue, sent to bury the dead of Fort Mims nine days after the massacre, sent a full and descriptive report to General Claiborne, which has only quite recently been discovered and published by Professor Greg Waselkov in his recent definitive work on Fort Mims.

Also, in the battle over Fort Bowyer when the Redcoats captured it on the way back from losing the Battle of New Orleans but on their way to winning at Waterloo, Kennedy was commander of a unit of Indians, and with his old comrade-in-arms Major Uriah Blue, Kennedy was adjutant of a unit sent to help the Indians. The unit got bogged down by a battery of English cannon; these events were used against Kennedy in an 1815 election in Jackson County, Mississippi Territory, Kennedy’s response to which is some of the very little evidence remaining concerning that battle.

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78 Waselkov, Gregory A., A CONQUERING SPIRIT: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814 (U of Ala Press 2006)

79 This is little-plumbed by historians, see Waselkov, Gregory A., A CONQUERING SPIRIT: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814 p. 326 n. 24 (U of Ala Press 2006)

80 Kennedy, Joseph Pulaski, TO THE CITIZENS OF JACKSON COUNTY (printed by Thomas Eastin, St. Stephens, Mississippi Territory, 1815).
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Mickey Boykin
Program Committee – North Section – vacant at this time
Publication/Editor – Kennard Balme
Website Committee – Open

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