

407/D-29

CEREMONIES ATTENDING THE  
SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE

*Battle of Horseshoe Bend*

AND

DEDICATION OF THE PARK VISITOR CENTER  
FRIDAY, MARCH 27, 1964, AT 2:00 P.M.

Color Scans

12/26/2002





*Equestrian Statue of General Andrew Jackson in LaFayette Square, Washington, D. C. Reproduced from original photograph in the Archives of the Library of Congress.*





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FOREWORD

An act of Congress approved by President Eisenhower on July 25, 1956, designated as a national military park the site of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

This battle, between Creek Indians allied with Great Britain and the United States forces under General Andrew Jackson, took place March 27, 1814, within a horseshoe-shaped bend in the Tallapoosa River in what is now East Central Alabama. Colorful, dramatic, and brave for its own sake, with participants on both sides famous or destined to fame, the engagement was far more than just another Indian battle.

In course of the campaign for Congressional recognition, the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association offered testimony from leading present-day historians on the decisive part the battle played in the winning of the West—from the South—and in bringing Andrew Jackson to the national attention that made him President, created the Democratic Party, and launched a new era in America.

In very great addition, the battle's significance was enhanced through independent research by the Chairman, emphasizing a vital part the Horseshoe Bend victory may have played in saving the United States from project dismemberment by Great Britain after the War of 1812 and in producing the modified terms of the Treaty of Ghent.

March 27, 1964

*Thomas D. Russell*

Thomas D. Russell, *President*  
Alexander City, Alabama

*Thomas W. Martin*

Thomas W. Martin, *Chairman*  
Birmingham, Alabama

*C. J. Coley*

C. J. Coley, *Secretary*  
Dadeville, Alabama



THOMAS W. MARTIN

It was with great satisfaction that we were advised by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on August 3, 1956, that he had approved HR 11766; being the act which provided for the establishment of the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park.

In approving the act, President Eisenhower expressed his appreciation of "interest and support of this action giving *national significance* to the importance of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend on March 27, 1814."

The land constituting the park area of 2040 acres was donated to the United States on April 24, 1959, by the various owners for the purpose of establishing a National Military Park.

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, as it is today, is the product of a truly grass-roots effort on the part of Southerners—and of the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.

It was indicated in the hearings before the House and Senate committees on the bill of Congressman Rains and Senators Hill and Sparkman, to create the park, that the battle and subsequent events had *national significance*, which

In behalf of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association, we wish to express to Mr. Elbert Cox and Mr. Clarence Johnson, and others of the National Park Service, our appreciation of this opportunity to appear, and also for the very effective work they are carrying out to more clearly mark and define the battleground area.



THOMAS D. RUSSELL

was the basis on which the committees of Congress were willing to declare the area a national military park.

The battle had been fought in what is now Tallapoosa County, Alabama, on the westerly side of the Tallapoosa River, where the river forms a sort of horseshoe. The land within the great curve was owned largely by Alabama Power Company and had been purchased a good many years before, with a view to building a dam and power plant downstream. A license to build such a dam had been issued by the Federal Power Commission. If built, it would have flooded almost all of the battleground, except possibly the small area (5.1 acres) which had been donated for the battle monument.

In 1923, Thomas W. Martin, who was president of the Power Company, and Oscar G. Thurlow, its chief engineer, visited the battle site. So important did it seem that this historic site be preserved that they recommended to the Company that nothing be done looking to the construction of a power dam which would flood the site, until every effort had been made to secure action from Congress for creating a national military park. Subsequently, the



ALBERT RAINS



C. J. COLEY

directors resolved to postpone construction, to withdraw the application to the Federal Power Commission, and to donate the battle site for the purposes of a military park if Congress could be so persuaded.

The Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association was organized in Alabama as a nonprofit corporation on June 6, 1955, with officers and trustees from Alabama, Tennessee, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with Thomas W. Martin as chairman and Thomas D. Russell as president. The Association devoted itself to passage of bills introduced by Alabama's Congressman Rains and Senators Hill and Sparkman to establish the area as a national military park.

Thus you will see that the history of this part of American life is a record of great achievement, in warfare, and in diplomacy, in the face of almost impossible odds. It is a record filled with achievements too long obscured; it is filled with high drama and difficult decisions; with bravery and with tragedy; with incidents which only through this occasion could be brought to light. Here we see hope revived in certain parts of our nation by events in the southeast, then a remote area; soon to be followed by conquest of wild areas and the settlement of a great part of our continent.

They helped the nation at a vital and important time to re-establish its sense of identity and purpose to become "earth's great place in earth's great time."

HORSESHOE BEND BATTLE PARK ASSOCIATION, INC.  
Tallapoosa County, Alabama

THOMAS D. RUSSELL, <i>President</i> Alexander City, Alabama	THOMAS W. MARTIN, <i>Chairman</i> 600 North 18th Street Birmingham, Alabama
RUCKER AGEE, <i>Vice President</i> Birmingham, Alabama	C. J. COLEY, <i>Secretary</i> Alexander City, Alabama
SAM W. OLIVER, <i>Treasurer</i> Dadeville, Alabama	

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P. O. DAVIS Auburn, Ala.	SAM W. OLIVER Dadeville, Ala.
ALBERT RAINS Gadsden, Ala.	LONNIE P. SWEATT Gulfport, Miss.
JACK LANGHORNE Huntsville, Ala.	JAMES F. SULZBY, JR. Birmingham, Ala.
C. O. VARDAMAN Birmingham, Ala.	HUDSON STRODE University, Ala.

## PROGRAM

The Star Spangled Banner ..... 604th Air Force Band  
Maxwell AFB  
Montgomery, Alabama

Welcome ..... C. L. Johnson  
Superintendent, Horseshoe Bend  
National Military Park

\* \* \*

Presiding ..... C. J. Coley  
Chairman, Arrangements Committee

Invocation ..... The Reverend Denson N. Franklin  
Pastor, First Methodist Church  
Birmingham, Alabama

Remarks ..... Elbert Cox  
Director, Southeast Region  
National Park Service

### Introductions

Welcome ..... The Honorable George C. Wallace  
Governor of Alabama

Remarks ..... Thomas D. Russell  
President  
Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association

Address ..... Thomas W. Martin  
Chairman, Board of Trustees  
Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association

Dedication Address ..... The Honorable Albert Rains  
Congressman at Large  
State of Alabama

America The Beautiful ..... 604th Air Force Band

Benediction ..... The Reverend Charles E. Danner  
Pastor, Woods Presbyterian Church  
Dadeville, Alabama

God Bless America ..... 604th Air Force Band

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### SPONSORS

Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association  
Alexander City Chamber of Commerce  
National Park Service

Ceremonies Attending The Sesquicentennial of the  
BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND  
and  
Dedication of the Park Visitor Center  
Friday, March 27, 1964 at 2:00 P.M.

JUDGE C. JACKSON COLEY (Chairman): Reverend Denson N. Franklin will give our invocation. He is pastor of the First Methodist Church of Birmingham. Dr. Franklin is a native of Goodwater in adjoining Coosa County, and we are pleased and honored to have him offer the invocation.



DR. DENSON N. FRANKLIN

DR. FRANKLIN: Let us pray. Our Father, we come to this holy ground to celebrate a great day in the history of our nation and of our beloved state. We come to observe this 150th anniversary of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend which pushed back the tides of ignorance and superstition and brought to this area of our nation a new freedom and a new opportunity for development. On this spot blood was shed to save men from darkness of savagery, and their minds were opened to the light

of democracy. We thank Thee for the brave men who fought here and for those who died here. Keep us ever conscious of the price which has been paid for our liberty. May we realize that every new path of progress has been made possible by human blood, sweat and tears. We thank Thee for this great nation and for our fair state as we wrestle with problems which divide us. May nothing separate us in our common love of freedom and the deep bonds of affection which we have for

each other. Let the quiet waters of this river and the beauty of nature here speak of the wonderous glory of Thy mercy and Thy love. On this Good Friday, we remember another battle which was fought on a field far away where our salvation was purchased by the blood of Thy Son, Jesus Christ. Accept our pledge of allegiance to Thee in this hour and to this nation which Thou has given us. In the name of our Lord we pray. Amen.

CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the acting superintendent of Horseshoe Bend National Military Park is Mr. Franklin N. Hambly. Mr. Hambly has done a fine job in his work here, and at this time we would like for you to meet him. Mr. Franklin N. Hambly:



FRANKLIN N. HAMBLY

MR. HAMBLY: Mr. Chairman, Congressman Rains, Regional Director Cox, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. *On behalf of superintendent Johnson I would like to welcome each and every one of you to Horseshoe Bend National Military Park. We are very pleased to have all of you here today to commemorate the observance of this date and the dedication of these new public facilities. I am also very happy to see so many local citizens lending their support to this*

*observance and dedication. It proves what I have known all along, that Alabamians are justly proud of their national heritage. Alabamians are also workers. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those organizations and individuals who helped me so tremendously in planning this event. If it had not been for their undying efforts and their cooperation in my behalf, I am sure that this event would not have been as successful as you see it today. I wish to expressly thank the*



chairman, C. J. Coley, who has been both my left and right hand in planning for this celebration, and above all, a sincere friend. It is hoped that you will all visit us again and often. Now I would like to turn the program over to the chairman, Judge C. J. Coley. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN: Thank you Superintendent Hambly. Ladies and gentlemen, we are delighted to welcome to the eternal hills of Tallapoosa County and to the State of Alabama, Mr. Elbert Cox. Mr. Cox is regional director of the southeast region of the National Park Service at Richmond, Virginia. At this time we would like to ask Mr. Cox to make whatever comments he would like. Mr. Cox:



ELBERT COX

MR. COX: Mr. Chairman, Congressman Rains, Congressman Grant, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When I was out here earlier this morning looking over these grounds with all the empty chairs, I wondered who would come to fill them. That shows how little I knew about Horseshoe Bend and you good folks in Alabama. I am delighted to see so many of you here and from what I see, others are still coming.

First of all, may I express the regrets of Secretary Stewart Udall and Director George Hartzog for their inability to be with us on this historic occasion. These are busy days in Washington and I know how much they would enjoy being here if their duties had been less demanding. It is my pleasure to represent them and to extend greetings to all those present.

Certainly it would be out of place for me to assume the posture of host in welcoming Congressman Rains anywhere in

the State of Alabama, much less to this his own home community and the district which he represents so ably in the U. S. Congress. Rather, I would like to acknowledge again a fact so well known to all of you; namely, without the Congressman's genuine and persistent belief in this park project the legislation authorizing Horseshoe Bend National Military Park would never have come about. The National Park Service is most appreciative for his interest and for his advocacy when matters of import to Horseshoe Bend come to the attention of Congress.

There are others who must be mentioned for their part in the establishment of Horseshoe Bend. At every meeting or hearing or whenever the proposal was to be considered, Judge C. J. Coley was always in the forefront. For his untiring efforts in the beginning and for his unflagging interest and support through the years we shall always be most grateful.

*There is one other gentleman who must be given a place of honor among those who have worked through the years to make sure that this historic place would be preserved for us and for future generations. His skillful influence and leadership were of incalculable effect in gaining the necessary support for the park bill. His great dedication to this purpose has always been an inspiration to all who know him.*

*He believed deeply in the historic significance of this battlefield and his actions were no less convincing than his words. I shall never forget his recounting for a number of us at one meeting his resolve many years ago to exclude the Horseshoe Bend from parts of the river which his company had proposed for flooding. The small sheet of paper on which he had written this declaration of policy and purpose should be preserved as one of the most historic documents in the history of Horseshoe Bend National Military Park. I hope Mr. Martin will tell the simple but dramatic story of that little memorandum to this audience here today.*

*It is an honor to have him with us and to be able to pay this brief tribute to him.*

I cannot take time to name all who have had a part in bringing this Park into being—you know who they are—Mr. Tom Russell, Mr. Robert Russell, Rucker Agee, Sam Oliver, Judge C. C. Adams, the late John Temple Graves, and so many others—and we are most appreciative to all of them.

And now I must inject a note of sadness by mentioning the absence of Superintendent Clarence Johnson because of illness. He has worked long and hard to be ready for this dedication. I know that this Park and this assembly of his friends and associates are in his thoughts this hour and we all share together the fervent hope that his recovery will be rapid and complete. I tried to convey these sentiments to Mrs. Johnson by telephone this morning and to give her our assurance of high regard for Clarence and the fine accomplishments represented in the facilities we are about to dedicate.

I want to speak for just a few minutes about Horseshoe Bend—not about the history of the battle—others on the platform can do a better job at that than I—but its place in the system of national parks and the role it and others like it play in preserving this nation's historic heritage.

There was a time when, if anyone mentioned the National Park Service, people automatically thought of the outstanding scenic areas like Yellowstone, Yosemite, and the Grand Canyon. In recent years, though, we are discovering that people are very much aware that places like Jamestown and Yorktown, Independence Hall, the Statue of Liberty, Chalmette and Horseshoe Bend are also administered by the National Park Service. Actually there are more than twice as many historical parks and monuments as there are natural and scenic parks.

*Why do we have National Parks? We know that food, shelter, and clothing are man's indispensable needs, but our civilization is beginning to realize that man in this complex age needs more than food and shelter. More and more he seeks the soul-lifting peace and serenity derived from an intimate experience with his natural surroundings, but he wants too to know the history of his country, to appreciate the gifts of statesmanship, heroism, and sacrifice that together form the image*

*of America today. In other words, we believe a man ought to be inspired by the acts of his father and his grandfather so that he can chart his tomorrows in wisdom drawn from the past. What better way for Americans to learn of their past than to visit the places where history was made as here at Horseshoe Bend?*

Time does not permit any further elaboration of the varied and rich history portrayed in the nation's great historic sites, but I do want to speak briefly about one that will have special interest in this audience—I refer to Russell Cave National Monument, located in Jackson County in extreme northeastern Alabama. Here, a rock shelter in the face of the limestone mountains contains a record of 8000 years of man's life on this continent. Here is the background story of the American Indians which reached a climax at Horseshoe Bend.

Following investigations jointly sponsored by the National Geographic Society and the Smithsonian Institution, 310 acres of land including the cave were donated to the people of the United States by the National Geographic Society. Russell Cave National Monument was established by Presidential Proclamation on May 11, 1961.

A program of development has been actively pursued since that time. Facilities for public use, including the visitor center and its exhibits, have been completed. The building of an in-place exhibit within the cave is in progress, and dedication of the area is expected next fall.

*But today we are thinking of Horseshoe Bend and a later era. Bound together, as units in the National Park System, are three areas dedicated to the commemoration of winning the Second War for American Independence: Horseshoe Bend, Natchez Trace, and Chalmette, a scene of the tremendous victory in the Battle of New Orleans. This victory was final vindication of the Declaration in 1776 that the nation was "and of right ought to be Free and Independent." The great Jackson success story unfolds at these three parks:*

*Horseshoe Bend, where Andrew Jackson won his crushing victory over the Creek Nation, thereby gaining the attention of President Madison who was to give him a higher command;*

*The Natchez Trace where, on an earlier expedition, Jackson had been awarded his immortal name "Old Hickory" by his admiring troops. The Natchez Trace later became the homeward path of the "victors of New Orleans."*

*And Chalmette, where Jackson won a victory of such great importance in the formation of the American Nation.*

*A Tennessee historian and biographer has written: "Fort Mims [beginning of the Creek War] led Jackson, by way of New Orleans, to the Presidency of the United States." And he could as well have added that New Orleans was reached by way of Horseshoe Bend. And, of that victory at New Orleans another writer has said: "It created a president, a party, and a tradition."*

It is fitting that the Sesquicentennial of the triumphal conclusion of the War of 1812 should begin here, at the Horseshoe, on the 150th anniversary of the battle which marked Andrew Jackson for fame and put him in command at New Orleans. Then in late December this year and early January 1965 the concluding observance—really a continuation of the story—will involve special ceremonies at Chalmette National Historical Park, site of that final incredible victory at New Orleans.

This ceremony of observance today underlies, with fitness and finality, the thought that Americans have not forgotten those who fought on this ground a century and a half ago. We do remember, and those who come tomorrow will also remember, thereby gaining perspective needed in this Space and Nuclear Age.

In fact this commemoration will go on and on, from day to day, from year to year, in the unfolding development and operation of this Park. For Horseshoe Bend National Military Park is a dedicated place—with special meaning for those who cherish the American heritage of liberty and freedom. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Cox.

Now I would like for you people who are here today to know the men and women who have been the motivating force in getting Horseshoe Bend established as a National Military Park. These are people who started from the grass roots and worked hard and long. I would like to call their names and ask each of them to stand, and for you to hold your applause until I have finished introducing them. Mr. Thomas W. Martin, Chairman of the Board. Mr. Thomas D. Russell, President, Mr. Rucker Agee, Vice President. Mr. Sam W. Oliver, Treasurer. Dr. Peter A. Brannon, Dr. George R. Stuart, Mr. Robert A. Russell, Mrs. Robert A. Russell, Mr. P. O. Davis, Congressman Albert Rains, Judge Charles C. Adams, Mr. James F. Sulzby, Jr., Mr. James W. Lovelace, Mr. C. O. Vardaman, Mr. Tom Johnson, Mrs. H. Key Milner, and C. J. Coley. Now these are the trustees of Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association who are present today. Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you would like to show your appreciation. (Thereupon, the audience stood and applauded loudly.)

Is Governor Folsom in the audience? We were expecting him here today. He has been a great encouragement to us, particularly during the time when he was Governor of Alabama. I am sorry that Governor Folsom is not here.

Is Governor Patterson in the audience? We were also expecting him here. He is a native of this particular area, and was of great help during his administration.

*We are honored to have in our audience Alabama Daughters of the War of 1812. The Daughters of the War of 1812 have held their state convention in Alexander City and especially planned their convocation for this celebration today. Mrs. J. E. Rohrer is president of this distinguished group, and we would like at this time for the Daughters of the War of 1812 to please stand so that you may see them. (These ladies stood and received applause from the audience.)*

*We have another important group here today. The Opelika, Alabama Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolu-*

tion, and we would like for them to stand please. (These ladies also stood and received applause from the audience.)

*I think that everyone in Alexander City knows, and I want all of you to know, how hard the Alexander City Chamber of Commerce has worked to help make this a successful occasion. In our audience today is Mr. W. Cary Cox, who is president of the Alexander City Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Ralph Frohsin, who is chairman of the Horseshoe Bend Committee of the Alexander City Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. L. E. Sellers, who is its secretary-manager. Will these three gentlemen please stand. (Thereupon these gentlemen stood and received applause.)*

We are very grateful, indeed, for the news media representatives who are here today. We have wide representation of the newspapers and radio and television from over Alabama. And in addition, we have numbers of representatives from the news media from out of the state of Alabama. We have a representative from the Cleveland, Ohio Plain Dealer, the travel agency for the Cleveland Plain Dealer. We have a representative from the Nashville Tennessean. We have a representative from the Atlanta papers, and maybe others from out of the state. Will all of you out-of-state news media people please stand.

We are pleased to have another distinguished member of our House of Representatives here, Honorable George Grant. Representative Grant, will you please stand. (Representative Grant stood and received applause.)

The Chairman continues:

You know the Battle of Horseshoe Bend celebration would not be complete unless we had some of the first Americans present. We have a wonderful representative from the great Cherokee nation and he is Richard Crow, descendant of Chief Junaluska who led the Cherokees in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Mr. Richard Crow is not only a fine representative of the Cherokee nation, but he is also an actor of some report



DR. GEORGE R. STUART AND RICHARD CROW



in his own right. He takes the part of Tecumseh in that moving production, "Unto These Hills." And with Mr. Richard Crow here today is Dr. George R. Stuart. Dr. Stuart, as you remember, was formerly president of Birmingham-Southern College. We would like to ask Dr. Stuart and Richard Crow to please come up.

DR. STUART: Thank you very much, Judge Coley. Mr. Martin, Mr. Cox, Congressman Rains, Mr. Thomas D. Russell, and other distinguished guests. We are happy to be in this great city of Alexander City, Alabama, and at Horseshoe Bend. It is an honor to be here on this historic spot, on this memorable occasion. People in our state and in our nation will remember the battle one hundred and fifty years ago and will remember this occasion as long as the grass grows green and rivers run downhill. Judge Coley has already told you about Richard Crow, descendant of Chief Junaluska, who led the Cherokees here and fought just across the river. Ladies and gentlemen, it is a pleasure to present to you, Richard Crow:

MR. RICHARD CROW: Thank you. I want to first thank you, all the persons or the people who have had part in making this great occasion here. I am proud, in fact, I am proud two ways. I am proud that I can come here and represent my people, the Cherokees, who are the descendants of those who had a part in making this great occasion possible here, and I am proud that I have this honor, this privilege to stand here. And I want to thank every one who had anything to do with this occasion. Thank you very, very much. You people are wonderful. (Applause).

Now I would like to make a presentation in public, at this meeting, which I made a few days ago in the office of Mr. Thomas W. Martin. Mr. Martin, will you please stand?

I want to present this to you as a token of friendship from the Cherokee nation. It is a *tomahawk peace pipe*. It is used only for making peace and not war, and I hope that as years come and go we will never have to go back to using this any other way than as a peace pipe. It is not a reproduction. It



RICHARD CROW, representing the Oconaluftee Indian Village of Cherokee, North Carolina, presents Mr. Martin with the tomahawk peace-pipe and a certificate.



The certificate presented Mr. Martin, adopting him as an honorary villager of the Oconaluftee Indian Village, and giving him the name of "Lightning".

is one of the original of the War of 1812, pardon me, the French and Indian War peace pipes. And also, this was never used in a war. But it was a token of peace, and this is why we want you to have it. Now my people have sent me and I am proud to represent my people in presenting this to you, Mr. Thomas W. Martin, which is a certificate stating that on the 23rd day of March, 1964 you were adopted as an honorary villager of the Oconaluftee Indian Village in the ancient homeland of the Eastern Bank of the Cherokee Indians, at Cherokee, North Carolina, and given the Indian name of "Lightning". You are accorded full rights and privileges for Village chiefs as long as the green grass grows and the rivers flow. (He thereupon presented to Mr. Martin a beautiful certificate.) (Applause).

DR. STUART: You don't have a word for electricity, do you, Richard?

MR. CROW: No sir, so we named him Lightning.

MR. MARTIN: Thank you very much for the privilege. This is a very beautiful certificate and I will cherish it. I will also cherish this pipe of peace, and I assure you that they are both appreciated very much. And I think it is wonderful of you, Richard Crow, to come down here and take part in this celebration today.

DR. STUART: Richard, can you say goodbye?

RICHARD: In my language, we don't say goodbye. We say . . . which means we will see you again. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN: It is wonderful also to have some Creek Indians here with us today. I think no occasion at Horseshoe Bend would be complete unless we had the brave "Red Sticks" represented. They hallowed this soil with their blood. They are a grand and brave people, and we are pleased to have them with us today under the leadership of Chief Calvin McGhee. Chief McGhee, you and the other Creek Indians please come up so everybody can see you.

CHIEF MCGHEE: Well, to you people of this audience, I am grateful to be here and stand before you this afternoon to

show my appreciation to both sides, our enemy and our whites. I am grateful to all of you to stand before you here today as we are the descendants of the great Creek nation Chief, Alexander McGillivray, of Princess Sehoj, the great Red Eagle of the brave and fearless Menawa. We have heard in the wailing winds of the work done by Judge C. J. Coley, preserving the frontier history of our people and his people. This is especially true of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. We know that Judge Coley has extolled the virtues of the Red Sticks and he has studied the life and times of Big Warrior, our great Chief. His assessment of our people has been fair and we come today to pay tribute to him as a citizen, a student of history and a friend of the Creek Indian nation. We here and now make him a member of the Creek tribe of Indians, also make him a Miko Apokto, which in the language of the pale face, means "Great Chief". From now on and henceforth, Judge Coley will be known unto us as Chief Warrior. Excuse me. Big Bear. I had Big Warrior on my mind. Old Buddy, Chief Big Bear. And today



CHIEF CALVIN MCGHIE (center) with visiting Alabama Creek Indian Descendents

here is a Miko Apokto I am going to present to Judge Coley the head dress I wore for a long time. (He thereupon places the headress on Judge Coley's head.) This is my first . . . when I was elected Chief of this Creek Indian nation east of the Mississippi, and I am going to put this on Judge Coley this afternoon for the first time for the work he has done. (Applause).

**JUDGE COLEY:** Thank you Chief. Thank you very much.

**CHIEF MCGHEE:** In our Creek way of representing him as the great builder, in our sign language. . . To me he is a great builder of our people. He has given us some history and went back on our history here that we would have never known of. It seems that he is head of it, to me, he is the head of it. And now, I thank him and appreciate everything that he has done.



JUDGE C. J. COLEY

**CHAIRMAN:** Ladies and gentlemen, we regret very much that the Governor of Alabama was unable to be with us today. We understand the Governor is snowbound up in Wisconsin, and he sent his regrets and best wishes to all of us present today. Mr. Luther Little from the Governor's office is here to represent the Governor. Mr. Luther Little:

**MR. LITTLE:** Chairman Coley, Congressman Rains, Congressman Grant, distinguished guests, friends. Governor Wal-

lace asked me to say to you that he regretted exceedingly much that where he is today the weather is not what it is here, and he was unable to get away. His plane is unable to get off the ground and he sends his deep regrets that he cannot be here. He asked me to extend to each and every one of you individual-

ly and collectively, his best wishes and his deep appreciation for everything that has been done in behalf of this park. He asked me especially to welcome here on this occasion and to this hallowed ground, the members of the Indian races who participated here, both the Cherokees and the Creeks, and I sincerely trust that as you leave to go back that you will harbor in your heart a desire and an unending desire to come back and keep in touch with this which we hope one of these days will be one of the most outstanding national parks in the entire park system. Thank you so much. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Little, and all of us regret that the Governor was not able to be here. We appreciate your presence, however.

Now I would like to say something about the park and its establishment.

A great bend in the Tallapoosa River eighteen miles east of Alexander City and thirteen miles north of Dadeville forms the 100-acre peninsula where on March 27, 1814, a battle that influenced American history was fought. General Andrew Jackson, commanding 2,000 troops composed of United States regulars, Tennessee militia, and friendly Indians decisively defeated 1,000 Creek Indian warriors under the leadership of Chief Menawa.

Among the participants in this important military engagement, were men destined to play an outstanding role in the affairs of the United States of America. Sam Houston, who became the first President of the Republic of Texas, was wounded three times at the battle of Horseshoe Bend. He later became Governor of Tennessee, resigned and went to Texas and was the first Governor of the State of Texas, and also served his state as Senator. General John Coffee fought bravely under General Jackson at Horseshoe Bend, as he did later in several other engagements. Major Lemuel Purnell Montgomery was the first of Jackson's men to make the supreme sacrifice at Tohopeka. Davey Crockett scouted the Horseshoe Bend area prior to the battle, although it is doubt-

ful that he saw active military service there. Sequoyah, the Cherokee who fought with Jackson at Cholocco Litabixee (the Creek word for Horseshoe Bend), was cited for his bravery by President James Madison. Sequoyah invented the American Indian's first alphabet, and it was he for whom the great redwood forests in California were named.

Efforts were begun as early as 1909 by a group of interested Alabama citizens to gain recognition of this crucial battle fought in the bend of the Tallapoosa River. As a result, in 1914 the Federal government erected a monument at the battlefield in memory of those who fought there a century before. Not much had been done until some fifteen years ago to commemorate this military engagement that was largely responsible for opening the southeast to settlement by the white man and giving impetus to Andrew Jackson's inexorable march to the White House. At that time, a few people who had a "yen" for history concerned themselves with the historical significance of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

In 1955 the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association was organized and incorporated, and trustees and officers were elected. Thomas W. Martin, chairman of the board of Alabama Power Company, was strongly urged to accept the chairmanship of this undertaking and was finally persuaded to do so. Thomas D. Russell, president of Russell Manufacturing Company, was chosen president; Rucker Agee, partner in Sterne, Agee and Leach, vice-president; C. J. Coley, Judge of Probate of Tallapoosa County, secretary; and Sam W. Oliver, Attorney of Dadeville, treasurer.

Chairman Martin furnished dynamic leadership, putting into this venture many hours of work and thought as well as a generous amount of personal funds. He was determined to prove the battle of Horseshoe Bend was of *national significance* and the work done by him and his associates in this project is now a matter of record.

*And now on this March 27, 1964, five thousand people from all walks of life are assembled to help dedicate Alabama's first national military park.*



Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Thomas D. Russell of Alexander City, president of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association, is also president of a textile empire that bears his family name. He has been a tremendous propellant in the cause of education in Alabama. He is president of the Alexander City Board of Education, and is a trustee of three institutions of higher learning in Alabama. Mr. Russell has never been too busy to work hard and long in civic affairs and particularly is this true in his efforts for the Horseshoe Bend project. Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Thomas D. Russell:

MR. RUSSELL: Mr. Chairman, Congressman Rains, Congressman Grant, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. As President of the Horseshoe Bend Association and as a native of Tallapoosa County, I also wish to welcome you here on this occasion. I am quite sure that none of you realize the tremendous amount of work that has been done to bring about this event and to bring into being the beautiful national battle park that we have here. I hope that before you leave you will have an opportunity to go through the visitors' center and the museum. If you can't go today, I hope that you will come back. It is very interesting and it gives the history of what happened here one hundred and fifty years ago. *I think that everyone in Alabama should be thoroughly familiar with this history of what happened here one hundred and fifty years ago and we certainly welcome visitors from other states to visit this park. It is the realization of a dream that has been going on for many years and at last it has become a reality.* I am very pleased to present our next speaker. For truly he is a number one citizen of Alabama in every respect. During his long and distinguished career, he has made many, many outstanding contributions to his native state. I shall not attempt to list his many honors and accomplishments. And few men in this nation have been honored as much as our speaker. And I know of none who deserves it more. However, I would like to remind you of just a few highlights in his career. His leadership in the founding of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce and the Southern Research Institute, his part in the development





THOMAS W. MARTIN

of the Alabama Power Company and its contributions to the progress and growth of industry in Alabama. His civic leadership is in every field of endeavor. *Today I would particularly like to tell you about his efforts in the establishment of Horseshoe Bend as a national military park. He gave the first impetus to this movement by getting the Alabama Power Company Board of Directors to offer the government five hundred and sixty acres of land on the site of this battle ground. His next move was to employ Miss Vera Ledger, an English research historian, to gather the historical material from the London Archives pertaining to the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and its subsequent influence on the outcome of the War of 1812. After much hard and painstaking effort, the United States Congress was finally convinced that Horseshoe Bend was a major event in the history of the United States and as such should be commemorated as a national military park. Our speaker, with the help of these other fine and dedicated men, worked hard and long to bring about this national recognition and all of Alabama should be justly proud of the results. It gives me a great deal of pride to present to you, Mr. "Alabama", Mr. "Horseshoe Bend", Mr. Thomas W. Martin. (Applause).*

MR. MARTIN: Thank you, Mr. Russell.

Mr. Chairman, whom I also address as Clinton Jackson Coley; Mr. Cox, Regional Director, National Park Service; Governor Wallace in *absentia*; Congressman Rains; Mr. Clar-

A portion of the vast audience at the dedication ceremony.

ence Johnson, in *absentia*, and Mr. Hambly, acting superintendent of Horseshoe Bend National Military Park; and the thousands of distinguished citizens of Alabama who are here today:

In behalf of our Association, permit me to express first to the Reverend Doctor Franklin appreciation for his inspiring invocation. He is a native of the adjoining county of Coosa, Alabama, and so were his parents. Let me express also to Mr. Elbert Cox and to Mr. Clarence Johnson, and others of the National Park Service, appreciation of this opportunity to appear, and also for the very effective work they are carrying out to more clearly mark and define the battleground area.

And I also wish to express appreciation to the commanding officer of Maxwell Air Force for permitting the Maxwell Air Force Band to open this historic occasion with the National Anthem, and to Mr. Carey Cox, president of Alexander City Chamber of Commerce, and his associates, our great appreciation of their many acts of courtesy in the making of this occasion a pleasant one for all of us.

The flowers on the Speakers Stand are from Mrs. Eva Comer Ryding, whose father, the Honorable Braxton Bragg Comer, was so active as Governor of the State at the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, and whose brother, the late Hugh M. Comer, served as a trustee of the Association until his death in 1962.

#### FRANCIS SCOTT KEY AND THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

As all of you know, I am sure, Francis Scott Key, who wrote The Star Spangled Banner, was a prisoner on a British warship in the harbor just outside the city of Baltimore when he wrote the beautiful song.

The British ship was engaged in an attack on Fort McHenry at Baltimore, one of the last acts in the War of 1812. Throughout the bombardment Key remained on deck in agonized suspense, but at daybreak, was overjoyed to see the



A Horse! A Horse!  
My kingdom for a horse!  
Richard III (Act V, Scene 4)

(Miss Evelyn Coley, on Horse Shamrock: Miss Coley was active in many of the incidents of the day, and served as one of the USHERETTES.) She is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. C. Jackson Coley.

flag still flying over Fort McHenry. In this emotional excitement he composed the poem.<sup>1</sup>

In due course it became known and recognized for its beauty and brilliance and patriotic meaning.<sup>2</sup> However, it was not until the year 1931 by an Act of Congress that it was made the national anthem.

It is very much appreciated that those in charge at Maxwell Field were willing for the band to attend, and it was very appropriate that the band play The Star Spangled Banner at the opening of this meeting.

It may be recalled by many of you that the late Benjamin Russell, founder and head of the great Russell enterprises, was interested in many ways for a long time in the effort to obtain this national military park.

I remember very well when the Power Company acquired the land he expressed the hope that we would at some time lend our efforts towards the creation of the park. In late years, Mr. Thomas D. Russell, his son and successor to the Russell Enterprises often expressed the same hope. He attended sessions of the committee in Washington when the subject was presented, and in a good many ways showed his interest.

I should like to express great appreciation for the work of Mr. and Mrs. Thos. D. Russell, and to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Russell also, who all through the years and to this day have been most helpful in our program. The very gracious Mrs. Robert Russell gave a brunch only this morning to all those who were to take part in the program, and some of the other citizens of the area, and for this I express great appreciation.

On the same morning, Mrs. Thomas D. Russell gave a breakfast to the Daughters of the War of 1812, who held their State Convention in Alexander City in order to have a part

<sup>1</sup>Dictionary American Biography, Vol. 10, pages 362-3.

<sup>2</sup>It should be here mentioned that Francis Scott Key has been nominated for the New York University Hall of Fame for Great Americans and will be voted on by the electors in 1965. Being an elector I will certainly vote for Mr. Key.

in the sesquicentennial celebration of the Battle of Horse-shoe Bend.

*Andrew Jackson belongs almost as much to Alabama as to Tennessee. Not to have had a county bearing his name would have been comparable to playing "Hamlet" without Hamlet in historical nomenclature. According to historian John Temple Graves, "Old Hickory" was on hand in person when the naming occurred. He was visiting Huntsville on December 13, 1819, when the first state legislature created a county out of Alabama's northeastern corner and gave it his name with his consent. I mention this because I was born at Scottsboro, in Jackson County, and one of my great grandfathers was a member of Jackson's army of 1814. And I would like to call your attention to the fact that Chairman Coley is named Jackson for an ancestor who was so named soon after the War of 1812. I feel that his friends who know him as "Jack" would like to know that he is Clinton Jackson Coley.*

Mrs. Martha Robinson and General Bres who are the officials of the New Orleans Sesquicentennial Celebration to be held in January, 1965 had planned to honor us on this occasion, but both are detained on account of illness.



MRS. MARTIN

It is with much regret that Mrs. Martin was unable to attend this important occasion on account of illness.

We are pleased to see in the audience today, Mr. Wm. D. Carr, Senior Vice President of the Chemical Bank New York Trust Company. He has been interested in this program with us for some

years, and found it possible to be present for this dedication. We appreciate very much his being present.

*Since the Association was organized in 1955, several of the trustees have passed away. I wish to pay my respects to all of them, especially to Dr. John Temple Graves and Mr. Hugh*

*Comer. They were very much interested in the work of the Association, and made important contributions to the efforts we were making from time to time.*

#### PRESIDENT EISENHOWER APPROVES BILL

It was with great satisfaction that we were advised by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on August 3, 1956 that he had approved the bill of Congressman Rains that provided for the establishment of the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park. Many prior efforts had been made to have the battleground thus recognized, but failed mainly because the *national significance* of the battle was not presented to the Congressional Committees.

In approving the Act, President Eisenhower wrote me in 1959 expressing appreciation of "interest and support of this action giving *national significance* to the importance of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend on March 27, 1814."

#### THE 1907 COMMISSION

The legislature of Alabama authorized the Governor in 1907 to appoint a commission to celebrate the 100th anniversary of that battle, and a great meeting was held on this site in 1914, fifty years ago. I was in the vast audience on that occasion.

We are assembled today for the purpose of taking notice of the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, and to dedicate the park.

You will recall that the land, 2040 acres, was donated to, and accepted on behalf of the United States on April 24, 1959, by Secretary Seaton. It was my privilege to present the deeds to Secretary Seaton for a national military park without cost to the United States.

Later, the president by his proclamation of August 11, 1959, found that the requirements of the Act had been fully complied with, and by virtue of authority vested in him, he dedicated and set aside the 2040 acres as a national military





*Photograph made April 24, 1959, in the office of the United States Secretary of the Interior at Washington, showing Mr. Martin presenting to Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton deeds representing 2,040 acres of land, which land comprises the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park in Tallapoosa County, Alabama. Left to right: Judge G. J. Coley; Congressman Albert Rains; Conrad Wirth, Director, National Park Service; Fred A. Seaton, United States Secretary of the Interior; Ralph Smith, Jr., Legal Advisor to Governor Patterson; Thomas W. Martin; Senator John Sparkman; and Congressman Kenneth Roberts.*



*Photograph made April 24, 1959 in the dining room of the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C., following the formal presentation of the deeds to the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park to the United States. Seated, left to right: Congressman Armistead Selden, Senator Clair Engle, Congressman Wayne Aspinall, Conrad Wirth, Miss Margaret Oliver, Sam Oliver, Congressman George Huddleston, Gene Wortzman, MacDonald Gallion, Congressman George Grant, Willard Livingston, Assistant Attorney General. Standing, left to right: Roger C. Ernst, Congressman Carl Elliott, E. E. Cox, Congressman Frank Boykin, A. T. Hanson, Senator Lister Hill, Mrs. Albert Rains, Thomas W. Martin, Senator John Sparkman, Congressman Albert Rains, R. F. Lee, Congresswoman Gracie Pfoz, Elbert Cox, Mrs. Eleanor Nance Hamilton, Judge C. J. Coley, Congressman Robert E. Jones, Jr., Congressman George Andrews, Congressman Kenneth Roberts, Grady Perry, Jr., Ralph Smith, Jr., E. T. Scoyen.*

park. The letters from the president were presented recently to the superintendent of the park, for placement in the museum.

### THE CREEK WAR

The Battle of Horseshoe Bend brought the Creek War to a victorious close just thirty-three years after Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown. It was the intention of England to impose terms and conditions of a treaty of peace of the War of 1812 which most certainly would have involved both the fate of the young United States in its second struggle with England, and the westward expansion of the nation from the South. In addition, the battle gave little-known Andrew Jackson the national attention which launched him on his military and political way and set in motion the future Democratic Party.

The Battle of Horseshoe Bend has been the subject of many stories. At the beginning of the effort of this Association, we requested Mr. William H. Brantley, Jr., noted historian of Alabama, and a trustee of the Association, to prepare a history of the battle, which he did. This has been of great value in the work pursued by the Association through the years.

Historians have long since agreed that the services of Andrew Jackson in the Creek War earned for him the appointment of major-general in the regular Army, and the command of military District No. 7, with headquarters at Mobile. It was this which put him in command at the Battle of New Orleans and launched him into national life.

After the battle at Horseshoe Bend, General Jackson marched his troops to the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, where on the ruins of old Fort Toulouse the French had built a fort about a century before.<sup>1</sup> This became Fort Jackson, and here the treaty of peace was signed on August 9,

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<sup>1</sup>Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, page 80 (Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1897).

1814, by General Jackson on behalf of the president of the United States and a few of the surviving chiefs of the Creek nation.

#### MOBILE AND PENSACOLA BATTLES

General Jackson then moved to Mobile and Pensacola, defeating attempts of the British to land at both places. *The national significance of Jackson's victories was enhanced by evidence of their relation to the Treaty of Ghent, a factor more or less neglected in the years since the battles took place.*

Representative Rains introduced the bill in the House and Senators Hill and Sparkman introduced the bill in the Senate.

#### WORK OF HISTORIAN A. S. COLYAR

At a hearing on June 13, 1956 before the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House, and later before the Senate Committee in July 1956, the argument for the battle as of *national significance* was presented by Chairman Martin. This was based largely on the findings and conclusions of A. S. Colyar in his *Life and Times of Andrew Jackson*.<sup>1</sup> The views expressed on these occasions were set forth in a narrative which we presented to the Committee. And later, Chairman Martin presented the copies he had obtained through Miss Vera Ledger at London, which amply supported the conclusions of Mr. Colyar.

At a meeting on April 24, 1959 in the office of Mr. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, Congressman Rains, acting as spokesman for the Association, introduced those present who had been active in the effort to bring about the national military park. He then called upon Mr. Martin as chairman of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association, explaining that he was also chairman of the board of Alabama Power Company, and that on behalf of the various groups he would present

<sup>1</sup>Published in 1904 by Marshall & Bruce Company, Nashville, Tennessee.

the deeds to the lands conveying the area to the United States for a national military park.

Later on the same day, April 24, 1959, a luncheon was held on the invitation of Congressman Rains, at the dining room of the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The chairman presented Mr. Martin, explaining that he had made a study of this subject at London, and it was reviewed at some length.

As stated before, the park as defined by the President's proclamation contained 2040 acres. Embraced in this area is the so-called Horseshoe, in which the Creek Indians assembled and barricaded themselves for their forthcoming battle with Andrew Jackson on the 27th of March, 1814.<sup>1</sup>

#### ALABAMA POWER COMPANY ACQUIRES BATTLE SITE

Some decades ago, part of this area, including the Horseshoe, was acquired by Alabama Power Company in connection with a proposed hydroelectric development downstream from the Horseshoe. This development was not carried out, because Chief Engineer Thurlow and I, when we visited the area in 1923, concluded that the battleground should remain in its natural state, in the hope that at some time the *national significance* of the battle would be recognized, and its military and its civic importance declared by Act of Congress. Later, Alabama Power Company requested the Alabama Public Service Commission and the Federal Power Commission to cancel its license, which was done. And now forty years after that visit we find ourselves at this ceremony of dedication of the area as a national military park, which Mr. Thurlow and I hoped would come about.

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<sup>1</sup>This dedication proceeding should be considered in connection with the volume of Thomas W. Martin printed in 1959, shortly after the park was established, entitled, "The Story of Horseshoe Bend Military Park," printed by Birmingham Publishing Company. And also the Memorial of Horseshoe Bend Battle Commission created by the State of Alabama asking Congress to establish a military park on the Horseshoe battlefield, dated February 17, 1909, and printed as Senate Document No. 756, 60th Congress, 2nd Session.

At Horseshoe Bend I made a note of our visit and the inscription on the monument which had been erected, and on my return placed the note in Vol. I of Colyar's History of the Life and Times of Andrew Jackson.<sup>1</sup> I did not examine the memorandum for many years, and then only after we had organized the Association in 1955, to present the subject to Congress. Colyar's history made the very full and positive statement that the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and others had been known to the English and to their peace commissioners and were most helpful in the making of a treaty of peace at Ghent which the United States could accept.

#### THE TREATY OF GHENT

Following the introduction of the bill of Congressman Rains, the Association caused an extensive study to be made at the British Public Record Office, the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the War Office, and the British Museum, all at London, of the correspondence between the American and British peace commissioners at Ghent and between the British commissioners and the British Foreign Office, during the period of negotiation—that is, August through December 1814.

For this purpose we engaged the service of a British historian, Miss Vera Ledger, to examine available records. This work began in 1956 and carried through more than eighteen months. Over 1200 pages of manuscript were sent to the Association, from which it was clearly apparent that between the first meeting of the peace commissioners in August of 1814 and the final meeting which resulted in the treaty of peace on December 24, 1814, the British attitude markedly changed. Thus the conclusions of Colyar were confirmed. It is clear that Lord Castlereagh and others of the British Foreign Office were deeply concerned with the effect of several military defeats the British suffered, and more particularly with the effect of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and of General Jackson's successes at Fort Bowyer at Mobile, and at Pensacola during that period.

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<sup>1</sup>Published by Marshall & Bruce Company, Nashville, Tennessee, 1904.

When Jackson learned the British were concentrating upon New Orleans and realized that he did not have a sufficient army to protect that city, he ordered Carroll, who was raising troops in Tennessee, to go down the river to New Orleans. He also ordered Coffee to cross the country and reach New Orleans as soon as possible.

The subsequent victory was one of the notable ones of American history, even though it occurred after the treaty of peace had been signed, but before it was ratified by the United States Senate.

At the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the hope was expressed by John Adams, one of our most distinguished peace commissioners, that "it would be the last treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States." Peace has endured between these nations for 150 years.

Had General Jackson not subdued the Creeks at the Horseshoe, and had he not repulsed the British at Mobile and at Pensacola, thereby pacifying the southern country and giving reassurance to the people of Tennessee, he could never have recruited an army for the defense of New Orleans, and that place most certainly would have fallen. And if the British had captured New Orleans they would have found ready excuse to hold the entire Mississippi area, since their contention was that France had never obtained clear title to Louisiana from Spain and therefore could not cede it to the United States.

#### GENERAL JACKSON

There have been few men privileged to have so dramatic and important a part in the life of our country as Andrew Jackson—first at Horseshoe Bend and later at the battles of Mobile and Pensacola, followed by the great victory over the British at New Orleans, January 8, 1815. And again when Andrew Jackson, as President, on April 13, 1830 attended the annual Jefferson Day dinner, he was called on for a toast. And well may we recall it: "Our Federal union—it must be preserved." That occasion lives in history, for Jackson's patriotic

words. He preserved the Federal union from dismemberment at the hands of Great Britain and her Indian allies long before the issues of that day provoked this toast.

When General Jackson came into the picture, he had in view not only the termination of the Creek War, but an end to the struggle for what are now parts of Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi, by cutting off the Creeks from contact with the British and the Spanish. He well knew that the Creek War had been prompted and supported by the British as a major part of the War of 1812.

Quoting from Colyar, Vol. 1, pages 203-4 and 310, "The most enlightened part of our country was utterly opposed to and was insisting on Mr. Madison making the very best settlement he could get; and all New England was openly rejoicing when Napoleon capitulated. . . therefore Mr. Madison would now see that he could not carry on the war any longer and would have to make peace. No more taxes from New England, said many editors, till the Administration makes peace, as though the badgered and distracted Administration had not been directing its best energies to that very object for nearly a year past."

To quote again from Colyar: "All in all, it was a day in our history that will quicken the pulse of patriots for ages. From a dread forecast that hung as a dark cloud of hopeless despair over every patriot home from the Eastern shore to the great waters on the West, the sun rose on a new day. From defeat there came victory. From a nation in a righteous war, with untrained soldiers, beaten down with veterans and superior numbers on many fields, the enemy's greatest army was literally driven into the sea."<sup>1</sup>

#### THE CHEROKEES

Among the Cherokees who fought in Jackson's army were Chief Junaluska and Sequoyah. Sequoyah was to distinguish himself as the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, by which the Cherokee nation became the first American Indians to

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<sup>1</sup>Vol. 1, Colyar's Life and Times of Andrew Jackson, p. 325.



have a written language. Sequoyah invented a phonetic alphabet of 86 symbols, and the great red cedars of the West were named for him. His statue is in the Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol, having been presented by the State of Oklahoma in 1917.<sup>1</sup>

#### ORIGINAL TERMS OF TREATY OF BRITISH

The original terms of the British included, among other things, demand for the surrender of the Louisiana Purchase, the perpetual use of the Mississippi River by the British, the outright cession of many areas by the United States for a permanent Indian territory and of an area including what are today all or parts of the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri and North and South Dakota. It would have been dismemberment of the great nation ours was destined to be. Americans were to be barred forever from purchasing land in the areas, although the Indians might sell to others. Thus it was hoped to halt the transcontinental expansion of the American people.

The five-man American treaty commission consisting of Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, Jonathan Russell, J. A. Bayard, and Albert Gallatin, represented the most experienced and distinguished public men of the time. This commission is probably unsurpassed in the history of American diplomatic relations. They met the English commissioners for the first time at the Hotel des Pays Bas in Ghent on August 8, 1814.

Discussions continued between the Commissioners of the two states until December 24, 1814. Meanwhile the diplomatic records show that the British Commissioners gave up practically all of their far-reaching demands, and the treaty which was signed was prepared by the American Commission.

Perhaps there were reasons not known to the American Commissioners why the British felt that they would be able to destroy the treaty by sending soldiers and ships around Florida to New Orleans.

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<sup>1</sup>The proceedings of presentation of Statue of Sequoyah by the State of Oklahoma, Sixty-fifth Congress, June 6, 1917. Reprinted as House Concurrent Resolution No. 28.

### SIGNING OF THE TREATY

The evening of the 24th of December 1814 the Commissioners of the two states met at the house of the British Commission for the purpose of attaching their names to the treaty. It was signed in triplicate, the British Commissioners furnishing three copies and the American Commissioners furnishing three. These were signed and exchanged; Lord Gambier delivering the three British copies to Adams, and Adams in turn delivering the three American copies to Lord Gambier.

Much has transpired since 1815, and our country and Great Britain have been associated in many efforts for world peace. Nothing has transpired to disturb this relationship since the Treaty of Ghent—it did indeed prove to be the last treaty of peace between these great nations.

### THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

The Battle of New Orleans, fought January 8, 1815, was one of the most brilliant defensive victories in history. Some historians have classed it as a needless victory in that it was fought after the treaty of peace was signed. That is an error, for the peace treaty, signed by the commissioners of the two states provided that it should not be effective until ratified by both states. The news of the victory at New Orleans came at a critical time in the history of the country and was followed by the ratification of the treaty by the United States Senate February 17, 1815. It settled forever all question as to the title of the United States to Louisiana.

In Sir Winston Churchill's *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, he discusses the War of 1812.<sup>1</sup> He notes that the British in the spring of 1814 proposed to strike in the South, at New Orleans. "In December," he says, "the last and most irresponsible British onslaught, the expedition to New Orleans, reached its base. But here in the frontier lands of the southwest a military leader of high quality had appeared in the person of Andrew Jackson . . .

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<sup>1</sup>Vol. 3, p. 363-4.

"Meanwhile eight thousand British troops had landed at New Orleans under Sir Edward Pakenham, who had commanded a division at Salamanca."

Sir Winston then notes that Jackson hastened back from Florida,

". . . and entrenched himself on the left bank of the river. His forces were much inferior in numbers, but composed of highly skilled marksmen. On the morning of January 8, 1815, Pakenham led a frontal assault against the American earthworks—one of the most unintelligent manoeuvres in the history of British warfare. Here he was slain and two thousand of his troops were killed or wounded. The only surviving general officer withdrew the army to its transports. The Americans lost seventy men, thirteen of them killed. The battle had lasted precisely half an hour."

#### THE WHALE RIFLE

Mrs. Sadie Mitchell Elmore (Mrs. Franklin Harper Elmore) of Montgomery, and Dr. Fern Wood Mitchell, her nephew, have recently made an important gift to the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park museum consisting of the "Whale" rifle. The rifle bears this much-worn engraved inscription on a silver plate:

"Presented by J. Madison, President of the U. S. to Whale, the Reward of Signal Valor & Heroism, at the Battle of the Horse Shoe. March 1814."

It was in 1813-14 when General Jackson was recruiting his army for the attack on the Creeks, that several Cherokee Indians volunteered to enlist a company of Cherokees in General Jackson's army. These included Cherokee leaders of the time, such as Sequoyah and Whale.

Much has been written of Sequoyah and the part he played at Horseshoe Bend and later as the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet; but very little has been written about Whale and

other chieftains of the Cherokee tribe who took part in the battle.

As the battle began at Horseshoe, General Coffee with a detachment of Cherokees and volunteers from Tennessee and Georgia, crossed the river below the fort so as to surround the enemy and prevent their escape in their canoes, which they had assembled below the fort. But General Coffee decided that these canoes should be taken from their moorings; and Whale, a Cherokee warrior of great bravery, and two companions swam the river and captured the Creek canoes. The heroism and valor of the Cherokees was so striking that it was made the subject of a special report by General Coffee.

After the war, the President presented rifles to several of the Cherokees, including Whale.

In after years, the Whale rifle came into the ownership of the late Colonel Reuben A. Mitchell, who was for many years an officer of Alabama Power Company. On his death in 1937 it passed into the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Elmore, and his grandson, Dr. Fern Wood Mitchell. By letter of August 22, 1956, Mrs. Elmore and Dr. Mitchell delivered the rifle to Dr. Brannon, Director of The Department of Archives and History of the State of Alabama, as the custodian pending the erection of a museum at the Horseshoe Bend Battle site. This was done at my suggestion. Dr. Brannon has since turned the rifle over to the museum at the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park.

"It was the hope of my father," said Mrs. Elmore, "that a national park would be established at this site. He thought that the battle had far greater *national significance* than had been recognized by historians generally, and I am glad of the opportunity to present this rifle in memory of my father."

The victory over the British at New Orleans was the turning point in one of the most critical parts of American history. The Creek campaign, the victory at Mobile Bay, and the victory at Pensacola, made the victory at New Orleans possible by Tennessee soldiers and a few from Kentucky.

### GENERAL JACKSON—FORCEFUL NATURAL LEADER

The Creek, Fort Bowyer, and Pensacola campaigns and the Battle of New Orleans proved Jackson's extraordinary military capacity. Jackson has been described as the most forceful natural leader in American history. None other possessed in such abundant quality the will to win. What he may have lacked in military training and study he compensated for in the most abundant fashion in his ability to impart resolution and his own dominant spirit to his followers.

After the British had been driven from Louisiana soil, General Jackson prepared an address to be read at the head of each command, which contained these words:

"Let us be grateful to the God of battles, who has directed the arrows of indignation against our invaders, while he covered with the protecting shield the brave defenders of their country."

And General Jackson also proposed that there should be a day of prayer for the success of the armies in deliverance of New Orleans from the invaders. This was held on January 23, 1815, in the Cathedral in New Orleans.

General Jackson, his gallant officers and his troops, although loaded with earthly honors and greeted with the acclamations of a grateful and protected people, did not omit to render that homage which is due to that Almighty Being who "reigns in the armies of heaven above, as well as in the earth beneath."

Upon this occasion the Rev. Dr. Dubourg, the minister apostolic of the Diocese of Louisiana, delivered to the General an address replete with the pious words of the Christian.

The venerable minister of the gospel thus addressed the hero of New Orleans, and the gallant officers and soldiers who had followed him to victory, and now joined him in adoration:

"General, while the State of Louisiana, in the joyful transports of her gratitude, hails you as her deliverer

and the asserter of her menaced liberties . . . while thus raised by universal acclamation to the very pinnacle of fame, how easy it had been for you, General, to forget the Prime Mover of your wonderful successes, and to assume to yourself a praise which must essentially return to that excellent source whence every merit is derived. But, better acquainted with the nature of true glory, and in approving yourself the worthy instrument of heaven's merciful designs, the first impulse of your religious heart was to acknowledge the interposition of Providence, your first step a solemn display of your humble sense of his favors."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Comer's father, the Honorable B. B. Comer, when he was governor of Alabama in 1907, appointed a commission to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. In his remarks as the chairman of that commission he came nearer touching on the real *national significance* of the battle than anyone else had done at that time.

"What was Andrew Jackson," said former Governor Comer, "and what did he do, that he should receive such honors while living, and, when dead, should gather a nation around his tomb? What was he? He was the embodiment of the true spirit of the nation in which he lived. What did he do? He put himself at the head of the great movement of the age in which he lived."

And Andrew Jackson, born to command and destined to rise, no pen can fairly record the course of this man. *Let it here be said that he won the love and confidence of the people west of the Appalachians by his leadership at the Horseshoe, that he justified this trust at the Battle of New Orleans, and when his troops there defeated General Pakenham's army, he, Jackson, settled finally the course of the United States—that this country would be American and not Indian, nor British.*

In Alabama Andrew Jackson cast the longest and strongest shadow of any public man ever to serve her interest, for he earned and kept the love and admiration of her people even unto this day. The people of no state in this Union ever served

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<sup>1</sup>Colyar, Vol. 1.—Pages 330-331.

him more loyally or revered him more deeply than the people of Alabama.

In conclusion, said Chairman Martin--

*Thus you will see that the history of this part of American life is a record of great achievement, in warfare, and in diplomacy, in the face of almost impossible odds. It is a record filled with achievements too long obscured; it is filled with high drama and difficult decisions; with bravery and with tragedy; with incidents which only through this occasion could be brought to light. Here we see hope revived in certain parts of our nation by events in the southeast, then a remote area; soon to be followed by conquest of wild areas and the settlement of a great part of our continent.*

*They helped the nation at a vital and important time to re-establish its sense of identity and purpose to become earth's great place in earth's great time.*

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, for your kind attention. (Applause)



MAXWELL AIR FORCE BAND

CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, all of us appreciate Mr. Martin's efforts and his dedication. He is a matchless leader and citizen.

At this particular time the Maxwell Air Force Band will again give us a rendition, after which Mr. Martin will introduce Congressman Rains.

After the number played by the band, Mr. Martin introduced Congressman Rains, as follows:

Congressman Albert Rains, Democrat of Gadsden, Alabama, attended the public schools of DeKalb County, Snead Seminary at Boaz, Alabama, and State Teachers College at Jacksonville, and the University of Alabama. He is a lawyer by profession and has been a member of the House of Representatives of the Alabama Legislature as well as Congress to which he was elected in 1944. He has been re-elected to each succeeding Congress.

Mr. Rains has for many years been interested in the effort to create the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park. He was most helpful in getting Congress to establish the park. He is a trustee of the Association. He introduced the bill in the House, and devoted much time to the subject before the committees of the House and Senate, and in subsequent meetings with the Alabama delegation, and with the Secretary of the Interior.

We owe much to Mr. Rains in the fact that this park is now established. I have great pleasure in presenting your Congressman, The Honorable Albert Rains:

CONGRESSMAN RAINS: Mr. Martin, thank you very much.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

*This date, the 27th of March, 1964, marking the 150th Anniversary of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, and this occasion the dedication of the National Horseshoe Bend Military Park, is of truly great significance to Alabama and the nation.*





HON. ALBERT RAINS

For many years now I have looked forward with keen anticipation to this time, and date and place. Almost a dozen years ago I first introduced into the Congress a bill to declare and to designate this historic spot here in the bend of the Tallapoosa River as the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park. It was in the second session of the 84th Congress that the bill was approved unanimously in the Senate of the United States. Then in conformance with the action taken in the

Congress, President Dwight Eisenhower on the 25th of July, 1956, by proclamation, designated this site as Horseshoe Bend National Military Park.

It is not possible for me, ladies and gentlemen, in a brief address, to mention all of the outstanding citizens and all of the great and wonderful organizations who gave active and helpful support to this endeavor. I would be derelict in my duty, however, and most unkind, if I were not to mention a few of those who took a very leading part.

I make the plain statement that this National Military Park would have never become a reality, not in our generation certainly, except for the untiring efforts and the generosity of Mr. Thomas W. Martin. In another occasion I said of Mr. Martin, that the establishment of this Military Park was brought about by the philanthropy, the patriotism, the scholarly study and the research of Mr. Martin. In my rather long legislative career in the Congress, I have had the opportunity to work and lead with Mr. Martin in some very great undertakings for Alabama. Always I have been impressed with his wisdom and his meticulous concern for the public good.

*It would be an interesting story for me to recount for you the long months of work and toil and effort which went into the legislative enactment to provide for the development of the great Coosa River System by Mr. Martin's great company. I have often remarked, however, that the pride and joy of Mr. Martin is another development, the establishment of this National Military Park in this very historic place. Because of his painstaking research and diligent effort, we were able to prove in both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States with certainty that this battle of Horseshoe Bend was something more than an Indian Battle, and that it was in reality a battle of great historical significance in the building of our great country.*

*The combined efforts of all interested public officials and private citizens finally resulted in obtaining deeds or patents to the park area of 2040 acres and these deeds were formally presented by Mr. Martin to the Secretary of Interior, Mr. Seaton, on April 24, 1959. At the time in accepting the deed on behalf of the United States, Secretary Seaton said:*

*"At this time I want to thank Mr. Martin, Chairman of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association, for his important statement concerning the meaning of this historic occasion and for his generosity in presenting the deed of this valuable property which will now comprise the newest addition to the national park system. In particular, I want to emphasize the patriotic vision of a business leader like Mr. Martin whose firm, The Alabama Power Company, long ago purchased the key historic land at the site of General Andrew Jackson's great victory in the loop of the Tallapoosa River for the purpose of building a hydro-electric dam; but under Mr. Martin's wise guidance recognized the historic value of the site, and gave up the proposed dam in order to preserve the battle field in its natural state for future generations."*

That was a great compliment and well deserved.

Another distinguished citizen, ladies and gentlemen, to whom great credit is due for the establishment of this National Military Park, is your chairman today, Judge Jack Coley. Judge

Coley has been one of my long-time, dear friends, and over the years, twenty years now, when I would come visiting in Tallapoosa County, Jack never missed a single opportunity to talk to me about the need and necessity for the passage of an act in Congress to bring about the occasion which we celebrate today. His drive, his organizational ability, his historical knowledge and his dedication, in a large measure, are responsible for this achievement.

I also want to commend Tom Russell, as the president of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association, for his untiring efforts, and Robert Russell for his long, zealous work on this project. I would like to mention all the historians. I must mention some of the people in the Alabama Legislature, Judge Charley Adams, Tom Johnson, the late Senator Broughton Lamberth, Governor Folsom, because the Legislature provided \$150,000 which helped buy part of the land which was owned by many individuals in the park area. There are many more that are deserving of mention, but time will not permit.

Then, ladies and gentlemen, I would be untrue to myself if I did not pay tribute to the United States National Park Service. It is one of the really outstanding agencies of the Federal Government. It actually and truly serves the people by preserving historical sites, by providing for recreation, by taking care of our timber resources, and many other great benefits to the people. I want to thank Mr. Elbert Cox, the Regional Director. I want to thank all of those who have been connected with development of the park as we now see it.

Now a brief statement about the actual occurrence. In early 1814, 150 years ago, while our country was engaged in a war with Great Britain, the Creek Indians gained control of most of the territory in the triangle between the Alabama River and Florida and Georgia. The British had been active in stirring up trouble among the Indians in the South, generally, because the British were trying to win the War of 1812. But their efforts were strongest along the frontier of Spanish Florida—Spain controlled Florida—and that part of the Mississippi territory which was later to become Alabama.

The news that the war between the United States and Britian had begun caused great excitement in all the towns of the Creek Indians. A party of warriors from the Creek Indian villages here set out to the north where they attacked on the river on January, 1813, and murdered two families in Ohio on their way back. Soon 2,000 warriors from 29 of the 34 towns of the Upper Creek had taken up arms. They were in league with the British. Incident followed incident. The massacre at Fort Mims occurred and the inhabitants of West Tennessee were daily expecting an attack. It was only by the failure of the British, frankly, to furnish the Creeks with the supplies, that such an attack never occurred.

On September 18, 1813, there was a meeting of the leading citizens in the area of Nashville who decided that a strong force ought to be sent at once into the very heart of the territory of the Creeks with the mission of destroying the villages and forcing them to make peace. The Nashville citizens asked the legislature to authorize such a move and they requested the Governor, Governor Blount, to call out the Natchez Volunteers, which he did. The assembly called for 3500 attached militia for a three month tour of duty and the committee called on Andrew Jackson and asked him to serve as the leader of the volunteers. He at once assumed direction for defense and called for the volunteers to assemble at Fayetteville, Tennessee on October 4, 1813, and arranged for supplies and food and ammunition.

Jackson and his troops crossed the Tennessee a few miles south of Huntsville, in fact, right close to Guntersville, and moved into a southeasterly direction to the mouth of Thompson's Creek where they built a fortification called Fort Deposit. It was Jackson's base of supplies on the Tennessee. He planned a campaign which provided for this supply base on the Tennessee at the southern most part and a military road to be built for fifty miles to ten islands on the Coosa, not far off Highway 77 between Talladega and Gadsden, where another fortified post would be established. Actually the second fortified fort which Jackson built was called Fort Strother.

There for the first time he came within striking distance of the enemy. The hostile village of Tallassahatchee thirteen miles to the east was destroyed and another successful engagement was fought at Talladega.

During the Creek War the Indians showed an unusual knowledge of warfare. They had some able leaders of mixed blood who understood the advantages of military discipline. They selected the strongest available point on the Tallapoosa River and they believed it to be impregnable. This was Tohopeka, or the Horseshoe. While they waited for an attack, Jackson had time to complete the organization of his army. On February 6, the 39th Regiment of Regulars, 600 strong, arrived. The regulars gave a nucleus of permanent authority independent of militia.

Then news that 1500 men with ample provisions were about to move from Fort Strother. And now Jackson thought was time to take advantage of his long sought opportunity. He hesitated no longer in leaving his river base. He marched through the forest to that point on the Tallapoosa sixty miles away, in which the enemy during two months had been preparing for their last stand. He reached it early in the morning of March 27, 1814. In a horseshoe like bend of the river there were a thousand warriors, the major force of the hostile Creeks.

Within the bend across the narrow part of the peninsula, there was a zigzag wall of logs from five to eight feet high, 450 yards long, pierced for a double row of holes for rifle fire. The angles of the zigzag enabled the defenders to cover the ground in front of it with a crossfire. An area of about 100 acres was thus enclosed. In the part nearest the wall the trees had been felled in order to provide cover by their interlaced branches.

Jackson formed his plan of attack quickly. He would surround the Indians and make the destruction complete. He placed his infantry opposite the forbidding looking walls so that they could take it at the right moment. Commanding the whole zigzag defense he placed his two small canons on the hill, a distance of 80 yards. He ordered the calvary and the

friendly Indians, the Cherokees, to cross the river and to hold the opposite bank in order to prevent escape in that direction. So at ten thirty in the morning 150 years ago today, on this hallowed historic ground, the military forces of the United States of America and the warriors of the great Creek Confederacy, locked in mortal combat.

Fighting under the gallant Andrew Jackson, were some of the most fearless men who ever wore the uniform of our country. There was Lt. Lemuel Montgomery for whom Montgomery County was named. He died with an Indian rifle ball in his head as he led his men in the frontal attack. It is said that "Old Hickory" shed tears when he saw Montgomery's body. And he said, "I have lost the flower of my army." And then there was Ensign Sam Houston who leaped to the top of the breastwork as Montgomery fell. Although wounded in the thigh by an Indian bullet, and in the body by a barbed arrow, he fought bravely on to the end of the furious battle. His gallantry in action won him Jackson's undying gratitude and friendship. Houston, as you know, went on to attain greatness as the Governor of Tennessee, President of the Republic of Texas, U. S. Senator from the state of Texas, and a beloved American.

Sequoyah, the great Cherokee Chieftain, and many of his braves fought with matchless valor along side Jackson and his men. No reference to those who fought in this battle should fail to mention the resolute, dependable and vigilant, General John Coffee, who was General Jackson's strong right arm. General Coffee remained Jackson's faithful and devoted friend through all the years of his life.

When the smoke and fury of battle had cleared away, 800 braves had been killed and three hundred women had been taken prisoners. Jackson thought that not more than 20 warriors had escaped. The Americans lost 45 killed and 145 wounded. The battle gloriously won, Jackson then was ready to move on to Pensacola, Mobile and to eternal fame at New Orleans. This victory broke the power of the Creek Confederacy and freed a vast section of our country for our American

settlers. It also eliminated the power and influence of the Spanish in Alabama and Florida. It was the prelude to the removal from the Continental United States of the domination and influence of all foreign powers. It was the spring board which catapulted Jackson from the role of a border chieftain to national and international eminence. It was the beginning of the Jackson Era.

#### THE ALABAMA COMMISSION OF 1907

In August, 1907, the Alabama Legislature, by resolution, petitioned the Congress of the United States to take favorable action on a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by the Honorable J. Thomas Heflin, an illustrious predecessor of mine, as the Representative of the 5th Congressional District of Alabama. The petition to the Congress was signed by the Governor, Braxton Bragg Comer, and by members of the Horseshoe Battle Park Commission. The concluding paragraph of the commission is quite interesting, and apropos. It said:

"The establishment of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park would not only be a long deferred recognition and commemoration of one of the great historic events in the life of our people, but it would be another expression of the patriot and educatory value of the lessons of the past. Its establishment would be a lasting memorial to the brave men who fought and to those who fell in those trying days when Indian aggression threatened our frontier civilization. But it would be more. It would mean that a grateful government could always be relied upon to do its duty not only to its patriotic dead but to its patriotic living as well."

In later years, the Congress of the United States, and this is important to us, declared that before any historic event can be commemorated, it is necessary to *establish the national significance* of the event. In presenting to the Congress our plea for the passage of the legislation under which this military park was designated, I said that if the winning of the Battle of New Orleans is of national significance, then Horseshoe

Bend is of national significance, because it was the same troops, many of them, under the same great leader, Andrew Jackson, that later won the battle of New Orleans. After the British had burned our Capitol in Washington, burned our White House, and had overrun practically all of the northern and eastern section of our country, if the Treaty of Ghent was a matter of national significance ending the War of 1812, it was brought about, as historians can prove, by the victory at Horse-shoe Bend.

Honor is thus paid to Andrew Jackson and his troops who fought here on that day so long ago and to the military virtues and sacrifices, the tragedies, the triumphs, of our early years as a nation.

As we look upon this peaceful vista today, and it is beautiful, it's difficult indeed for us to bring our mind's eye to focus upon the scene of war and destruction that I have just described in very shallow detail to you as having transpired at this very spot where you sit. Perhaps it is just as well that it is so. But at least we should remember our old heroes with veneration and thanks. Their courage was employed and their lives were given for our country and for us, the Americans who came after them.

And in conclusion the Congressman said:

And so, ladies and gentlemen, I have the high honor and the very great privilege and pleasure of dedicating this United States National Military Park to all of the heroes of our country from Bunker Hill in the Revolution to Pork Chop Hill in Korea. To those who fought and to those who died. To those who lived and to those who toiled. And to Americans all over the nation, this now is their ground. This is hallowed ground, made so by the blood of the men who here fought and fell.

One other word I would like to say. I have served in the Congress of the United States now twenty years. I went there during the war when Franklin D. Roosevelt was President. Many of your sons and many of you were on foreign battle fields. I served through all of those years, and the longer I served the more I came to appreciate just what the flag means.



The longer I served, the more I came to truly appreciate just how great and glorious it is to be an American citizen. As we dedicate this park, ladies and gentlemen, let us remember that the grandest, most glorious privilege a human being can have is to be an American citizen.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you Congressman Rains for a wonderful talk.

Ladies and gentlemen, some of you wonder who these ladies are on the platform here and for those of you who do not know, I would like for them to stand as I introduce them. The first is Mrs. Albert Rains. The next is Mrs. Thomas D. Russell, and the next is Mrs. C. J. Coley.

Now there are many distinguished citizens in this audience whom we have not introduced and whom we cannot introduce. There are mayors of towns throughout Alabama. I have spotted the mayors of Alexander City, of Dadeville, of Camp Hill and Birmingham. I see many State officials, among them being the Superintendent of Education. I see the president of the Alabama Historical Association, and many others whom we would like to recognize, but lack of time forbids. Now there are three people whom I think you would like to know that are here who are in the National Park Service. From Murfreesboro, Tennessee, Stone River National Battlefield and Cemetery are Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence W. Quist and their son. We have Mr. Herbert Olson who is superintendent of Russell Cave National Monument of Bridgeport, Alabama. And we have Mr. and Mrs. Dillahardy, superintendent of Okamulga National Monument of Macon, Georgia. And a very important lady that I had forgotten to introduce on the platform here, is the wife of the Acting Superintendent of Horseshoe Bend National Military Park. Mrs. Franklin M. Hambly. Mrs. Hambly, would you stand?

Ladies and gentlemen, about six months ago at a meeting in Birmingham of the Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association, our members requested Mr. Thomas W. Martin to provide a portrait of himself to be hung in the visitors' center here at Horseshoe Bend. After considerable urging on our part,

Mr. Martin agreed to supply the portrait of himself, and it is now in the building to the rear of where you are sitting. We invite all of you to examine it.

CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, this has been a perfectly wonderful day. Even the weather has cooperated beautifully. We had grave doubts as we got weather reports through the Alabama Power Company and through Maxwell Air Force Base. But there was one who all along told me, "Judge, March 27 is going to be a beautiful day," although I despaired time and again. That one person is here today, and he is Jimmy Ewing. Jimmy, stand up. (Applause).

We would at this time like to close the program with the benediction by the pastor of the Woods Presbyterian Church, which church is near this hallowed spot. Reverend Charles E. Danner, will you please offer the benediction.

REVEREND CHARLES E. DANNER: Will you please stand?



REV. CHARLES E. DANNER

Almighty and Eternal God, Lord of life and Lord of history, Our Heavenly Father. We acknowledge and confess that only Thou art good and wise in all Thy ways. As for us, we are always guilty and live only by Thy mercy. How strangely ambiguous is the mixture of good and of evil which we are. How short of Thy glory are many of our most sincere actions. How often do we transgress the very ideals we espoused so that our history is largely a story of separation and enmity with

Thee and our fellow men, as driven by greed and the pride of life. We have, to a great extent, misused and blighted our heritage with war and oppression. And so most Holy Father, as we come to see Thy benediction, we seek it most carefully.

We take no pride in this as a battle ground. We raise no shrine to the slaughter that occurred here. On the contrary, we are ashamed and much the poorer that white man and Creek could not accept and mutually enrich one another in a common life. But we value this battle ground, Holy Father. We value this museum, this visitors' center, these relics. We value the history being researched and recreated and formulated here. And we value these as organs and instruments of our self knowledge. For surely in knowing our history, we know ourselves. And in a true knowledge of ourselves, we are drawn more closely to knowledge of Thee and reliance upon Thee. So we most humbly pray, let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us and establish Thou the work of our hand upon us; yea, the work of our hand establish though it through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

THE CHAIRMAN: The meeting is now adjourned.

{The following material used in earlier work of the association is presented for a more complete understanding of all phases of this historic occasion}—T.W.M.

## THE BATTLE ITSELF

Of the battle at Horseshoe Bend as an epic of blood and courage, much can be written without regard to its importance. In Brewer's History of Alabama, the Creek War, which the battle ended, is called the "bloodiest against the whites anywhere recorded in the annals of the United States." "Everything," wrote Pickett, Alabama's greatest early historian, "foreboded the extermination of the Americans in Alabama, who were the most isolated and defenseless people imaginable. Both the Spanish and the Indians were aiding the British on the Southern Frontier."<sup>1</sup>

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Tecumseh, the great Shawnee, whose mother was said to have been a Creek, had traveled from tribe to tribe in the South making a profound impression just before 1812. "Our fathers from their tombs reproach us as slaves and cowards. . . . I hear them now in the wailing winds. . . ."

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From the excellent history of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend prepared for the Association by William H. Brantley, Esq., the following summary is taken:

Because the Creek country, which included an immense stretch of territory now composing a very large portion of the present states of Georgia and Alabama, was such a beautiful and desirable region, the Muscogee Indians, or Creeks, as the white man called them, were constantly forced to defend their homeland from the encroachments of others.

The Creek, always a warrior, elected to fight, and so came to pass the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, the most decisive and far-reaching Indian battle ever fought on the soil of this new and confident nation—this United States of America. It was the climactic battle of the Creek War, one of the bitterest and bloodiest conflicts ever waged in this country.

The center of Creek resistance to the never-ending encroachments of the American was that part of the Creek Nation occupied by the "Upper Creeks."

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<sup>1</sup>"The Creek War" by H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball, 1895.

Within this magnificent domain was located the village site long used by the Creeks to which they had given the name Cholocco Litabixee, meaning in English "Horse's Flat Foot." A great bend in the Tallapoosa River formed the land within it into the shape made by the print of a horse's hoof, or flat foot. In the pliable English language the outline of the river easily converted this picturesque descriptive Indian name into "Horseshoe Bend."

The land within this great curve of the Tallapoosa was rugged and varied. The higher part was near the neck of the bend, a plateau which sloped down by rough and broken stages in all directions to the water line of the river.

This was the place the prophets of the Creeks had selected as the battlefield upon which to make their last bloody and fated fight against "Old Mad Jackson," in one final heroic effort to destroy him and expel the white man from their country forever.

General Jackson, four days after this famous battle had been fought, in reporting to Governor Blount of Tennessee graphically wrote about the battleground as follows: "This bend resembles in its curvature that of a horse-shoe, and is hence called by that name among the whites. Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defence, and barbarians have never rendered one more secure by art. Across the neck of the bend which leads into it from the north they had erected a breastwork of the greatest compactness and strength, from five to eight feet high, and prepared with double portholes, very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall manifested no less skill in the projection of it, than its construction; an army could not approach it without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy, who lay in perfect security behind it. The area of this peninsula, thus bounded by the breastwork, includes I conjecture, eighty or an hundred acres."

This was the scene where Andrew Jackson's army was marshaled for battle. . . . Many of these soldiers were inexperienced and untried in combat but all were ready and eager for battle.

Opposing Jackson's forces were about one thousand warriors, the last sizable battle force of the Creek War Party. Prior to the beginning of the actual fighting the greatest prophet of the Upper Creeks—Monahell—was in command of the warriors. He was aided and supported by two other prophets of slightly less influence. Thus as the Creeks moved into this decisive battle the fate of the Creek Nation was in the hands of medicine men or prophets, the religious leaders of the Creeks, and not military men. The prophets claimed supernatural powers. They relied upon emotional appeal and charms and claimed personal instructions from the Great Spirit. They had selected the field of battle. The right to command was theirs—a tragic fate for the warriors, and for the Creek Nation.

In the chill early morning of this March 27, 1814, when the first sun drove away the mists that rose from the Tallapoosa, there was Monahell surrounded by his thousand almost naked warriors who, unmindful of the sharp cold, watched their leader intently. The mighty prophet, dressed in full regalia, bent his body double, then slowly straightened upward, quivering all over as he raised himself erect. Dry gourds of varying sizes were attached to a leather belt which tightly encircled his body just above the hips. Some of the gourds contained herbs, and others charms highly prized by the prophet. Some larger gourds were partially filled with small smooth pebbles and hard dried beans which rattled and hissed in a rhythm with the prophet's quivering body.

Monahell's fury and excitement steadily increased as he realized the opposing forces were about to join battle. Jackson's army was now in view of the Creeks on the high ground above the barricade. At about the same time John Coffee's detachment, which had crossed to the easterly side of the Tallapoosa at a ford three miles below the big bend, was nearing the high bank across the river from the battleground. Here Coffee could attack the Creeks from the rear, control the river and prevent retreat or escape by that route. It was now almost ten o'clock in the morning. General Jackson open-

ed the battle by firing his cannon on the barricade, and at the same time maintaining a brisk rifle fire upon the Indians who manned it. This sort of attack continued for about two hours without doing much damage.

Monahell suddenly ordered his warriors to abandon the breastworks and prepare to meet the attack of the enemy at the river. Numbers of warriors at once began to leave the breastworks and move toward the toe of the Horseshoe near the river. They shouted with fanatical zeal at the thought of meeting "Old Mad Jackson" face to face, forgetting for the time that he was a seasoned general with many men, good rifles and cannon. They were certain that the magic of the prophet was leading them to a great victory.

This sudden and unexpected change in the plan of battle alarmed and enraged the realistic Menawa. The English blood in his veins for the moment overpowered that of the Muscogee, and tradition yielded long enough for him to warn Monahell that he would be held to strict account if his magic proved false. But this warning and threat was not enough to prevent disaster because Jackson had observed the movement of the Indians, had seen the advantage to be had, and seized the opportunity. He ordered an attack in force at once straight into the barricade across the neck of the Horseshoe. The soldiers received their orders to storm the breastworks with shouts of acclamation. Here was to be action at close quarters.

Menawa, observing the formation of Jackson's troops and evidently aware of the terrible consequences if the impending charge was successful, rallied all of the warriors he could in a desperate effort to beat back the assault. Many of the warriors had left the breastworks, and of those who remained some hesitated at Menawa's call, wavered, and looked toward Monahell, whereupon the towering Menawa, overcome by rage at the fanatical leader whose folly had deceived the Creeks into this terrible situation, sprang upon the prophet and before the eyes of hundreds of embattled warriors Menawa slew Monahell with his own hand.

Then, rallying his Creeks with mighty war cry, Menawa, The Great Warrior, leaped over the breastworks into the very midst of Jackson's frontier riflemen. He was followed by many warriors as fearless as he and it was there almost in the shadow of the breastworks that Major Montgomery, Lieutenant Somerville, and Lieutenant Moulton were killed.<sup>1</sup> Here too, a young ensign leading his men in storming the barricade was severely wounded. He survived, and with the courage so evident at Horseshoe Bend always part of his life he recovered from his wounds and went onward and upward, gaining and deserving high honors from his fellow men, among them being chosen the first president of the Republic of Texas, and later, when Texas came into the Union, to serve it as United States Senator. His name was Sam Houston, a name forever recognized and emblazoned in the heroic records of the country. As for the daring Menawa, he was struck by many rifle balls but fought on with reckless rage of a man who knows his cause is desperate and cares not for the consequences. This brave man fell among many of his tribesmen, his body pierced through by seven rifle balls, and he was left for dead, as the battle passed over and by him, over the breastworks, and down toward the river Tallapoosa whose waters that day were red with blood of a brave people.

After the loss of Menawa's leadership, as though to do honor to his courage, the Creeks continued to fight with undiminished and unbelievable bravery.

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<sup>1</sup>Major Lemuel Purnell Montgomery, born in Virginia, reared in Tennessee, and a resident of Nashville, Tennessee, at the time of the Battle of the Horseshoe, was a young man of remarkable talents and accomplishments. He was called the "handsomest man in the Army," and was noted also for his courage. He led the charge of his command into the barricade at the Horseshoe, waving his sword and animating his men, and there received a rifle ball which ended his life. General Jackson, after the battle was over, stood over his body and wept, exclaiming, "I have lost the flower of my army." The County of Montgomery in Alabama was given its name in honor of Major Montgomery. (See Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. II, p. 344 et seq.) The town of Somerville, original seat of justice in Morgan County (formerly Cotaco) was named in honor of Lt. Somerville. (Brewer's History of Alabama.) Moulton, the seat of justice of Lawrence County, incorporated in 1819, was named in honor of the young Tennessean, Lt. Moulton. (Owen Vol. 1061, Brewer p. 307.)



Every warrior excepting two or three died in the battle.

Five hundred and fifty-seven warriors were found dead on the Horseshoe; at least two hundred fifty were killed in the river, most of them by Coffee's troops.

#### CASUALTIES IN GENERAL JACKSON'S ARMY

The casualties in Jackson's army were twenty-six white soldiers killed and one hundred seven wounded; Cherokees, eighteen killed and thirty-six wounded; friendly Creeks, five killed, eleven wounded.

The slaughter of the Creeks at the Horseshoe destroyed the last fighting force of the nation capable of striking a heavy blow. General Jackson wrote to Governor Blount: "The power of the Creeks is, I think forever broken."

It was necessary that the Creeks yield and make peace on whatever terms General Jackson should determine.

The true situation was known to Jackson. He was certain that effective armed resistance was ended and that no further organized conflict was likely, so he marched his troops to the southwest, to the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa where on the ruins of Old Fort Toulouse, built a hundred years before by the French, he erected Fort Jackson.

#### THE TREATY WITH THE CREEKS

Here Jackson waited for the surviving chiefs to come in and surrender. They came and upon their making known the extreme plight of their people the victorious general distributed food and clothing among the vanquished. But Jackson did not have in mind simply the termination of a war. His was the long view, to end the struggle for this fair land, to cut off the Creeks from contact with the Spanish in Florida, or through them, with the British or with any foreign power, for Jackson well knew that this Creek War had been promoted and supported by the British as a major part in their war against the United States known as the War of 1812.

Acting under authority from the President, on August 9, 1814, a treaty of peace was signed by Andrew Jackson on behalf of the President of the United States of America, and the Chiefs, deputies and warriors of the Creek Nation. This treaty has been called the Treaty of Conquest, for by it the Creeks ceded to the United States all of their lands within the territories of the United States lying west, south and southeastwardly of the Coosa River.

This was the end. The Creeks no longer had contact with the outside world.

The existence of the Creek Nation as a sovereign power challenging the authority of the sovereign United States was forever ended.

## NEW LIGHT ON RELATION TO TREATY OF GHENT

At the hearing before the House committee on June 13, 1956, the Chairman of the Association, Thomas W. Martin, filed a printed brief which summarized new evidence that the Battle of Horseshoe Bend contributed to prevention of a dismemberment of the United States planned by the British by the Treaty of Ghent. This was, in large part, based on the work of A. S. Colyar in his "Life and Times of Andrew Jackson,"<sup>1</sup> a volume inherited from his father, William L. Martin, who had died in 1907.

It was by reason of a now yellowed marker in the Colyar book, placed there by Chairman Martin after his visit to the battle site in 1923 with Oscar Thurlow, and his re-examination of the book after his return to the site 33 years later, that the very significant additional material having to do with the battle's effect on the Treaty of Ghent came to light.

The burden of it as presented by the Association to the House and Senate committees was that knowledge of the Horseshoe Bend victory and of others which followed upon it in 1814 contributed materially to a change in the British attitude and a modification of the terms of peace they had proposed.

This set Mr. Martin to other reading, including a history written in 1915 by Frank A. Updyke on "The Diplomacy of the War of 1812."<sup>2</sup>

According to historian Updyke, the original terms of the British included demand for outright cession by the United States for a permanent Indian territory of areas including what are today all or parts of the states of Minnesota, Wis-

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<sup>1</sup>Published by Marshall & Bruce Company, Nashville, Tenn., (1904). The elder Mr. Martin was well acquainted with the author Colyar. This work had special interest for the elder Mr. Martin because his grandfather Jesse Martin fought in the War of 1812 with Andrew Jackson.

<sup>2</sup>The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1915.

consin, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and North and South Dakota. It would have been dismemberment of the great nation ours was destined to be. Both Americans and British were to be barred forever from purchasing land in the area, although the Indians might sell to others. Thus it was hoped to halt the transcontinental expansion of the American people.

The Indian boundary set up by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 was to become the permanent boundary between British America and the United States. Thus American settlement would be blocked forever northwest of a line from Cleveland to the vicinity of Louisville, Kentucky. The Canadian frontier was to be "rectified" by assignment of Fort Niagara and Sackett's Harbor to the British. The United States was to be prohibited forever from maintaining naval forces or land fortifications on the Great Lakes.

The engagements of alliance which Great Britain had entered into with the Indian nations during the war rendered it incumbent upon her to provide for their permanent tranquility and security by including them in any treaty of peace made between Great Britain and America, and their permanent peace and security could not be provided for unless the limits of their territories were strictly defined. Such, at first, were the demands of the British commissioners when they met the Americans at Ghent in August 1814.

#### WORK OF MISS VERA LEDGER

The Association arranged for the diplomatic papers that passed between the British and their peace commissioners at Ghent in 1814 to be examined by an experienced history student, Miss Vera Ledger<sup>1</sup> of London, as before stated. Some of these papers are included in this narrative and confirm the findings of Colyar and Updyke.

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<sup>1</sup>A devoted researcher with wide experience in the fields of history, literature, and genealogy. Miss Ledger's painstaking efforts in examining the voluminous records concerning the peace negotiations at Ghent have contributed materially to this narrative.

## QUOTATIONS FROM COLYAR

A. S. Colyar, native of Tennessee, was engaged in the practice of law at Nashville for many years. Long an admirer and student of Andrew Jackson and regarded in Tennessee as one of the principal historians and leaders of that state, he was described as probably the representative Tennessean.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Colyar was dissatisfied with certain of the biographies of Andrew Jackson, and, because of his belief in Jackson's motives and integrity, devoted himself for some years to writing "Life and Times of Andrew Jackson," in two volumes. He completed this work after he was eighty years of age. He died in 1907. He wrote particularly on the significance of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

Colyar had much to say of the extreme attitude of the British towards the United States in the War of 1812. The British commissioners were unwilling to make any terms that did not include a cession of large parts of our territory to England. They demanded that we should surrender to them about 233,000,000 acres, having a value in excess of \$500,000,000, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi River from its origin to the Gulf.

"What General Jackson had to contend with in the Creek War," said Colyar, "and what he accomplished, and how he turned the tide, can only be known by such careful investigation as I have made . . . The truth is, *General Jackson's Creek Campaign, his victory at Fort Bowyer (at Mobile) in the destruction of a naval force of considerable importance, and capture of Pensacola, have all been obscured by his great victory at New Orleans afterwards.*" (Italics supplied)

The Creek campaign and the victories of General Jackson at Mobile and at Pensacola preceded by a good many weeks the Battle of New Orleans.

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<sup>1</sup>"Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History," by Samuel Gordon Heiskell; Ambrose Printing Co., Nashville, 1920 (2nd ed.).

Col. Colyar's part as one of the pioneers in the development of coal properties in Middle Tennessee which became part of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company is depicted in "Life and Achievements of Alfred Montgomery Shook," by Anne Kendrick Walker; Birmingham Publishing Co., 1952.

Colyar describes the effect of the victories of General Jackson (page 245):

"I have said the great victory over the British at New Orleans was the turning point in the most critical part of American history. Qualifying that, *I wish to say that the Creek campaign, the victory at Mobile Bay, and the victory at Pensacola, made the victory at New Orleans possible by Tennessee soldiers and the Creek campaign had enabled our commissioners at Ghent to get terms which they could afford to accept. The Battle of New Orleans came at a time when the citizen soldier quality was at the greatest discount.*" (Italics supplied)

And again (page 274):

*" . . . 24th day of December, 1814, Saturday, was the day on which the Treaty of Ghent was signed and peace made. And here I want to say again that the commissioners were all of the opinion that Jackson's victories in the Creek Nation the winter before made this treaty possible."*

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We close these references with four paragraphs from Colyar's history of the "Life and Times of Andrew Jackson" and two from John Henry Easton's "The Life of Major General Andrew Jackson."<sup>1</sup>

"I propose now to prove, as clearly as circumstantial evidence can reach a demonstration, that . . . the treaty would not have been made if General Jackson had not destroyed England's greatest ally, the Creek Nation. . ." (Colyar, page 203).

" . . . a great fleet and powerful army were being organized in England to destroy all the Southern seaports and to overrun the country, and . . . the British press and all the English people were treating the expedition to the South in the nature of an excursion." (Colyar, page 204).

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Eaton was a Senator of the United States from Tennessee at the time his history was published in 1828 by McCarty and Davis, No. 171 Market Street, Philadelphia.

“. . . when Jackson came to the treaty [with the Creeks] . . . [the] purpose was to open the country so that a Tennessee army could reach the coast without fighting its way, and meet the British at Mobile, New Orleans, Pensacola, or any other place they might land.” (Colyar, page 205).

“The significance of the great victory at Mobile (Fort Bowyer) may not be readily perceived . . . it was the first victory gained by a land force over the British, though the war had been raging for more than two years . . . fought on the 15th of September [1814], the news reached Europe in time to have its effect in the making of the treaty at Ghent.” (Colyar, page 230).

“On reaching Fort Jackson, his first attention [referring to General Jackson] had been directed to a subject which he believed to be of greater importance than making Indian treaties—to establish a plan by which to be constantly advised, during his stay, of those schemes that were in agitation in the south: believing that every passing event might be readily obtained through the Indians, who could go among the British without the least exciting suspicion, he had required Colonel Hawkins to procure some who . . . might be certainly relied on, to proceed to the Apalachicola, and towards the coast, and to return as early as they could obtain correct information of the strength, views, and situation of the enemy. In about fifteen days they came back, confirming the statement previously received, that a considerable English force had arrived, and was then in the bay of St. Rose; that muskets and ammunition had been given to the Indians, and runners despatched to the different tribes to invite them to the coast.” (Eaton, pages 126-127).

“Colonel Nicholls, with a small squadron of his Britannic majesty’s ships, had arrived [at Pensacola] the latter part of August, and taken up his headquarters with [Spanish] Governor Manriquez. He had been sent in advance to sow dissensions among our people . . . His proclamation, issued to the western and southern inhabitants, full of false statements, and high sounding promises, it was hoped would lead them to a be-

lief, that the government under which they lived was forging for them chains . . . He stated, that he was at the head of a force amply sufficient to reinstate them in those liberties and enjoyments of which they had been bereaved, by the designs of 'a contemptible few.' That such as were disposed to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, might not quietly rest, doubting of the assurances proffered them, he concluded by tendering, as security for all he had said and promised, 'the sacred honour of a British officer.' " (Eaton, page 135).



Colonel Nicholls was badly worsted and part of the British fleet sunk when he sought to take Fort Bowyer at Mobile; and soon afterwards, General Jackson, at the head of his troops, captured Pensacola and ousted the British and the Spanish from Fort Barrancas. The British blew up Fort Barrancas as they retreated and abandoned Pensacola.



## FROM HORSESHOE BEND TO FORT BOWYER



*Colonel William Lawrence*

The successful defense of Mobile by Colonel William Lawrence and his men at Fort Bowyer was an important success of American forces in a long series of engagements between the British and the American armies; and it had the effect of changing the course of events along the Gulf Coast. This was made possible by the success of General Jackson at Horse-shoe Bend and the destruction of the Creek forces.

In after years, Colonel Lawrence sought retirement on account of injuries he received at Fort Bowyer, and there is special emphasis upon his patriotic work in Report No. 243, dated February 4, 1834, 23rd Congress, first session, House of Representatives. He was retired with the rank of colonel.

The Committee of Public Defense at New Orleans on the 21st day of September 1814 authorized "a handsome sabre, with suitable inscriptions and emblems, be presented to Major William Lawrence, as a testimonial of the sense which is entertained of his skill and gallantry in the defence of Fort Bowyer, and the repulse of the enemy's fleet and land forces before that place." A copy of the resolution was communicated to Colonel Lawrence, with the request that he "convey to the brave officers and men under his command the expression of gratitude which is felt for the important service they have rendered to this State as well as to the United States."

Through the courtesy of descendants of the Lawrence family, including particularly Mrs. John Scott Keech, Mr. Wil-

liam Henry Pitcher, President General of the General Society of the War of 1812, and Miss Lawrence Pitcher, the Colonel's great-niece, we include in this narrative a photograph of the painting of Colonel Lawrence.

CHAIRMAN MARTIN'S COMMENTS ON THE  
TREATY OF GHENT

In "The Diplomacy of The War of 1812," Frank A. Updyke delineates the difficulties faced by the American peace commission and the effect of the victories of American arms in bringing about a change in attitude of the British commission.

The five-man American commission, consisting of Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, Jonathan Russell, J. A. Bayard, and Albert Gallatin, represented the most experienced and distinguished public men of the time.<sup>1</sup> This commission is unsurpassed in the history of American diplomatic relations. Albert Gallatin, native of Switzerland, and a naturalized American, was one of the ablest of the group. They met the English commissioners for the first time at the Hotel des Pays Bas in Ghent on August 8, 1814.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Bayard, a leader among the Federalists, was appointed to the peace commission while he was serving in the United States Senate from Delaware.

Jonathan Russell was at the time of his appointment to the peace commission United States minister to Sweden and Norway.

The nominal head of the group, John Quincy Adams, United States minister to Russia at the time of his appointment, was qualified by experience and intellect for international negotiation.

Albert Gallatin while Secretary of the Treasury (a post which he held for a longer period than any other man to date) requested appointment to the peace commission. Many regarded him as the ablest of the group. This great financier, statesman, and diplomat bore an unquestioned devotion to his adopted country. His calmness, judgment, and tact played a vital part in the proceedings at Ghent.

As speaker of the House of Representatives at the time of his appointment to the peace commission, Henry Clay had urged the War of 1812 on the President. He was one of the half dozen greatest Americans of his time. He had been at various times a Senator and Congressman from Kentucky and Secretary of State.

<sup>2</sup>The three British commissioners were James, Baron Gambier; Henry Goulburn, a young man of thirty; and Dr. William Adams, a specialist in maritime law. The Americans might talk and write to Gambier, Goulburn, and Adams, but they were actually coping with Castlereagh, one of the greatest foreign ministers in British history, and with Lord Bathurst, Secretary for the Colonies and War, and with the Duke of Wellington, England's greatest soldier.

According to Updyke, when the peace commission met at Ghent, the British commissioners presented three primary subjects for discussion. The second of these was as follows:

"The Indian allies of Great Britain to be included in the pacification, and a definite boundary to be settled for their territory."

Updyke continues:

"With reference to the Indian pacification, promises had been made to the Indians by the British generals which obligated the British government to see that the Indians were included in the pacification and the Indian territorial question had been presented to the Government as a practical means of defending the British possessions in North America. There were also commercial reasons for the establishment of a permanent Indian territory, which were urged by merchants in London who carried on trade with the Indians." (p. 204)

And further:

"The British were asked whether it was to be understood that the pacification and the settlement of a permanent boundary for the Indians were both made a *sine qua non*. They answered that they were." (p. 209)

"In view of the British insistence upon the establishment of an independent Indian territory as a *sine qua non*, the American commissioners gave up all hope of agreement upon a treaty. They decided to give up their house at the end of the month (August, 1814) though later they concluded to keep it until the middle of September." (p. 234)

The British attitude was:

"That the United States had manifested such a spirit of aggrandizement by 'their *progressive occupation of the Indian territories*, by the acquisition of Louisiana, by the more recent attempt to wrest by force of arms from a nation in amity the two Floridas,<sup>1</sup> and lastly, by the avowed intention of permanently annexing the Canadas to the United States,' that it became necessary for the British

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<sup>1</sup>Doubtless referring to General Jackson's victory at Horseshoe Bend, Mobile, and Pensacola.

Government to endeavor to secure its dominions in North America against the attempts at conquest on the part of the United States." (p. 239) (*Italics supplied*)

Great Britain also demanded the cession by the United States of some 233 million acres.

"The territorial demands of Great Britain aroused the greatest indignation in the United States. The land that was exacted by Great Britain, either in the form of a permanent Indian territory or for communication between Halifax and Quebec, it was pointed out, meant the cession by the United States of some 233,000,000 acres, an extent of country larger than England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. This territory, it was estimated, was worth, at the government price of land, nearly \$500,000,000." (pp. 279-280)

This vast area would have included all or parts of the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, North and South Dakota.

In addition, there were other demands which were very offensive to the United States and upon publication of the British proposals in the United States, sentiment promptly solidified against the British and in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Significantly, in his "Albert Gallatin,"<sup>1</sup> Raymond Walters, Jr., records that during an interval between the first and second sessions, the British commissioners had received a brief visit from Castlereagh<sup>2</sup> himself en route, with an extensive retinue, to the European peace conference at Vienna. He left a new set of instructions and some fresh admonitions with his commissioners.

An indication that the British Prime Minister was fully aware of General Jackson's activities is the statement respecting the Floridas, that it was "one of the most immoral acts recorded in the history of any country." Presumably this

<sup>1</sup>Name of book, date of publication and publishers.

<sup>2</sup>British Foreign Secretary.

refers to General Jackson's invasion of Florida and his attack on the British and the destruction of Fort Barrancas.

These and other items found in the diaries of the commissioners of the United States reflect their determined attitude and their statesmanship in contending with the British; and they also reflect changing attitudes of the British from their first adamant position, due to the losses sustained by the British navy and armies in the North and in the South.

"Castlereagh, the British foreign minister," said Tucker, "continued to dally while awaiting word about the British campaign and how it was progressing in America. It was not until August 6 (after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend) that the two peace commissioners met at Ghent. . ."<sup>1</sup> (p. 668)

That the President, Mr. Madison, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Monroe, recognized the connection of the Creek War with the War of 1812 is shown by the President's message to Congress of September 20, 1814, which contained these words:

"On our southern border victory has continued . . . to follow the American standard. The bold and skilful operations of major general Jackson, conducting troops drawn from the militia of the states least distant, particularly of Tennessee, have subdued the principal tribes of hostile savages, and, by establishing a peace with them, preceded by recent and exemplary chastisement, has best guarded against the mischief of their cooperation with the British enterprises which may be planned against that quarter of our country."<sup>2</sup>

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These views of the President were communicated to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, and to the American peace commissioners at Ghent.

<sup>1</sup>"Poltroons and Patriots," by Glenn Tucker; The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis-New York; 1954.

<sup>2</sup>"State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States from the Accession of George Washington to the Presidency," (2nd ed. 10 vols., Boston, 1817) IX, 313-14.

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#### RESEARCH IN LONDON

From material gathered from official sources and records in London by the research student engaged by the Association, much material of value to this discussion and to future historians was obtained.