

The Titus Trail

TRACING THE TITUSES THROUGH TIME

HENRY THEODORE TITUS: Famous or Infamous



THE ARCH OF TITUS

LINEAGE OF HENRY THEODORE TITUS

PATERNAL

TITUS, Silas
TITUS, Robert
TITUS, Content
TITUS, John
TITUS, Andrew
TITUS, John, Jr.
TITUS, Theodore
TITUS, Henry Theodore

MATERNAL

NEWDYCKE, June (Constancia)
CARTER, Anne (Hannah)
MOORE, Elizabeth
JOHNSON?, Rebecca
BURROWES, Hannah
MERSHON, Sarah
HOWELL, Catherine F.
HOPKINS, Mary Evelina

ISSUE

Edward Hopkins
Catherine Howell
Mary Evelina
Howell
Henry Theodore Jr.
Ellett Livingston
Theodore II
Pierre Soule
Theodosia????

HENRY THEODORE TITUS
FAMOUS OR INFAMOUS (C)

COMPILED
BY
HARRY TITUS

HENRY THEODORE TITUS



In his Magyar hat, a plume a la Kossutk

PHOTO: Kansas State Historical Society

THE BLIND MEN AND THE ELEPHANT

It was six men of Indostan
To learning much inclined,
Who went to see the Elephant
(Though all were blind),
That each by observation
Might satisfy his mind.

John Godfrey Saxe
(1816 - 1887)

FOREWORD

Throughout history, many men and women have burst forth on the scene, making themselves famous or infamous at some point by their actions. Unfortunately, for most, they and/or their activities were lost in the antiquity of time.

That is not the case with Henry Theodore Titus.

Despite the elapsed time of over 100 years since his death, he is still a subject of much discussion. However, much of what is being or has been written about him is merely a rehash of what someone else had already rehashed.

Henry Theodore Titus comes from a long line of movers and shakers, dating back several generations prior to the first known Titus to America.

(Their history, along with this portion, will be included in "The Titus Trail," a genealogical publication.)

In order to cover "all bases," this biography will repeat many of the things said and written of or about him, but with one difference--off-setting rebuttals, where found.

Therefore, instead of trying to present merely this writer's opinion (which is biased), both pro-and-con aspects of the Titus history will be sought, using whatever source that can be found.

To present it, a compilation of news reports from New York papers, the Times, Herald and/or Tribune, will be quoted as will the Titusville papers, The Star and The Star-Advocate.

In addition, since Titus was widely reported throughout the Nation, many other papers are utilized such as the San Francisco, California, papers: The Daily Alta Californian and The Daily Californian; in addition, The San Diego Herald.

Much information was acquired from magazines, biographical histories, governmental agencies, and from historical societies. Each played an important part concerning the "facts" about Titus.

Example: The Kansas State Historical Society's (KSHS) publications are used extensively for Titus' actions while he was in Kansas.

Another primary source of material: Mary Evelina (Minnie) Titus Ensey's "Early Recollections of Minnie Titus Ensey," as told to her daughter, Fedora Ensey Gray.

A.J. Hanna's "Florida's Golden Sands" and Iantha Bond Hebel's writings are also quoted.

It must be pointed out that regardless of the source, certain statements are inaccurate. Hopefully, those have been addressed and are answered by the researched material.

As with all researches, this one was not only very time-consuming, but also frustrating. This was compounded by the fact that no definitive biography of Titus' life has been located.

Since Titus had been involved in so many diverse activities, activities in so many geographical areas and over so great a number of years, research required either personal travel or using professional researchers. Either or both would require time and money.

Therefore, to assemble this biography within the time and money available, the method used was the genealogical crutch: Armchair research.

FOREWORD

One difficulty: Trying to equate what one writer had written against that of another. This was especially true when the incident quoted happened years earlier.

The corollary between the time-frame of a happening and of its telling is directly proportional to its embellishment. Also, tellers or tales tend to best remember that which represents their own concept of the event.

This researcher's inability to retrieve all the material available did not, it is hoped, prevent full disclosure of pertinent facts for a true evaluation. Therefore, that which was available was used to its fullest extent.

As new material is discovered, it will be amplified and processed into the basic publication by addendums/supplements or sub-pages.

The information now on hand is presented in several parts. Each part covers, chronologically, Titus' life.

Currently, the parts are titled as follows: EARLY LIFE - 1823-49; CUBA - 1849-51; JACKSONVILLE - 1851-55;; KANSAS - 1856; NICARAGUA - 1857; ARIZONA -1857-60; CIVIL WAR - 1861-65; THE FINAL YEARS - 1866-81; and INDEX.

His early life history has been derived, mainly, from family remembrances and those were just that: remembrances, not necessarily "facts."

Fortunately, tidbits of information concerning his younger years have cropped up. When found, research has been made and that added to already obtained historical data.

Though events are listed chronologically, some overlapping is necessary to coalesce certain events or to emphasize some anomalies, i.e., the question of slave-ownership and/or of children.

To ensure information about Titus and/or the conditions occurring during a specific period reflecting the then-current thinking, an entire article may be quoted. That which is not germane will be edited. Some repetitions (to give another point of view) will occur.

Another reason: The more we can learn about the character Titus the more we will learn about Titus' character.

It must be emphasized that whatever is found will be included: the good, the bad, the indifferent. This will not be a whitewash.

Readers must understand that the cogent reason for setting forth the life of Henry Theodore Titus is personal. He was my great-grandfather.

For those who disagree with what is written or those who have additional information are encouraged to write.

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CHAPTER I

Famous, as defined by one dictionary is one who is "Generally recorded in history or currently renowned; publically acclaimed; celebrated."

Henry "Harry" Theodore Titus is an epitome of that definition; however, he also meets the one for infamous: "Having an exceedingly bad reputation; notorious; detestable."

His detractors, and they were legend, called him many things: a coward, a crook, a fool, a hoax, a pirate, as well as a scurrilous pioneer. He was even called a murderer.

For his actions in "Bleeding Kansas," he, along with others, was known by that derogatory epithet: "Border Ruffian."

He fought for what he believed in and believed in that for which he fought. He was, as A.J. Hanna wrote, "A Man of Uncertain Destiny."

As with other men, Titus had his failings, his foibles. He loved his children; yet there were problems. One son said: "Father was hard on us boys. I left home as soon as I could."

One sobriquet said it best: "The Gallant Floridian."

Yes, the founder of Titusville, Florida, was in a class by himself; an enigma.

Mary Evelina Titus Ensey told her daughter, Fedora Ensey Gray: "I suppose I may be pardoned in stating he was a very handsome and commanding in appearance, with dark brown eyes and hair; standing well over six feet in height and weighing 250 pounds, very graceful and agile, he delighted in an active life."

Coincidentally, many of his detractors described Titus in almost identical terms.

In his obituary, some newspapers mention his "biographer." At this time, no known biography nor autobiography published prior to his death has been found. If he left any notes or writings, other than letters to newspapers, none have surfaced.

In addition to newspaper articles and biographies of others which have mention Titus, what is now known comes from writings of those who knew him or thought they knew him. Also, information has been gleaned from articles by those who have repeated, as fact, unsubstantiated happenings. The latter articles seem to villify, rather than praise him.

His life was doomed from the start to breed controversy. Even his birthplace and date of birth are circumspect.

A stained glass memorial window in St. Gabriel's Episcopal Church, Titusville, has his birth-year as 1822 as does a bible record, albeit written by other than Titus himself. His daughter, Mary Evelina Titus Ensey, also uses the 1822 date in her recollections.

(Note: The windows, as well as the land upon which the church

stands, were donated by his wife, Mary Evelina Titus.)

A.J. Hanna, in his "Florida's Golden Sands," placed Titus' birth in the year 1815.

The San Francisco paper, The Daily Evening Bulletin, on June 27, 1859, gives flayed credence to the Alabama birth: "The State of Alabama is entitled to the honor of giving Titus to history."

(Note: It also titled him "Dr.")

In "Today's Sunshine," Connie White wrote that "Somewhere along the line, he (Titus) claimed he served as adjutant general in Pennsylvania and acquired the title of 'colonel' which he used from then on."

(Note: There is no record in the archives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania showing Titus to have been the adjutant general of that state; nor is there any record showing him to have held any commission in that state's pre-Civil War militia. During the period prior to the Cuban affair, others held that post.)

Then there is A. C. Quisenberry's "Lopez' Expedition to Cuba, 1850-1851" which carried the following:

"It is not known what became of the rolls and records of the Kentucky Regiment of the Cardenas Expedition or whether they are preserved at all. The following incomplete roster of its officers and the statement of losses were picked out from various sources and it mentions Adjutant Henry Titus from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, with a footnote, 'native of Kentucky but at that time residing elsewhere.'"

Even Titus compounded the confusion when, during the Civil War, he wrote to a Savannah newspaper that he "was born in a slave state, and my parentage before me."

However, if his tombstone is correct, he was born at Trenton, New Jersey, February 13, 1823.

The line of Henry T. Titus is English. The first to come to America was Robert Titus. He arrived aboard the ship Hopewell in 1635, first settling in Massachusetts. Coming with Robert was his wife, Anne (Hannah) Carter, and two of his sons, John and Edmond. Four other children were born to Robert and Anne after they settled here. They were as follows: Samuel, Susanna, Abiel and Content.

Content was Henry Theodore's line.

(As an aside, Anne Carter Titus' will bears the number "1," it being the first will filed in New York.)

Most genealogical researchers strongly believe that Robert, the immigrant, was the brother of Silas Titus, Jr. The latter was a member of the British Parliament. He may have been the writer of "Killing No More," a very political and controversial book.

As of this writing, much of the early life of Henry Theodore Titus is speculation.

However, some information, whether factual or farcical, is gradually coming to light. For example:

It was F. R. Stebbens who, in the February 1, 1881, Adrian, Michigan's Times and Expositor, said:

"Our landlord, Col. Titus, is a man with a history. A filibuster under Walker, he was captured in Nicaragua, but managed some way to save his life. Afterwards he led a life of adventure in Kansas, and

along the frontier. He, with a party, skirted the whole coast of Lake Superior in open Mackinac boats. He saw Prof. Houghton's boat capsize, and helped bring ashore his body. Was with Fremont in California and with the army in Mexico. Crippled with rheumatism he drifted into Florida, and says he could not live elsewhere."

The above has so many discrepancies, it's difficult to say which is true and which is just a figment of the fertile imagination of Titus.

As of yet, the article has not been found in the Adrian paper and it definitely was not in the Feb. 1, 1881 edition.

According to Stebbens, Titus saw Houghton's boat capsize and, allegedly, helped rescue him. That, another of those tall tales told, is just not true. The accident occurred on Oct. 14, 1845, but the body, partially decomposed and half-buried on the sandy beach, was not found until the following May.

Those who have followed the adventures of Titus know that he was in Kansas prior to Nicaragua. Besides, it is doubtful that he was with Fremont in California since no record of Army service has been uncovered.

Titus did not just drift into Florida. He went there in 1849. (See below.)

We do know that in 1845, he was with the post office as the biennial Official Registers of the United States lists H. T. Titus as being employed by it in 1845 as a special agent investigating mail depredations, and that he received \$558.42 for his services.

This confirms LT. Hardy's statement (see Cuba chapter) regarding Titus having been a "special agent" of the post office prior to the Cuban affair.

According to his son, Henry, Titus was a West Pointer. However, the Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy refutes that. He said: "(We) have searched our collection and found no record of...Henry Theodore Titus, having attended the Academy."

If Titus did have some sort of military schooling or had held some military office, that could have been the catalyst that prompted him (according to some writers) to depart Pennsylvania in August, 1850, for New York City to meet with Narcisco Lopez, the Cuban Filibuster.

A.J. Hanna, in his "Florida's Golden Sands," had the following:

"Titus made his first appearance in the pages of recorded history in August of 1850, when, at the age of thirty-five, he was called from Philadelphia to New York City for a consultation with the Revolutionist Narcisco Lopez, who was then enlisting recruits, chiefly Southerners, for expeditions to help free Cuba from Spanish control. General Lopez engaged Titus as a recruiting officer to operate in the Jacksonville area. Presumably Titus received funds from Lopez to cover expenses involved and then proceeded southward to carry out his instructions."

(Note: Titus' name appeared in both The New Orleans Bee and The New York Herald in August, 1849, as an associate of Lopez. He also has been directly credited as being part of the Cardenas expedition. That took place in May, 1850.)

During this period, many Americans were advocating invading Cuba

and wresting the island from Spain, hoping that it would become another "State."

At this same time, there was also a clamor to annex Canada.

Although that soon lost favor, the acquisition of Cuba was still the sole hope of many.

Another factor: Titus, along with thousands of other Americans, became incensed over the action of the Spanish government by its kidnapping of a man (Rey) from American soil and transporting him back to Cuba for trial. That may have been a motivating force behind Titus' desire to free Cuba from Spain. Undoubtedly, the chance for fame and fortune was also a deciding force.

At first, the U. S. Government took no overt action to stop Lopez during the build-up phase of filibuster forces for Cuba; however, this contrasted dramatically from its after-action efforts. No doubt, this was because too many Americans were sympathetic to the idea of wresting Cuba from Spain.

Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis were two who espoused it; however, though both were offered leadership roles, they rejected Lopez' offer.

It was during this period that Titus and Pierre Soule became fast friends. It was a continuous one--until Soule's suicide--as Titus, in memory of him, named his youngest son, Pierre Soule.

Soule, a New Orleans politician, American ambassador, and statesman, was a confidant of both Lopez and William Walker. The latter, with Titus' help (some said hinderance), achieved a somewhat nebulous notoriety in Nicaragua.

Through Lopez and Soule, Titus, undoubtedly, began what was to be the start of the colonel's march into history.

CHAPTER II

A report in The New York Herald (15 August 1849) had the following:

"It is certain...that there are many persons in Florida, so particularly anxious for the annexation of Cuba that they would assent to a military expedition...The object would then be to secure, first, the independence of the island, by driving out the Spanish authorities and setting up a republic... (and) then to petition for annexation to the United States."

From the National Intelligencer, Aug. 13: "At one point (on an island on the coast of the Gulf) there are said to be embodied from three to five hundred men, and agents are believed to be engaged in Northern as well as Southern cities, in enlisting men for the expedition."

There was one obstacle. It was the opposition by President Jackson's cabinet to the "buffalo hunts," as the expedition was euphemistically called. "The cabinet is the sworn enemy of all 'buffalo hunts,'" said the Herald in that same edition. The article went on: "The cabinet would just as soon connive at the hostile invasion of Florida, as at the descent of a 'buffalo hunt,' under the organization of citizens of the United States, upon Cuba."

In fact, all during the Cuban affair, Secretary of State Clayton energetically opposed Lopez and those who supported him. He, and the attorney general, ordered Lopez arrested and his ships seized.

Despite the official opposition, ships (Pampero and Creole were two) sailed from New Orleans with filibusters to fight in Cuba.

After one Pampero sailing, the President had the Collector of that port removed. (N.Y. Herald, Sept. 4, 1851.)

Titus was involved in Lopez' first expedition to Cuba according to LT. Hardy who wrote of it in his 1850 book, "The History and Adventures of the Cuban Expedition."

Hardy describes Titus as follows:

"Nor can I forget Adjutant H. T. Titus, of Philadelphia. 'Gallant Harry!' Jovial and laughing even in the midst of fight; and a perfect Ajax in courage and proportions. Titus had 'travelled some' before, as Secret Agent of the Post Office Department. He joined the battalion at New Orleans, and was well qualified for the office he held."

(Note: The ship that sailed from New Orleans with Hardy and the other filibusters was the Creole. Presumably, Titus was also a passenger.)

Hardy explained the preparation for landing on the Island of Contay, off the Yucatan mainland and remarked about the spirit of the men involved. He said: "The excitement of these arrangements revived their drooping spirits, and good humor, which for two or three

days past had deserted all--even Harry Titus--beamed on almost every face again--particularly on those of the newly-made officers."

According to Hardy, things had not gone well for the invaders, they having had several fatalities; however, Lopez was still adamant in seeking to establish a beachhead on the Island of Mantua. "In this he was at first supported by a few officers, particularly Col. Wheat, of the Louisianians, and Maj. Hardy, Adjutant Titus, and Capt. Allen of the Ky. Battalion."

Hardy went on: "None of the officers were more energetic, at one time, in endeavoring to induce the men to do as Gen. Lopez proposed, then Maj. Hardy, Capt. Allen, and Adjutant Titus; all of whom, after investigating and weighing the matter more carefully and coolly, sustained the men in their course."

The following story, which corresponds to "memories" of his children (names and dates are in variance), was filed by the Herald's Key West correspondent on May 21, 1850:

"At about sunrise this morning, a large war steamer was discovered from the different cupolas, to be in the offing, to the eastward of Sand Key, with her colors flying for a pilot; and she was soon afterwards boarded by one...This was the Spanish war steamer Pizzaro...About nine o'clock, another steamer, crowded with men, was seen coming down inside the reef, under a heavy press of steam, steering directly for this harbor. The Pizarro discovered her about the same time that we did from the town, and she was evidently determined to intercept and capture her...The Creole, with the Cuba expedition under General Lopez, had the advantage of position, being considerably inshore; but the Pizarro had the heels; and as the chances of escape or capture seemed to fluctuate, the lookers-on evidenced great excitement. They both came gallantly on, but the little Creole, stimulated by barrels of rosin and sides of bacon thrown into her fires, gathered herself up and rounded the lighthouse point about two miles in advance of her adversary, and came into the harbor in dashing style, followed by her powerful enemy, who ran by her within thirty paces, as she was making fast to the wharf. The Creole people at once disembarked."

(The reporter said that he had omitted the names of those aboard for obvious reasons.)

Hardy described the chase, and the depletion of fuel. He said: "The Creole's coal began to grow scarce, and by the time the lighthouse could be seen, the last shovel full was thrown upon her fires. Bacon meat was then substituted, with red shirts, and such other combustibles as could be found, which kept up steam, and still the little steamer darted towards her haven."

Probably, the above is the basis for the many repetitive articles which have Titus and the Pampero escaping from Cuba after the Cardenas landing and of being pursued by a Spanish gunboat. However, the accounts currently published are in variance with the reports filed by those who had either been present or had participated in the event.

Their (the current writers) version goes like this: With recruits well-trained, with armaments on hand, and the ship, Pampero, ready, Titus allegedly headed for, and landed at Cardenas, Cuba.

There, attacked by Spanish gunboats, he was forced to flee.

With Key West the closest American port, Titus headed for it. Arriving just ahead of his Spanish pursuers, he safely made harbor. The story which made the rounds was that he got there only after every combustible item aboard the ship was burned to provide steam to drive the ship's engine(s). This included sides of bacon.

Edward Rutledge Ensey, grandson of Titus, said that the vessel upon which Titus fled to Key West was the tugboat Three Friends rather than the Pampero according to Virginia Scruggs in her article on Col. Titus. Ensey was quoted as saying:

"A Spanish gunboat sighted them and gave chase. Running full steam for Key West, the gun-runners soon gave out of fuel...All the furniture was chopped up and fed into the firebox, but it still wasn't enough.

"'Throw in the bacon, boys'! shouted Col. Titus--so with a side of bacon burning in the firebox for fuel and black smoke pouring out the smokestack, the Three Friends steamed into Key West, escaping by a coat of paint from the gunboat of an outraged Spanish government."

(As there is no available record showing Colonel Titus as having been the captain of either the Creole or the Three Friends, why would he have been giving orders to fire the boilers?)

After landing in Key West, General Lopez and many of his staff proceeded to Savannah. In August, 1850, they were in Boston. (This may be, according to Hanna, when Titus [re]joined Lopez at New York.)

The Herald's Savannah correspondent, on August 25, 1851, said:

"The arrival of the Savannah steamer (Pampero)...with the Cuban flag of revolution floating from her peak, was hailed with clamorous enthusiasm...In a few minutes, as if by magic, two beautiful flags, on whose dazzling fields shone the pure white star, were seen streaming from the highest housetops in town. I may mention to an interesting fact, that one of these flags was the identical one borne by the Kentucky regiment in the battle of Cardenas (Titus was the adjutant of that regiment)...There are many congregated here (filibusters) and in the immediate vicinity...These, when organized, as they will be after leaving the jurisdiction of the United States, will constitute the Florida regiment, and will be commanded...by Colonel Henry Titus, who bore a distinguished part in the Cardenas expedition."

"The Crescent City...publishes a letter from Crittenden, written half an hour before his execution, in which he says he 'had not a single musket cartridge at the time of his capture.'

"Lopez has got no artillery."

The Florida correspondent for the Herald (Sept. 4) wrote on August 26, 1851:

"The Pampero is at the mouth of our river, taking in wood and water, and will return to Cuba well freighted with recruits. Before this reaches you, you will have seen the account of the landing, and the engagements of Lopez with the Spanish soldiery in Cuba, and also the account of the unfortunate fate of Crittenden and his company of volunteers. The barbarity of this act seals the doom of the Spanish authorities in that island. (Spanish troops tortured and slaughtered American prisoners captured during Lopez' attempt to

overthrow the Spanish Government)...There are some three hundred recruits who have been waiting the arrival of the steamer that is to take them to the scene of the action. So great is the desire to avenge the death of Crittenden and his gallant soldiers, that 10,000 men might readily be gathered in the little State of Florida alone."

The National Intelligencer, Sept. 3, states that the U.S. Government will take the most appropriate steps for the vigorous enforcement of the laws and pledged obligations of the United States to foreign governments, by the employment of every element of the national power in preventing or intercepting all unlawful plots or expeditions against the Island of Cuba, or with a view to stir up revolt in that island."

The Jacksonville Florida Republican reported on September 4, 1851:

"The steamer Pampero, departed this port Tuesday with 100 men from East Florida enroute to Cuba. These 'liberators of Cuba' are under the command of Col. H. T. Titus; Theodore O'Hara, of Kentucky, is Lieutenant-Colonel; John Hopkins of Florida will act as Adjutant. Capt. Province of Ocala, Fla., Capt. Williamson of Savannah, Ga. (both of whom served gallantly in the Mexican War) and Capt. Colvin of Jacksonville, Fla., are in command of companies. Others are expected to join this force down the coast."

On September 6, 1851, the Florida News published a similar story as follows:

"Steamer Pampero came into Jacksonville last Sunday for repairs; remained until Tuesday. Sailed Tuesday afternoon, taking from Jacksonville about 120 men and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, including several cannon. She will touch along the coast and take in a full complement of men and then sail for Cuba.

"Expedition under command of Col. Henry T. Titus, Lt. Col. Theodore O'Hare, (who was in the Cardenas Expedition) and Maj. David Province. Captains S. St. Geo, Rogers, Williamson, and Colvin are on board in command of companies."

(Note: The same paper carried a stop-press notice of the capture of Lopez, dated New Orleans, Sept. 4.)

On 31 August 1851, Lopez was captured. On September 5, he was executed.

Following the news of the capture of Lopez, the Florida News, September 13, 1851, continued the story:

"Pampero, after leaving Jacksonville, steered toward Savannah and put in at Wassaw Inlet. While lying there, she received news of capture and execution of Lopez. Jacksonville men were returned to their homes and the steamer, after a chase by Federal officers, was turned over to Collector of Port of Jacksonville by her owners and now lies tied up to a Jacksonville wharf."

From the Savannah Republican, Sept. 14, 1851 as reported by the Herald on 23 September:

"Doubtless there are many erroneous reports in circulation relative to the movements of this vessel (Cutter Jackson) and the steamer Pampero, and perhaps your readers may feel some interest in a correct statement of facts...On the 30th ult, we received informa-

tion, through the Collector of Savannah, that the steamer Pampero was, or has been, hovering on the coast of Georgia, and requesting an immediate pursuit and capture of her, if possible. The Jackson was in a few minutes under way (after the receipt of the information) standing out over the Savannah bar."

(The Jackson was grounded on a bar for 24-hours. Later, they received notice that the Pampero was at Jacksonville.)

The reporter continued:

"On the 7th, at 12M., arrived off the St. Johns and Lieut. Davenport was dispatched with a boat's crew up the river in quest of the above-named steamer. At 4 o'clock P.M., while lying to off the St. Johns bar, discovered a steamer coming out of Nassau River, some eight to ten miles to the southward, made all sail in chase. At that time the steamer, apparently learning the character of this vessel, seemed to be a little confused or bewildered, altering her course two or three times in as many minutes, but finally took her course directly to windward, the Jackson in full chase, having her some four points to leeward, four or five miles distant; but the dull sailing qualities of the old Jackson, and the want of an eighteen pounder, enabled her to cross our bow one-and-half miles distant. When at the nearest point, fired a shot from our medium twelve pounder, which fell short of her. After getting entirely out of reach to windward, she bore up the St. Johns River (under steam and sail), which she passed at 6 P.M., and stood directly up the river, the Jackson in pursuit. Being compelled to stop at the bar for a pilot, lost sight of the Pampero (such she proved to be). At 7 P.M., ran into the St. Johns River and anchored for the night time. Next morning, Lieut. Davenport returned and reported the Pampero having passed up by Jacksonville at 9 o'clock the night previous. Dropped the Jackson up the river to a more commanding position, for the purpose of preventing the egress of the P., should she make the attempt.

"On the morning of the 12th, received information that the Pampero has been surrendered up to the Collector at Jacksonville. At his request the cutter has been brought up to the place and anchored near the P. to prevent a recapture, which the Collector is apprehensive of.

"We have been credibly informed, had it not been the blockading of the river by the Jackson, the Pampero would never have surrendered to the civil authority. Could we have spared the men to have sent a boat expedition in pursuit of the Pampero in all probability we would have been the lucky ones.

"If the Pampero, or filibusters, had known the smallness of our physical force, I doubt very much if the Pampero would now be in the custody of the Collector of Jacksonville."

Prior to its capture, Titus took the Pampero down to Dunn's Lake, near Palatka, and off-loaded his cargo before capture by the Collector of Jacksonville, according to A.J. Hanna.

Concerning the ship's seizure, A.J. Hanna said: "By order of the Collector of the Port of Jacksonville the vessel was seized for violating the neutrality laws of the United States on the charge that Henry T. Titus and others fitted out within the limits of the United States the Pampero with the intent that she be employed in the service

of...the disloyal inhabitants of the island of Cuba to commit hostilities against the subjects and property of the Spanish Queen, Isabel II."

The official U.S. Navy report as submitted by Lt Rodgers, commander of the Navy ship Jackson, showed that the Pampero chase and subsequent capture encompassed a period of 24 days: Thursday, 28 August to 20 September 1851.

Later, during Florida's battles against the Seminole Indians, Titus supplied the State with various and sundry items purportedly to have been removed by him from the Pampero prior to its confiscation.

(Note: See Hanna's statement in the Jacksonville section.)

Titus was allegedly tried (Oct. 11) at St. Augustine, Florida, for violation of U.S. neutrality laws.

If tried, Titus apparently escaped punishment. This could have been due to the support the public had for Cuba's independence. It also may have been because Titus denied having taken part in any invasion action. He intimated that all he was doing was sailing for fun.

(A National Archives search failed to turn up any record of such a trial. Incidentally, this also held true for other trials supposedly held against Titus. It is possible such records were destroyed in the 1891 fire at Jacksonville.)

The Florida News in its December 6, 1851, edition reported: "Evidence in libel of the Pampero, tried at St. Augustine, showed she took Lopez and about 500 men to Cuba and then went to Jacksonville."

An advertised date of December 18th and appearing in the December 20th News, showed that the Pampero was condemned and put up for sale by the U.S. Marshal.

If Cuba had been freed, it would have become a Southern slave-state, and Titus, along with the other filibusters, would have become a land owner over great acreages on the Cuban isle.

Unfortunately, with Lopez dead, and neither Kansas nor Nicaragua not yet active enough for him to get physically involved, Titus had to settle down. He chose Jacksonville for this phase of his life.

It has been said that although he was engaged in the mercantile business (until 1856), he, allegedly, had not relinquished his participation with those who were willing to fight for adventure, glory--and money.

It was during this period he supposedly recruited a company of Florida men for Walker's forces in Nicaragua. (See Kansas section.)

CHAPTER III

There is very little information extracted at this time on the activities of Titus during this portion of his life. There is no question though about him having been in the mercantile business.

A.J. Hanna wrote: "In the spring of this year, 1852, he supplied the State of Florida with forage, quartermaster's stores, ordnance stores and subsistence stores for the militia then in contest with the Seminole Indians. Specifically, he sold hay, axes, tin basins, tin cups, hatchets, ink, jugs, linen, a corn mill, tin pans, frying pans, iron pots, rope, spades, powder, shot, bacon, flour, hard bread, butter biscuits, candles, soap, vinegar, sugar, coffee and pepper."

(Note: See statement in chapter on Cuba.)

In addition to Hanna's story, there were other excerpts of advertisements and notices published in the Jacksonville Florida News and the "Statement of Payments" account by Dr. J.M. Hawkes in The Florida Gazetter.

1. August 2, 1851: "John M. Cureton and H. T. Titus dissolved. Empire Mills (Cureton & Titus) bought by French, H.L."

2. "Statement of Payments made on account of Quartermaster's, Ordnance and Subsistence Stores under the (?) of Indian hostilities, by order of his Excellency, the Governor (from Appendix, Documents accompany the Governor's Message, pp 143-144, in Senate Journal...6th session, Nov. 22, 1852) payments to Titus April 3, 1852, p. 116."

3. July 3, 1852: "H. T. Titus advertises that he has 'just received a large and elegant lot of hams, shoulders, sides, lard, and many other necessaries...'"

4. January 1, 1853: "In an advertisement of Henry T. Titus, dated February 21, 1852, as a dealer in 'groceries, liquors, tinware, hardware, hollow-ware, crockery, furniture, segars (sic), etc., etc.'"

"Lowest cash rates; produce accepted in exchange for goods."

5. January 6, 1855: "Col. H. T. Titus is listed among arrivals at Buffingdon House. His address is given only as Florida."

(Note: The term "colonel" was used during the Cuban affair; however, whether he acquired it prior to that time is not currently known. He was definitely commissioned a colonel by an appropriate authority (governor) during his sojourn in Kansas.)

Titus was not all business. He remained friendly with those who'd been with him during the Cuban affair. He also met Mary Evelina Hopkins, daughter of Edward Steven Hopkins, and they were married at Darien, McIntosh County, Georgia, on March 2, 1852.

(A March 2d date is listed on the bible record. It is also the one used by his daughter, Minnie, in her recollections. County records for that period are not available, having been destroyed by fire.)

Why were they married at Darien? Why not Jacksonville, home of the Hopkins family and of Titus? Why not St. Marys, Camden County, Georgia, where she was born? Why not Woodbine, Camden's county's seat? Or, had they been to Savannah and, on returning home, married on the spur of the moment? Of course, Darien may have been selected as it was her father's birth county. A minor mystery in the life of Henry Theodore Titus.

Although successful in his own right, Titus profited from the Hopkins' connection.

Possibly this was due to Edward Steven Hopkins himself. He had been a wealthy and prominent planter of Darien, Georgia, before moving to Jacksonville in 1853(?). While still in Georgia, he married Mary Evelina Du Four of St. Marys.

At Jacksonville, he became involved--over the years--in political activities--serving twice as mayor and once in the legislature. He also was a one-time candidate for governor. President Hayes appointed him as Collector of the Port, Jacksonville.

During the Civil War, Hopkins commanded the 4th Florida Regiment when it guarded a Pensacola fort; later, as a general, he commanded the 41st Florida.

The decade prior to the Civil War found the Nation confronting a possible rebellion. So far, most of the State-against-State battles were verbal. In Kansas, blood was being shed.

There, it was brother against brother; neighbor against neighbor. Many were not Kansians. They were outsiders, outsiders who arrived with "Beecher's Bibles." The name came from Henry Ward Beecher's Abolitionist group who gave money to buy those rifles.

However, the Abolitionist were not alone. Hundreds of pro-slavers also came. According to one pro-slaver, Abolitionists were the one's who really started it. He said:

"Those 'damned Abolitionists' under the command of J.H. Lane (aka Colonel Cook) had 'sacked, plundered and burnt several of the principal towns...and are ravaging the whole country, murdering, butchering, robbing and driving out, in the most brutal manner, without discrimination of age or sex, all the citizens...who refuse to take up arms and aid them in their insurrectionary designs.'"

Henry Theodore Titus who espoused the slavery cause and John Brown, an Abolitionist, would soon be pitted against each other. Neither won; neither lost. Brown was executed after Harper's Ferry. Titus was berated for his Kansas actions, and, unfairly, for his Nicaraguan participation.

It is just possible that Titus, Brown, and others who fought in Kansas were the igniters of the spark that flamed the Civil War conflagration.

Titus, although Northern born, championed the South's position. He kept abreast of the turmoil wracking the nation over the question of slavery. It is believed that he recognized that the verbal battles raging in Congress and the rest of the country would eventually require physical action--especially his.

His foremost point of attack was evident: Kansas!

Titus took steps to join the fray and the first indication came when The New York Times said that he and at least 1,000 Georgians and Floridians were going to Kansas to rid that area of the "damned Abolitionists."

The Florida Republican's April 2, 1856, edition confirmed it, saying:

"Col. H. T. Titus of this place, we understand, proposes to leave for Kansas in a few weeks. His adaptation by experience, as well as by physical proportions for a frontier life, warrant us in predicting for him a successful career in that new territory."

Titus would, again, become a focal point for both attack and praise. He was, it could be said, not swayed by either of those actions since he had already experienced both and had survived.

To him, Kansas was a new area, but not a new field. It was one which gave him a chance to brush up on his expertise, as well as to undertake a new and daring enterprise.

There can not be any doubt that he ever gave a second thought as to his qualifications for such a hazardous adventure.

He knew he was qualified; he proved he was the right man for the job.

CHAPTER IV

The New York Times, 28 April 1856: "A party of about one hundred and twenty Alabamians...arrived yesterday morning en route for Kansas...This is the advanced guard of Capt. L. Buford's company..."

"The steamboat Messenger brought down yesterday two hundred and sixty Kansas emigrants, led by Major Jefferson Buford...Most of them are young, vigorous men, and look as if they could send a rifle ball through a bird's eye at a hundred paces."

"May 1, 1856, Major Buford of Alabama and Col. H. T. Titus of Florida, in Kansas with a thousand armed Southerners," so wrote the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS) in its Volume 12's publication.

Kansians applied the derogatory term "Border Ruffians" to those non-Kansians who had "invaded" their territory.

A contributor to the KSHS (Vol. 7, 1901-1902) wrote:

"In April, 1856, large companies of men, armed and equipped for fight, began arriving from South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia, under command of such leaders as Colonel Titus, Buford, and others...Missouri furnished a large contingent of such men as the Jameses, Youngers and others (who) figured largely as the worst and boldest bank and train robbers the country was ever cursed with. (Titus) and others fortified themselves in different camps near Lecompton...the proslavery capital of the territory..."

The why of Titus going to Kansas probably will never be known; however, the large bonuses offered by the pro-slavery factions may have been a contributing factor. Then, again, it may have been just to satisfy his lust for fame and fortune. Another possibility: Acquisition of the substantial landholdings then available.

Any or all of the above could be the "why". But what the logical answer seems to be was his desire to support the South's pro-slavery stance. His aim was to insure that Kansas would enter the Union as a slave state.

His daughter, Mary Evelina (Minnie), claimed that her father, although a Southern sympathizer, never owned any slaves.

If newspaper, individual writings and/or official accounts now available are correct, then Minnie's remembrance was either a defense or that she really did not know that he had been a slave owner. (She was born during the Civil War; consequently, too young to have been aware of any slaves.)

The following refutations may lay to rest whether he owned or did not own slaves:

1. After his capture by Walker at Ft. Titus, an Abolitionist wrote:

"One of Titus' Negro women said that, 'Massa Titus said that he was guine to eat from Abolitionist for his breakfast dis mornin'; guess him got him a belly full dis time.'"

2. Daniel Woodson wrote a letter (Sept. 3, 1856) to Messrs. William Hutchinson and H. Miles Moore in which he said:

"The army of outlaws (Lane's men)...attacked the house of Colonel Titus, firing upon it with Sharp's rifles and artillery, killing one man and severely wounding a gentleman then residing with Col. Titus, who was also badly wounded.

"It is unnecessary to add that Colonel Titus' house was robbed of everything valuable, even the wearing apparel of his Negroes, and then consigned to the flames."

3. After the battle at Fort Titus, The New York Tribune, in its 26 August edition, printed a letter from one of its readers. It read, in part: "Sir, I notice...a proclamation by Col. H. T. Titus...(and have) some comments on his character.

"This is the same Titus who was at the head of the filibustering expedition which was frustrated by the seizure of the steamer of Pampero in Florida...

"The following anecdote will give a fair illustration of his general character:

"The brig Crawford...was nearly up with Cape Hatteras when a negro was discovered in the hold...Capt. Small...immediately bore up for the nearest southern port...and wrote to Jacksonville for information.

"Col. Titus sent on his claims, and took the slave home. When the brig returned to Jacksonville again, he sued Capt. Small for the wages of the slave during his absence, and for the expense of getting him...and recovered all, with cost of court, etc.

"This will perhaps teach Capt. Small and others better than to do such dirty work for the slave holders, while it shows the meanness of Titus' character."

4. Lieutenant Stevens, captain of the U.S. Gunboat Ottawa, said in a letter of April 3, 1862, to his commander: "Colonel Titus has been informed that two of his slaves have been left by the Wabash at Fernandina. Can they be sent in one of your vessels to him? I told him I would bring the subject to your notice."

5. The Confederate Army, in 1862, made a retrograde movement toward the Tallahassee-Madison, Florida, area to escape the Federal forces who'd taken Eastern Florida. (Titus did settle at Madison, acquiring some real property.) The Army did this without notice to the inhabitants; therefore, Titus, without means of transportation, refused to leave his family and his large number of slaves without protection. The fact that he was of a prominent Northern family aroused suspicion by his attitude. His reply to those doubting Thomases was made to

a Savannah paper of April 11, 1862. He said:

"Was I not among the number who struck the first blow and fought the first fight in the great and trying struggle for Southern Rights, on the plains of Kansas? And, ever, no matter what clime my lot has placed me in, I never yielded one inch to the principles that now assail the State of my adoption; our common cause. Now ill my zeal grow less; my reverses of your arms will change my position in regard to the welfare of my Country. It is true that much of my early life was spent in the North; but I was born in a slave state, and my parentage before me."

(On 20 Feb. 1864, 5,000 rebels met 6,000 Federals at the Olustee Battlefield--near Lake City, Florida. The action there stopped another Sherman-like march to Tallahassee, the only Southern captital not captured by Federal forces. What is most significant about this battle was that the Federal forces were mainly Negro troops.)

6. Following his death (7 August 1881), the Union of Junction City, Kansas, wrote: "At its close he founded the Town of Titusville on the Indian River, Florida, where it is said he kept a lot of his slaves so closely guarded that for several years they knew nothing of their emancipation."

7. On Sept. 1, 1881, The Home Journal, Lawrence, KS, reported approximately the same story regarding "slaves in bondage." It went on say that Titus was "by no means a great character, but he was at one time a noted one."

After arriving in Kansas, Titus built a house approximately two miles from Lecompton. It was a portholed log building with the approach defended by a stone fence. (Possibly that's how it acquired the name, "Fort Titus.") Using it as a base, Titus, along with other officers in the territorial militia, made forays against Abolitionist's forces, including assisting United States marshals in making their arrests.

"One of the most contemptible characters in the eyes of the free-state men was Colonel Titus. He had been very active in harassing them and they charged that he 'had been the terror of the whole neighborhood for months,' and that he and his subordinates had 'robbed, pillaged and plundered every party that was unfortunate to fall in their path,'" reported the Chicago Democratic Press.

Prior to the attack on Lawrence (May 21, 1856), the attackers apparently were ready for action, according to a letter written by one of their number (Tribune, June 7th). He wrote: "Here we are in camp--everything looks very warlike. The cavalry, numbering some 180, commanded by Col. H. T. Titus, of this county, originally of Florida, are dashing over the hills at the clear tones of their commander's voice..."

"At 1 o'clock, the United States Deputy-Marshall selected a small posse. Col. H. T. Titus commanded the posse."

In its June 9th edition, the Tribune wrote of Judge Jeffrey Lecompte's action in that he'd ordered the destruction of the Free-

State Hotel, the Free-State newspaper, The Herald of Freedom's office, and a bridge...without benefit of a writ.

"A few days ago a party of sixty mounted and armed men surrounded Judge Wakefield's house and took him prisoner. One Titus, a Territorial officer, was the leader of the gang. No writ was produced.

"They took him to Lecompton...(where) Judge Wakefield...demanded the writ ...which authorized the officer to arrest him.

"Who arrested you?" he (Lecompte) asked.

"Col. Titus..."

Volume III of KSHS' publication had the following:

"On the 21st (May, 1856) a pro-slavery force of about seven hundred men, led by Sheriff Jones, Senator Atchison, General Richardson, and Col. H. T. Titus, appeared at Lawrence to assist the United States marshal in arresting certain free-state leaders whom a grand jury had indicted for treason."

In KSHS' publication (Volume 2), it was reported that several conferences were held by townspeople to try and persuade Donaldson from destroying the town. However, the leaders (rabble, according to one report) beset the governor and dictated his replies. The most assuming was Titus, a Cuban filibuster as he was called. It was Titus who declared that the printing presses must be destroyed. He maintained that nothing else would satisfy the South Carolinians.

Buttressing the reported action of Titus, the Times said: "One of the captains, a Col. Titus of Florida--a member of the late expedition against Cuba--declared boldly that the printing presses must be destroyed, to satisfy the boys from South Carolina."

In its 1901-1902 edition, the KSHS wrote:

"Sheriff Jones, with the aid of United States Marshal Donaldson and the governor, went to Lawrence, and a second time surrounded it with camps of South Carolinians and others...to assist in arresting (Leading citizens) for 'treason.'

"On the 21st of May they entered the town, which was sacked and robbed, Governor Robinson's house burned down, the new Free-State hotel...(was) torn down and destroyed and the Herald of Freedom's office, with its valuable new press and material, also destroyed. They were drawn off...to Lecompton."

(Note: The Kansas Free State paper was also destroyed.)

In its June 19th edition, the Tribune wrote of the destruction of the presses, and, according to one account, Sheriff Jones ordered the hotel's destruction, saying: "The grand jury have presented the hotel, and the two 'printing presses as nuisances, and I hold an order from the Court to abate them and I shall do it.' He then had the four cannon...(fire) thirty shots at the front side and could not damage it much. So the order was given by Col. Titus, who was the military commander, to set the building on fire."

"The men under Titus went to the post office and the G.W. & W. Hutchinson & Company's store. The store was locked. Col. Titus said, 'I think there are Sharp's rifles in there; stave her in, boys, if she is locked.'"

At Lawrence, seven prominent free-state men were arrested.

Among them were Gov. Charles Robinson, George W. Brown, and John Brown, Jr. The latter was the son of John Brown, later of Harper's Ferry fame(?).

In her recollections, Minnie related her father's story about Brown's boys. She said: "Father held two of them prisoners, but, feeling sorry for them, allowed them to ride mules unbound, upon their promise not to try to escape; however, on the first chance they got, they took off."

In the book, "Battle of Black Jack," (Chap. XXIV), there is no mention of the name nor involvement of Col. Titus in regards to the capture of two of John Brown's sons; that it was Captain H.C. Pate who had captured and held them.

After the sacking of Lawrence, John Brown and Lane became even more violent in their attacks. "On May 23, in company with four sons and three other men, Brown set off to Pottawatomie Creek, and the following day five proslavery men were brutally murdered and mutilated." James C. Malin, "John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six."

The Times on July 31, 1856, reported on the Tribune's Aug. 23 story and said that Brown was not the only one who committed aggravated assaults. It reported:

"On Friday last, a Col. Titus, who resides near Lecompton, in company with others, went to the claim of a Mr. Smith, committed an aggravated assault upon him and then burned his cabin. Smith's cabin adjoins that of Titus, who, it is said, wants to get possession of it, by driving Smith away and placing a man in his employ upon it. Titus is one of the Buford party and a Colonel in the Kansas Militia (Douglas county). He figured conspicuously in the attack upon Lawrence and takes a leading part in every outrage committed against Free-State people. This outrage he committed on Friday--Shannon and other officials were informed of it--and yesterday, instead of his being visited by a Sheriff, as he would have been were he a Free-State man, a company of Dragoons encamped at his house for his protection."

The Tribune's account of the Smith episode was preceded with the following:

"'Notice, Attention--Regiment! Order No. 1. 'A general muster of the Second Regiment of the First Brigade of the Southern Division of the Kansas Militia will take place at Wheatland or Spicer's P.O. on the first Monday, of September next, at 10 o'clock. All persons subject to the militia law are ordered to attend or be dealt with according to law.

"All persons subject to this order are requested to organize themselves into companies of not less than thirty men, elect their officers, and report the same to the Colonel of the Regiment before the day of muster. By order of H. T. Titus, commanding.'

"This proclamation is without date. Col. Titus, the bosom friend of Shannon, has distinguished himself lately by a variety of adventures, two of which will show the character of the man.

"About two weeks ago, Titus took possession of a claim near Lecompton, which belonged to a Free State man named Smith, one of the first settlers in Kansas. In Smith's temporary absence, he tore down

his house and erected a shanty of his own. When Smith returned, he rallied a few of his neighbors and re-erected it; whereupon Titus with a superior number came and ordered him off. Smith refused to go; a fight ensued; Titus and his party triumphed, and the building was burned to the ground. Shannon was then applied to by Smith's friends for protection. He promised to do something about it; and the next day sent a company of dragoons to protect Titus in his assumed right to the claim and improvements, furnishing another beautiful illustration of squatter sovereignty.

"Last Sunday night this same Titus went to the house of a Mr. Hancock, a Free-State man, one of his neighbors, and was accompanied by a few of the faithful from LeCompton. He demanded pay for some cattle which he had charged Mr. Hancock with having killed. Mr. Hancock protested that he had killed no cattle. Titus then told him that he must pay for them or he would have his life on the spot. The front door of the house was then closed and Hancock fled...In the meantime, they broke open the door, a scuffle ensued between Titus and Mrs. Hancock, during which she disarmed him of his revolver. He promised to leave if she would return his revolver. She did so and he left in time to save himself from the dragoons. Such is the 'Titus commanding,' of the above proclamation."

(All who wrote about Titus maintained he was, in his personal life, a gentleman. It is doubtful if he would have scuffled with Mrs. Hancock.)

During this period, despite the fact that the term "colonel" had been used to denote the rank of Titus ever since the Cuban filibuster days, Governor Shannon issued an official commission on August 5, 1856, naming him as Colonel, Second Regiment, Southern Division, Kansas Militia.

Lane, smarting from successful pro-slave forays, assembled the Free-State men and attacked Franklin on the night of August 12 with, as the Missouri Republican said: "Some 250 strong..."

Woodson, in his letter to Hutchinson and Moore, also wrote:

"These men (Lane's), aided by lawless military combinations, commenced...the bloody work of exterminating or driving from the territory...law-abiding citizens of Franklin...and succeeded (by) torch in driving the few citizens from the hotel...The house was then robbed of almost everything valuable, as well as the store of Doctor Skillback, and the post office."

The Tribune's Sept. 8th edition, said: "The notorious 'John Smith' (Brown) wrote to the Democrat..saying: 'In consequence of their dead and wounded, the 'Lawrence boys' returned home instead of going to Washington Creek, as they expected to.' But before they went they robbed the Post-Office of \$60 in money, stamps, etc., and took all the public papers; they also took a large amount of money and property from private individuals; they also took Mrs. Crane (her husband, reportedly, was a co-owner of a slave with Titus) a prisoner, maltreated her, and threatened to violate her person, and took her off for that purpose...These are facts 'John Smith' neglected to state."

(In a story by the Republican, it said, "The scoundrels then entered the post office and robbed it of about \$60 in cash, all the bed,

blankets and clothing they could find, and many other things, in fact, they could lay their hands on.")

Woodson continued: "Soon after, an attack was made on New Georgia colony, (all) compelled to flee to save their lives, whilst their houses were burned to the ground. This attack was headed by Gen. James H. Lane under the assumed cognomen of 'Colonel Cook.'"

A "responsible merchant" wrote to the Missouri Republican and said:

"The outrageous conduct of Lane's, Brown's and Walker's parties..(have attacked)...men, women and children (who) are driven off, stripped of their clothing, robbed of their money, and their houses burned...and told them that they fared well in that their lives were not taken..."

In a letter to the Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, a "Kansas citizen" wrote:

"My picture is not overstrained when I say that no conduct of a party of men claiming to be civilized has ever disgraced a nation or an age so much as that which has characterized the career of Lane's men..."

On August 15, with about four hundred men and cannon, Lane captured Franklin and the cannon "Sacramento" which had been taken by Titus at Lawrence.

(A story carried by the State Historical Society concerns a mountain howitzer ["Sacramento"] later used against Ft. Titus: "[The howitzer was] carried off by Capt. Titus and others of Sheriff Jones' posse at the 21st of May sacking of Lawrence. Captain Walker pledged himself to its recovery...less than three months thereafter, on the 16th of August, he stormed Titus' fort, captured its commander, and then extorted from Governor Shannon a stipulation that this howitzer should be given him in exchange for his prisoner.")

The Kansas Weekly Herald (Sept. 13, 1856) reported:

"This has been emphatically a week of wholesale plundering. Town after town has been sacked by the outlaws (and towns) have fallen victim to Lane's banditti...These same marauders rove over our country unpunished and unmolested."

After Franklin, Lane then marched against Fort Saunders. Finding the fort deserted, he burned the stronghold.

William Crutchfield, Abolitionist, writing in a KSHS' edition, said:

"After destroying (Ft. Saunders)...we heard that two free-state men had been arrested...we resolved to go to their rescue...(we) came across Titus...on a night foray...some shots were fired...none hurt on either side (Col. Harvey said two were wounded, one fatally)...(then) we lay in the grass by Colonel Walker's house until daylight."

Samuel Walker's story:

"Lane...turned the command over to me and without another word of explanation or advice...put spurs to his horse and galloped away toward Topeka...Major Sedgwick, commander of U.S. troops, told me that if Titus were captured before the Governor ordered him to do it, he would not interfere...it was a night of intense anxiety...(with)

daylight, I could see no way out...and had given up all hope...when that stage driver stopped at my house on the pretext of asking about the road. He said, 'I've got Titus' wife and two children on the stage. If you want to get that damned scoundrel, now is the time.'"

On the morning of August 16, 1856, Walker attacked. He placed his men in position and the battle began.

As to Walker's decision to attack Fort Titus, it possibly could have been the three hundred dollars Titus had originally offered for his head, on or off Walker's shoulders. Of course, it may have happened because Titus, at a later date, raised the amount to \$500.

In relating to the attack on Ft. Titus, Richard B. Foster said: "The most outrageous (was) Col. Titus, of the Territorial militia, who is, with good reason, suspected of having been formerly a pirate on the coast of Florida."

Foster's account was published in the Lowell, Massachusetts Journal and Courier (August 30, 1856) and repeated in KSHS' Volume I-2.

John Ritchie, in a letter (Sept. 30, 1881) to F.G. Adams of the KSHS, related events before and during the August 16, 1856, battle at Ft. Titus. He wrote:

"I was at camp on Washington Creek the day before when about 150 free state men had collected under command of Capt. Sam Walker of Lawrence and Col. James A. Harvey of Chicago. Titus' command had shot and buried Capt. Stan Hoyt on the prairie...I went with the company to look for Hoyt. We were fired upon in passing. We found him doubled up with his boots on. We took him up and was fired upon as we passed to camp...After getting to camp a council of war was held; and it was decided to attack Fort Titus the next morning; and in order to do so we broke camp and marched to Coon Point on the Lawrence & Topeka road.

"We were on the march by daylight, in regular order; and when we got to the fort the command was divided. Throwing myself in front under Capt. Henry J. Shombre of Richmond, Indiana, who was placed in command, with orders to march to the west of the fort, which was done and upon nearing the camp two ruffians who were outside, took to the wood and into Fort Titus with the rest. There was a window in the north gable end of the fort and a fire was opened upon us from that end. Then Captain Shombre fell mortally wounded...his physician asked (him) if he had a word for his friends. "Yes," he replied. "Tell my friends I offer my life for freedom in Kansas."

Captain Walker's account on Shombre:

"I gave him ten men with instructions to place his men along a fence that ran in front of Titus' house, and about 200 yards from it...so that when the enemy retreated from the camp to the house, (Shombre) with his Sharp's rifles could rake them. If he had done as directed, he would in all probability be alive this day, but the moment we cleared the camp, Titus was standing in the door and he called his men to come into the house. Shombre, seeing the movement, mounted his men and dashed up to the door of the block house...a number of men already in the house were aiming their rifles through the port holes (at Shombre and his men)...(and) when he was within six feet, Titus' men fired, killing Shombre and wounding all, but one man."

Walker's story continues:

After the battle, Titus was brought to me. He was covered with blood, having received several severe wounds. The moment he was seen, a hundred rifles were leveled at his head and he shook like a leaf. Seeing me on my horse, he cried, 'For God's sake, Walker, save my life! You have a wife and children, so have I. Think of them and save me.'

"After ordering the arms to be taken out, and everthing belonging to the ruffians to be burned, I took Titus into the stable. The men were intent upon his life and I had to knock one fellow down to keep him from shooting the poor wretch on the spot. While I was talking to Titus in the stable the troops outside grew more and more angry until I began to fear for my own life. I determined to make a last appeal to them and stepping to the door, said, 'Col. Titus sits here wounded and bleeding. He can make no resistance. I love him as little as you do, but in his present condition I should be ashamed to touch him. But if in this crowd of brave men there is one sneaking and defenseless man let him step up and do the deed.' Thank God, no one offered himself.

"When I came to examine our spoil, I found that we had four hundred muskets, a large number of knives and pistols, thirteen fine horses, a number of wagons, and a fair stock of provisions. Thirty-four prisoners taken. While the house was burning, a man dashed out of it with a satchel in his hand. I snatched it from him and threw it back into the flames. He had it again in a moment and was off. Titus informed me that that satchel contained fifteen thousand dollars which he had intended to pay his soldiers off in a few days. The money was from Virginia. The thief got away with the swag, but it did him little good. He died a miserable death in the far West."

According to the Lecompton publication, the Bald Eagle, there were 18 men in the Titus cabin, 13 were German stonemasons working on the (Lecompton) capitol building. As they had had military training, they offered to take their rifles and apprehend Walker's on-coming force. As it was too great, they took refuge in the fort, joining Titus and his four men.

(The Bald Eagle is currently published at Lecompton and carries the annual re-enactment of the Fort Titus battle as its feature story.)

On Sept. 8th, the Tribune's version: "On Saturday morning, the 17th inst., about 400 of them (Walker's and Lane's men), having with them one or more pieces of artillery, attacked the house of Col. Titus, who lived near Lecompton. Titus had six or seven friends with him at the time--they made a noble defense, but after killing several of the traitors and rebels, Titus was twice badly wounded, one of his friends killed and another wounded, and as Lane (Lane was not present; having departed prior to the attack.) began the hay and burning or smoking game, they surrendered. They (Walker's men) took from the house all its furniture, kitchen utensils not destroyed by the cannon, and about \$10,000 in money and after tearing up the floor in search of Mrs. Titus, who fortunately had gone to Westport that morning in the stage, they burned the home. While the attack was being made on Titus, Maj. Clark, Indian Agent, and his family, together with many other persons

and families, fled for safety..."

Leading to the Fort Titus battle, a writer to the New York Tribune's Aug. 26th edition implied that the Titus group was made up of cowards. He said, "They fled as fast as their horse could travel to Lecompton. That night those doughty heroes succeeded in capturing five men, strangers in the country, who were lost in a effort to find the way from Topeka to Lawrence. They were arrested near Lecompton. Four of these prisoners were taken to Lecompton, and turned over to Titus, the greatest bully and villain in the Territory. This Titus, with that affectinate politeness so peculiar to him, put a pistol to the head of his prisoner and promised him, in the most higly polished phraseology, 'to shoot him the next morning--G--d--n him--or on sight of the first Yankee who came to rescue him.'" "

In the same edition, the following: "The next attack was made on the camp close to the house of Col. Titus. So this a part of those who had fled from the camp on Washington Creek, had gone. Of the past conduct of this infamous Floridian, it would be useless to speak. Suffice it to say, that he has been as active as he has been unscrupulous and remorseless. As I stated in my letters, when he robbed young Mr. Smith of his claim, burning his house and maltreating him--which event, your readers will remember, occurred some time ago--he, fearful of the consequences of his rascality, get (sic) a company of United States dragoons to guard his house. Of this disgraceful service the dragoons very shortly grew tired, and left him. He then stationed a party, numbering some thirty or forty, of the Southerners close to his house. These lived chiefly in tents, as he had no other accommodations for them. Recently they erected a blockhouse of logs. For weeks back this camp has been notorious for stealing horses, and it was suspected that the gallant Titus aided and encouraged them in this work."

The August 17th New York Times reported:

"Eight of the Chicago Party (Abolitionists)...started from Topeka for Lawrence (but) missed the road, getting instead...to Lecompton. They went into a store for the purpose of buying refreshments, placing their arms against the wall of the building. Soon, persons began to gather...standing between them and their arms; after a sufficient crowd had gathered, a rush was made for their arms by some, others, under the lead of Col. Titus, seized the Chicago men and made them prisoners. They were thrust into a back room of the store and shamefully insulted by Titus and his crew, who charged them with being Abolitionists, and connected with Lane's party; they also threatened to hang them; and Col. Titus, with revolver cocked and aimed at the head of one of them, declared, 'You are a d--d Abolitionist, and I am d--n good mind to blow you through.' All believed they would never be allowed to leave the town alive...they (Chicago men) were taken to where the Franklin prisoners were. The Franklin prisoners had heavy chains about their ankles.

"In a short time Col. Titus came in and asked one of the party to come out; he did so; was taken round to the corner of the building, where a rope was sent for, which Titus placed about his neck (the man's), and by threats, now of hanging--then of shooting--compelled

him to give what information he knew concerning what they termed Lane's party. He then sent him as a prisoner to his cabin. This person whom Titus so cowardly and brutally treated was the youngest of the party, hardly twenty years of age, and small in stature. That 'high-tone gentleman'--as the Border ruffian papers term him--Sheriff Jones, then saw the prisoners, and endeavored, by threats, to extort from them a promise not to meddle in the contest in the Territory. He finally told them they might go, but they must go without their arms...

"News arrived at the Free-State camp of the arrest of those men, of their treatment, but not of their release. Immediately it was determined to attack Lecompton and release them, and immediately the little army started on its way.

"When the advance guard of the Free-State forces arrived at Judge Wakefield's on the California Road, they were fired upon by a company of Pro-Slavery men under Col. Titus. The fire was returned, and Titus and his men retreated, leaving one of the number dead behind them.

"Early in the morning a party of the Free-State cavalry made a charge upon some tents near the cabin, the inmates of which ran for the cabin, and were followed by the horsemen, who went too near the cabin when they were fired upon by those inside, wounding four. Capt. Bickerton coolly brought his piece to bear upon it. Seven balls had been fired into it when Col. Titus showed the white flag and surrendered. Seventeen prisoners, twenty-five stand of arms, and a quantity of provisions was taken; the cabin was burned...

"Col. Titus was wounded in the hand and shoulder; another of his men was wounded and two others killed. There were six wounded on the Free-State side. Col. Titus had taken an active part in the 'sack of Lawrence,' and on that day publically declared, 'that if he ever came into the place again he would kill every d--d Abolitionists,' in it...

"Col. Titus, instead of coming to 'kill Abolitionists,' came whiningly begging of the 'd--d Abolitionists' to save his miserable life. He was supplied with comfortable quarters and a physician to attend him. The other prisoners were confined in the Herald of Freedom building, where, on the 21st of May, some of whom thought they had struck a death-blow to the Freedom of Speech, with the blood-red banner of South Carolina disunion waving over them. How strange the contrast! Yet such is the fortune of war."

After their release, the Chicago Party prisoners expressed themselves thankful for the kindness shown them (by Titus), and made loud promises of the same treatment to Free-State men, should the fortunes of war ever place them in their hands. This was as reported in a later edition of the Times which seems to contradict the other account.

Despite rifle fire and the seven cannon balls fired by Captain Bickerton from "Old Sacramento," Titus was not dislodged. Not until a hay-filled wagon was readied to be burned and shoved against the fort did Titus and his men surrender.

(Note: The number of cannon balls fired varied from six to 13, depending upon whose report it was. As Bickerton was the cannoner,

his seven undoubtedly was the more nearly correct one.)

The rounds Bickerton used were formed from melting the lead type retrieved from the Herald of Freedom's supply. Many reports state that the type was dug from the river after having been thrown there by Titus when he destroyed the paper. However, Bickerton refutes that, saying:

"I remember that Brown (publisher) had bragged through his paper that he had several tons of type that could be used to make cannon balls to be fired at the enemy...I went to Miss Gleason (Brown's wife's sister) and told her I must have the type...She commenced to cry. I told her it was better that every woman in Kansas should cry than not to have the type...In short time I had a hundred six-pound cannon-balls made. That was the first time anything was ever cast in a sand mould in Lawrence."

(Note: The term "sand mould" may have led to the stories which said the cannon balls were formed from the type thrown into the sandy river; however, one report stated: "The three Free-State printing offices were then entered, the type and presses thrown into the river, and every house save one, inhabited by an old lady with numerous children, was destroyed." The account went on: "The boys have the types of both offices, and moulded them in Sharp's rifle balls! Whether they will be more dangerous to tyranny in their present form than they were before Lecompte ordered the destruction of the offices, is a problem which will be solved ere long.")

Other stories which went the rounds was that a cannoneer (Bickerton) supposedly cried: "This is the second edition of the Herald of Freedom!" as that first round from the cannon struck the fort.

On the attack, the New York Times reported: "Nearly five hundred Free-State men marched upon what is called the camp of Colonel Titus yesterday, and took the whole party prisoners. They numbered some twenty in all, defended themselves from the log houses, and wounded ten ..."

In the Secretary of War's reports, one commander wrote: "After the attack on Franklin...they (free-soilers) attacked a camp (of 40)...dispersing them, and burning the house, they marched on this town (Lecompton)...I returned to my camp, and had just reached it when I heard the report of a 6-pounder, and soon ascertained that the house of Colonel Titus, in which he had twenty men, was the place attacked. I placed my command between the house and town...By this time the house had been destroyed, one man killed, Colonel Titus and one other dangerously wounded, the others carried off to prison."

In Hanna's "Florida's Golden Sands," he quoted letters from Mrs. Titus to her father in Jacksonville. Allegedly, she said:

"I am in great trouble. I have been obliged to fly from my home to save my life. Our house was surrounded yesterday morning by 500 Abolitionists, our property destroyed and our (?) all taken...I have just learned that my husband is a prisoner at Lawrence. God only knows what they will do with him. I will go to Lawrence tomorrow, (even) if they kill me on the way."

Hanna said that two days later, Mrs. Titus again wrote her father,

saying:

"I have just arrived in Lecompton with my husband. He has been released by an exchange of prisoners. Five hundred men attacked the house, Mr. Titus having only ten men in the house with him at the time the attack was made. He fought them two hours and did not surrender until they had fired six cannon balls into the house. He was shot in the breast...the ball still remains in his breast. His right thumb was shot off, besides other slight wounds. The Abolitionist stole everything we had--even my dresses--Mr. Titus is without shoes or hat. They tore up the floor to find me, but I (had) made my escape."

(Note: Minnie, Titus' daughter, said that his thumb was not shot off as had been reported. She also stated that the ball was expelled just prior to his death.)

Hanna said that in another letter from Kansas, more details about the colonel were added. (Was Mrs. Titus the writer?) The letter (seems some parts are missing) read, in part:

"After all his men were prisoners wounded in several places, like a lion in his last struggle, Titus leaped upon the foe, and fighting fell...Titus' bravery commands the admiration of everyone--the enemy say they never saw such a man."

Hanna: "Titus was found hiding under the floor, not at all resembling the king of the jungle in a ferocious last struggle."

(Note: Walker and others present at the capture of Titus never mentioned that he had been "hiding under the floor." It is possible that the letter of Mrs. Titus brought forth that statement.)

The Florida Republican's September 10th edition carried the following unsigned letter:

"On morning of Aug. 16, Abolitionists attacked Col. Titus' residence, killing several of his party, wounding him severly in the shoulder, and taking him and entire force prisoners. They also whipped the U. S. Troops and destroyed seat of government at Lecompton.

"Mrs. Titus is at my house."

In a letter to his brother, Rev. Richard B. Foster said:

"I was a participant in three glorious affairs which took place in the Territory last week, to wit: At Franklin on the 12th, at Washington on the fifteenth, and at Titus' camp at Lecompton, on the 16th (August). First let me say that war is a terrible thing. I have before heard of it. I have now seen it. I have heard the balls whistling about my ears. I have stood where men were shot down as you would shoot wild beasts. I have heard the groans of the wounded and dying. I have seen the bloody corpses of the dead, and truly war is a terrible cruel thing. Still, it is preferable to slavery...since the hostilities in June, Buford's gang, who came to 'see Kansas through,' have been busy fortifying themselves in block-houses...(they) have eked out their means of subsistence by depredations upon the Free-State men...most common mode is stealing horses...Any kind of plunder, however, when the odds are ten to one in their favor is in their line...The most outrageous and reckless of these bands was collected in a camp and log fort near Lecompton, under Col. Titus, of the Territorial militia, who, with good reason, suspected of having

been formerly a pirate on the coast of Florida.

"That night (15 August) Col. Titus was out with his desperadoes, engaged in his favorite pastime of stealing horses, and intending, as it is supposed, to attack Judge Wakefield's house...he found it too strongly guarded. They stole three or four horses and went back to their fort, little dreaming how hard retribution was treading on their heels. In the morning, the fort was surrounded, and the firing commenced....(cannon) was soon brought up and planted forty rods from the fort. It was loaded with balls run from the type metal of the Herald of Freedom press, which Col. Titus had destroyed last May. When the first shot was fired the Lawrence boys shouted, 'the Herald of Freedom is issued again!' The cannon was fired six times. At the sixth firing they surrendered...I had the good fortune to receive the sword of Col. Titus, a very nice article which I mean to transmit to my children."

In regards to the sword, it is now rests in the Kansas State Historical Society's memorial building in a place of honor. It was given to the society by Col. Harvey's widow, Mrs. Eunice A. Allen. (Col. Harvey, present at the battle, also stated that he had been the original recipient of the sword.)

In its 25 August paper, the New York Herald printed the following:

"The whole country is overrun by Lane's marauders. The express rider met 45 of Walker's men, drilling at his house. Six of Lane's spies were captured at Lecompton, who state that their orders are to spare none, but to exterminate the pro-slavery party. On arrival of the news of the surrounding of Captain Treadwell's company at Lecompton, Colonel Titus and twenty men started to his assistance, since which time nothing has been heard.

"Mr. Rodrique, express, has just arrived, bringing intelligence of the attack on Colonel Titus' house, and the probable murder of the entire party. There were thirty men in the house, and it was surrounded by at least four hundred, there is no possibility of the escape of a single man.

"Another portion of the abolition forces attacked the house of G.W. Clark, Indian Agent. (Clark supposedly was co-owner of Ann Clarke, slave, with Titus. She made her escape to Chicago.) About two hours after the destruction of Col. Titus' house, and while the express was leaving, the roar of the cannon was distinctly heard. Lane is in the field.

"Up, citizens of Kansas, and come to the rescue...Action! Action! Action!"

After taking Titus to Lawrence, Walker told reporters:

"Our arrival in Lawrence created intense excitement. The citizens swarmed around us, clamoring for the blood of our prisoner (Titus) who had surrendered to me; that I had promised him his life, and that I would defend it with my own...I was sure of the support of my 300 good men...Getting this determined band into line, I approached the house where Titus was confined and entered. Just as I opened the door I heard pistol shots in Titus' room and rushed in and found a desperado named 'Buckskin' firing over the guard's shoulders at the wounded man as he lay on his cot. It took but one blow from my heavy

dragoon pistol to send the villain head-over-heels to the bottom of the stairs. Captain Brown and Doctor Avery were outside haranguing the mob to hang Titus despite my objections...The crowd was terribly excited, but the sight of my 300 solid bayonets held them in check."

(Luke Parsons, one of the Abolitionists, claims to have been the man who shot Titus. Could he have been "Buckskin"?)

Hanna said that Titus, in a letter to the Florida Republican's November 5 edition made this rebuttal to events concerning his capture:

"It is true that a robber, incendiary, and horse thief who is called Captain Walker, was in command of his fellow thieves at the cowardly and disgraceful assault upon my house. It is true that he and his party robbed me of money, household furniture, and other valuables to the amount of \$12,000...Although I told him that they had shot me in three places, sacked my house, and asked him not to burn it...he replied, 'God damn you, and God damn your house. Men bring in the hay!' And when it was in flames, he took me dripping with blood from my own wounds, pitched me into an uncovered wagon and dragged me through the blazing sun to their great den of thieves--Lawrence."

The August 29th edition of the Times reporting on the capture of Titus and his removal to Lawrence, said, in part: "He (Titus) rode into town with his head resting in the lap of a friend."

William Crutchfield in the KSHS' V7, 1901-2 continued his story on the capture of Titus. He wrote:

"On Sunday, August 17th, Governor Shannon, with an escort of about thirty United States troops, came down on a peace mission...which lasted most of the afternoon. There was a large crowd on the street waiting the result...Colonel (nee Captain) Walker came out and said that an agreement had been made and that Governor Shannon would state it. Bedlam broke loose; men jumped to their feet with drawn revolvers and cried: 'Never! Never!'

"Then Colonel Walker jumped on a horse, drew his revolver, and said: 'The first man that insults Governor Shannon does it over my dead body.' He also said: 'I have always been with you; but Governor Shannon shall not be insulted.'

"It stopped them as quick as a thunderclap. They then said that they would hear him as Shannon, but not as Governor. Governor Shannon then stated the result of the conference: That he would send down the cannon that was taken the time the hotel and printing-presses were destroyed, and also the prisoners that were arrested for the attack on Franklin, in exchange for Titus and his men. This agreement was carried out. The next day the prisoners and cannon were delivered, and Titus and his party were given over to the United States troops. Those ended the capture and release of Titus and his party."

In its Volume 1, 1886, the KSHS reported:

"August 18, 1856--Governor Shannon this day resigned the office of Governor of the Territory of Kansas, and forwarded his resignation by mail to the President of the U. S., having previously visited the town of Lawrence, at the imminent hazard of his life, and effected the release of Col. H. T. Titus and others, who had been forcibly taken there by the armed organization of outlaws whose headquarters are at

that place, and who had on the day before robbed his premises of everything valuable, and then burned his house to the ground, killing one of his companions, and taking the remainder, with Col. Titus and their plunder, to their fortified headquarter--Lawrence--at which place said Titus was put on trial for his life, and sentenced to die; which sentence would doubtless have been executed, but for the timely interposition of Governor Shannon, who, in consideration of the release of said Titus and his companions, consented to release five men held in custody in Lecompton under legal process, charged with being engaged in late midnight attack and sacking of the town of Franklin--the outlaws having peremptorily refused to release said Titus and others, upon his demand as the executive officer of the Territory."

With the pro-slavery supporters no longer a force, Lane and his men continued their onslaught against the remnants of those who were pro-slavery--or even suspected of being so.

In its Volume III, 1930, the KSHS wrote:

"(Lane had) sacked, plundered and burnt several of the principal towns...and are now ravaging...murdering, butchering, robbing and driving out, in the most brutal manner, without discrimination or age or sex, all the citizens...who refuse to take up arms and aid them in their insurrectionary designs."

In the same KSHS, a letter to a St. Louis resident expressed cause for alarm:

"There is no doubt that Lane, at the head of two thousand armed outlaws, is making war--open war--on the pro-slavery party...they are driving off all who are opposed to them, destroying houses and farms, killing some, and taking others prisoners to the Army of the North, as they style it..."

In KSHS' Volume 2 regarding Governor Geary:

"Governor Geary's first move in the pacification of Kansas had been imperious and repressive. The dispersion of the armed forces being accomplished, his policy became trustful and conciliatory. As a bond of assurance, Col. Sam Walker, the most notable representative of the aggressive element of the Free-state party, and Colonel Titus, the truest exponent and embodiment of border ruffianism, who in the course of their respective raids had burned each others houses, were brought to a pacific meeting...'Mutual concessions were made and pledges of friendship passed'...both were enlisted in the service of the administration--Walker as captain of a company militia...and Titus as special aide on the governor's staff, with the 'rank, pay and emoluments of colonel.' In the adoption of this method of conciliation his (Geary's) sagacity was fully vindicated by the peaceful results; and his trust in the most noted of them--Colonel Titus--was justified by faithful service in conflict with the leaders of his own party, in the matter of the collision between the governor and Chief Justice Lecompte over the Hays affair.

"The governor (in his determination to bring Hays to justice) made out a duplicate warrant and placed it in the hands of his special aide, Col. H. T. Titus, with directions to take a file of men and execute it without delay. This quondam border ruffian, with no tender con-

science to prick him or uneasy bondsmen to restrain, and only bound to the governor by his trustful treatment of him, was able, on the second day after receiving it, to return the warrant with the culprit..."

The following quotes are from various editions of The New York Times, beginning with its October 10th edition (#1571) and continuing onward through its January 5, 1857 edition (#1652).

1571: "BORDER RUFFIANS IN COUNCIL...Col. Titus, Mr. Hughes, Col. Young, Gen. Clark, Capt. Sheley and others spoke. Col. Titus referred feelingly to his treatment at the hands of Lane (aka Cook). They wounded him, burnt his house down, even took and kept the oil-painted portrait of his wife's mother, who is dead. Col. Titus is from Florida, and came out early last Spring, bringing his family. In her far-off home Mrs. Titus valued as very precious the portrait of her dead mother. Was it not cruel to take from her the last emblem of maternal love?

"Gen. Clark said...he had confidence in Gov. Geary and would yield gracefully to his policy.

"Governor Geary had authorized Colonel Titus to raise three companies of volunteers, to be mustered into service, consisting of eight men each, two companies to be mounted."

1573: "The armed bands that have been ranging through the territory are dispersed; citizens are returning to their claims; business is reviving; confidence is restored and peace reigns throughout the Territory.

"Governor Geary has appointed Col. Titus to form a Volunteer Battalion to preserve the peace in the neighborhood of Lecompton, and he has awarded the same duty to Capt. Walker in the vicinity of Lawrence."

1575: "Up to this time, no Pro-slavery man has been arrested. The Governor has mustered into service one hundred of the barbarians, under the command of that vile ruffian and horsethief, Col. Titus."

1583: "The people of the Territory were despondent and gloomy. They were fearfully apprehensive of the action of Gov. Geary. The one hundred Free-State men who were arrested by his command for fighting a manly battle with our invaders at Hartville were at Lecompton under guard of a company of the Kansas Militia, commanded by Col. Titus--that whom a more notorious and objectional character could hardly be found. Col. Titus was received most cordially by the Governor, and commissioned by him to act in his present military capacity. If it is the Governor's object to secure harmony and peace in the Territory, he will fail to accomplish it so long as he selects such men as Col. Titus to fill prominent places in his Government. The Governor defends the arrest of these Free-State men, for the reason that they were found under arms after he issued his proclamation, and, as he angrily said at Lawrence, in defiance of it. The twenty-eight-

hundred men who were at Lawrence two weeks ago and who were dispersed by him--who burned the mill and houses at Franklin and drove the cattle belong to the Free-State men, came in defiance of the proclamation. Col. Titus was with them; it was men connected with his company who murdered Buffum and stole the horse belong to Free-State men on the road between Franklin and Lecompton. They were equally liable with Free-State men--they violated the proclamation. The Free-State men are arrested, and Col. Titus, guilty of the same offense against the invaders upon our soil, is honored with a military commission and stands guard over them."

(Note: In an address by Gov. Charles Robinson, first state governor of Kansas, he said: "Under the proclamation of Acting-Governor Woodson, we have reached...Franklin...in search of an organized band of murderers and robbers, said to be under the command of Lane, who have plundered and butchered large numbers of our fellow citizens.

"That we respectfully recommend Col. H. T. Titus [Colonel of the Douglas County militia] as commander of the Territorial militia now to be mustered into service.")

1585: "At the close of the interview, we were honored by the presence of Col. Titus, whose right hand, swathed in a handkerchief, still gives evidence of the reality of the fight at the fort.

"Gov. Geary...he remains snugly esconced at Lecompton surrounded by such men as Jones, Donaldson, Wood and Titus."

1592: "Col. Titus, the famous leader of the pro-slavery party, (and he is one their bravest officers), has received a letter from General Quitman, of Mississippi, inviting him to leave Kansas and take command of an expedition for Central America, and that two hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been, or will be, provided for the object contemplated--the conquest of Central America and more slave territory. The Colonel expresses himself disgusted with Kansas, and is very desirous of leaving for a more congenial climate and associations than that found here.

"Colonel Titus is an intimate and personal friend of 'President Wm. Walker,' and sent him, from Florida, the first company of soldiers he received. This company numbered about thirty men. The Colonel has the reputation, in the South, of being the most efficient military filibuster that can be found anywhere, and just at this time his valuable services are required and his sent for.

"Colonel Titus has not recovered from the wounds received at the time he was taken prisoner, in September last by General Lane (Walker). He carries about an ounce

of 'Free Soil Lead' in his body, at this time, but has but partially recovered the use of his hands and arms. He walks about, however, taking charge and looking out for his companions who are guarding the prisoners.

"His men, numbering over three hundred, are young men from the South, who have enrolled themselves as Governor Geary's militia.

"The colonel...seems very desirous of having the prisoners under his charge well cared for. I presume that it is in return for the kind treatment he received while a prisoner in Lawrence. He appears very much like a gentlemen, and is spoken well of, notwithstanding his ruffianism in burning houses, pressing horses from Free-State men, etc., etc."

1594: "As I was coming down from Topeka today, an incident occurred in our meeting of Col. Titus and his company riding out to air their new equipments and uniforms. These chivalrous gentlemen look imposing enough in fine clothes and on good horses which our Governor has kindly given them; I notice, too, that they have Sharp's rifles...Capt Walker's free state (men) are mustered in as infantry and must go on foot..."

1652: "From Kansas to St. Louis...the crowd at Kansas City was immense. Tardy residents of Kansas...sharp speculators, fresh from land sales...(hastened) home to report loans at forty percent of purchases even more profitable, and disheartened filibusters, more anxious to bid adieu to Kansas than they had been to hail it a few months since..."

"Among the filibusters, the most noteworthy were 'the gallant Floridian,' as the friends of Colonel Titus love to call him, and the father of Southern Emigrant Aid-ism--Major Buford. Every evil is intermingled with good, and amidst all the vexations attending my several days sojourn at the 'American Hotel' (now purged of Abolitionism, of course), was a very good opportunity for observing the altered attitude in which radical men of the opposite political parties stood to each other, from that of a few short weeks ago. Here at dinner, might be seen the (to me) strange spectacle of Titus, Buford, and others of like kidney, mixed freely in with Gov. Robinson, Lieutenant-Governor Roberts, and that same obnoxious Colonel Eldridge, who, in June, last, was forced to sell this very hotel to its present proprietor, on pain of having it demolished, as was done to the 'Eldridge House' in Lawrence!--and no person, not knowing the strange history of the past year, would for an instant, suppose that these men who had arrayed their respective parties against each other in deadly conflict, and grand aim it had been seemed to be to take each other's lives! And, strangest of all did it seem, to see Titus send round his champagne bottle to

those who had held him prisoner in Lawrence, when it was doubtful there was strength enough among the Free-State leaders to save him from the vengeance of the outraged citizens; and, forgetful of the object of his expedition, pledge them, in the toasts--'Kansas, a Free State!'

"Titus, too, amused me in other ways. When he first came, he had his company, a hundred strong, on the other side of the Kansas river. The Sheriff undertook to serve a process on him from a debt contracted by one of his men. The burly Floridian knew his latitude too well. He exploded upon the officer a series of the most energetic expletives I remember having heard; assuring him that he was a filibuster, and no man should molest his 'person'; that he had men enough at hand to turn their d--d town bottom-side up in two minutes; and the Almighty himself had not the power to put him in durance! Of course, after so forcible a definition of his position, the Sheriff meekly withdrew; and the 'champion of law-and-order' had achieved a characteristic triumph.

"Titus, however, is said not be be destitute of good points; and certainly with his burly form cased in a military suit, his red cheeks and glowing eyes shaded by his Magyar hat, a plume a la Kossutk, he presented a figure by no means displeasing to the romantic vision."

The KSHS' Volume XI, 1909-1910, had the following:

"Hon. S.C. Pomeroy...had come to Kansas City...on private business, and while here had been assaulted by Col. H. T. Titus, a former notorious proslavery fire-eater and border ruffian. The assault was an unprovoked and cowardly one, and as such was condemned by the whole community, with the exception of a few of the 'bummers' and loafers about his (*italics mine*) saloon, who naturally backed Titus.

(Did Titus own a saloon in Kansas City?)

Pomeroy was head of the Emigrant Aid Society whose purpose was to assist free-staters in settling in Kansas. After the incident, Horace Greeley's Tribune wrote a scorching editorial which heaped caustic fire on Kansas.

In Volume XV, 1919-1922, the KSHS wrote: "Col. H. T. Titus, one of the dashing proslavery leaders in Kansas, was repeatedly heard to say that it was impossible to overcome the great preponderance of free-state settlers."

The KSHS' article continued, commenting that "If the South could not people Kansas under Governor Geary, their chances were indeed few."

Titus said: "Governor Geary is doing his duty to all. He is a firm, resolute and commanding patriot and skillful executive."

In its Volume X, 1907-08, the KSHS wrote:

"The guests of the Shawnee House were taken to the Planters House and were all present at the first meal served in the new hotel. Peace had been declared in Kansas, so the leaders of the Free-state and Pro-

slavery parties were many of them there together.

"Among the pro-slavery men were Colonel Titus and a number of his followers he had brought from Georgia...The dinner was ready about one o'clock, but the bar was opened in the morning, so a good many of the men were full before dinner-time. It had been raining for several days, and it was very muddy; there were no sidewalks; all wore their pants inside their boots, and nearly every one had one or two revolvers in sight. One young man, no 'tenderfoot,' hadn't seen such a sight, even in the wildest days of California."

The Leavenworth Herald's account: "One hundred and fifty guests were seated at the table, which was over 100 feet in length."

A "Cotillion Party" honoring Titus was held about this same time; however, it was not held at the Planters Hotel. (In the same article, one said "house" and the other, "hotel.") That invitation read: "Cotillon (sic) Party in honor of Col. H. T. Titus and Capts. Donaldson and Wallace. The pleasure of your company is respectfully solicited at a Cotillon (sic) Party, to be given at the Leavenworth Hotel, this Wednesday Evening (Dec. 3rd), at 9 o'clock."

The Leavenworth Herald (Dec. 6) reported: "Col. H. T. Titus, this meritorious citizen and gallant soldier, who has command of the battalion of Kansas volunteers, will soon leave for Nicaragua...Success to him and his gallant comrades where ever they may go."

In "Filibusters and Financiers," William O. Scroggs wrote: "And a Colonel H. T. Titus, noted as a 'Border Ruffian,' recruited a company of one hundred of his followers, whose services in Kansas were no longer in demand, and started in December for New Orleans by way of the Mississippi."

Although this ended the Kansas saga involving actual fighting for Titus, it did not end his further forays into the area. He did return on several cross-country trips.

On one, he advocated a slavery proviso in the proposed Kansas State Constitution. On another, he recruited men to fight at Sonora, Mexico, and/or raised funds to purchase and run silver mines in the Arizona Territory.

Regardless of one's own viewpoint, Henry Theodore Titus, the "Border Ruffian," and "Bleeding Kansas" will (or should) always be synonymous with what took place there: the proving ground for the American Civil War.

CHAPTER V

With the advent of the gold rush in 1849, Cornelius Vanderbilt, now called "Commodore," observed the success of the sea-and-land route to California (via Panama) and set about operating a rival service across Nicaragua.

Receiving a charter from Nicaragua in April, 1850, Vanderbilt, to speed up movement of goods from East Coast factories to the West Coast, improved harbors and roads, built eight new steamships and was successfully operating within two years. He was so successful that his competitors eventually paid him \$56,000 a month to discontinue his service.

Besides the Panama operatives, there was William Walker, "the gray-eyed man of destiny." He, with money from wealthy Southern planters, plus the tacit approval of Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, led a volunteer force into Nicaragua in 1855. Ostensibly, this was to back up a local revolution.

At first, he was successful and named himself president after the United States recognized his regime.

However, Vanderbilt was still a force to consider, despite what the San Francisco Alta Californian said in its February 11, 1857 edition. "Cornelius Vanderbilt will sooner or later see that his reputed half-dozen millions will not be able to crush the inevitable movement now going forward; and if he is not aware that is not simply Wm. Walker, C.K. Garrison, and Charles Morgan that he is opposing, his heirs should adopt speedy measures to put him in possession of the fact."

Walker, hoping to subjugate the rest of Central America, as well as provide aid and comfort to the South in the advent of civil war, began seizing ships and facilities belonging to Vanderbilt.

Retaliating, Vanderbilt combined forces with the Allies (Costa Rica) and drove Walker from the country in 1857.

It was during this 1857 period that other adventure-seeking men (filibusters) joined Walker. Amongst this group was Henry Theodore Titus who, with others from his Kansas command, joined Walker after receiving a personal invitation from Walker, via Soule, through Quitman, to come to his assistance.

On the 6th of January, 1857, the Alta California wrote: "The steamer Texas, from Nicaragua...arrived at New Orleans on the 12th...and the Tennessee also from Nicaragua, arrived...on the 15th. These steamers brought the news of the critical position of Walker. A mass meeting of his friends is to be held tonight at the Broadway Tabernacle. A regiment of five hundred men has, it is said, already been enlisted in the city for Nicaragua. Col. Titus, of Kansas notoriety, arrived at St. Louis on Tuesday with one hundred recruits,

en route for the same destination. Walker's friends in New Orleans are redoubling their efforts to send him relief."

Essentially the same story appeared in the January 14, 1857, edition of the Florida Republican who had repeated The Memphis Bulletin's December 24, 1856, report. Also reporting the story was the San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin (Jan. 16, 1857).

The 7 January 1857 edition of The New York Times reported: "Col. Titus and his Kansas company did not arrive at New Orleans in time to proceed to Nicaragua in the stamship Texas."

Titus' late arrival at New Orleans was delayed by fog on the Mississippi. After his arrival, Titus, according to The New Orleans Creole, as reported in the Times' Feb. 3d edition, subscribed \$50.00 during the Nicaraguan meeting to support a resolution to aid General Walker.

On February 5th, a Times correspondent reported Titus' arrival at the port of San Juan del Norte. He said:

"(With) 200 recruits for General Walker under Colonel Titus, he that was made famous by your correspondents in Kansas. I must say that from what I had read of the appearance of the Colonel and his men while engaged in a bad cause in Kansas, I was considerably disappointed when I saw them, and learned that the Colonel was the veritable Titus, and the men there with him, nearly all men who had served his cause in Kansas. They must have changed very much, and for the better, since those days, for I am sure I never saw a finer set of filibusters. They were well-made men, in good bodily condition, and the first lot of privates I had seen for Walker who seemed eager for a fight."

The Times (19 February 1857) said: "The steamer Texas from N.Y., with recruits and ammunition for Walker had arrived at Greytown, as had Col. Titus with his recruits from Kansas."

The Daily Evening Bulletin (18 March 1857) headlined: "February 4th, the steamer, Texas, arrived with 200 men, who proceeded up the river and joined Col. Anderson's force of 200."

It then quoted E. H. McDonald, a Lieutenant Colonel of Walker's 2d Rifles:

"On Wednesday evening, we started up this road to mount our artillery on Cody's Point, which work was completed on Thursday night. This force of those posted was under the command of Col. Titus...the artillery being under Gen. Bob Wheat.

"On Friday morning...General Wheat opened fire on the fort...at the same time, Col. Frank Anderson crossed the river...and took position on the point called Alvarado.

"Meanwhile, the action had been going on warmly between Gen. Wheat's artillery and Col. Titus' riflemen on one side and the Costa Ricans in the Serapiqui Fort.

"During the day, Col. Anderson's force lost two killed and two wounded, the latter now being able to do duty...Col. Titus' command, two wounded and none killed.

"The same night the steamer Rescue or Filibuster, as some of the boys called it, took up the force of Col. Titus and one 14-lb gun to the island San Carlos, which was taken without any resistance...the lower

fort was taken by storm by Capt. West's company of Col. Titus' command. Four men jumped from the steamer, swam against a six mile current, cut loose and saved the steamer Scott, although the machinery was very much injured.

"On the 18th, the fort was to have been taken by storm. By this time, that is done and communication has been established to Walker."

Following the capture of Fort Serapiqui and Cody's Point, Titus was then to attack Castillo Viejo; however, he was not as successful as in the above engagement which brought about abuse from many.

The Times (March 21, 1857) headlined: "COL. TITUS OUT-GENERALED AT CASTILLO. He is beaten by the Allies and Forced to Retreat. Col. Titus Arrested." Then, with a story datelined 10 March 1857, it reported:

"Where Walker's forces were, is a short distance below Fort Castillo. They have not proceeded any further up since. From the position (of the Allies), it appeared as if they'd evacuate Fort Castillo as soon as Walker's forces attacked. They burned the boats and destroyed the town by fire. After succeeding so far (to make a landing) the force under the immediate command of Col. Titus, Col. Lockridge, with Col. Anderson and his forces, returned to Fort Serapiqui. Col. Titus was left to take Fort Castillo, and he was in good position, it was believed his force more than adequate to the task. So thought Col. Titus. After getting several pieces of artillery into position as to command the entrance to the fort, he held a parley with the Allies. He asked them to evacuate. They did not say no. They asked the privilege of sending a messenger through his lines to inform Gen. Mora of their defeat. The Colonel consented, provided they would promise to evacuate the following morning. The Colonel says they did so promise; and although he has always considered them in no way entitled to credit when their interest was at stake, strange to say he let the messenger pass. The Colonel then lay back upon the laurels won by him in Kansas, using anticipatory evacuation of Castillo in the morning as a pillow. The morning came, and with it Gen. Mora with a large force of Costa Ricans, who awoke the Colonel by the unpleasant sound of their firearms.

"The Colonel was so surprised, and so were his men. The enemy pressed him hard, and he had not anticipated anything of that kind. He was very much annoyed and so he ran away. Some say the Colonel received assurances of prospective but difficult to be resisted reasons, from an officer of the fort, for letting the messenger pass, and that the evacuation, by him, of San Carlos Island, instead of the entrance, by him, of Castillo, was but an afterpiece, understood by the principals. But I think he was out-manoevred by the Allies. He lost several men, but I have not been able to ascertain the precise number.

"When the Colonel and his men reached Fort Serapiqui, and Colonel Lockridge, Colonel Anderson and the other courageous officers there, had been informed of his defeat, you may imagine their bitter disappointment. Colonel Lockridge looked sad, and Colonel Anderson (a gallant officer) is said to have used a very strong term in immediate connection with a sentence not at all complimentary to

Colonel Titus as a commander.

"On the 8th of March, the steamer Rescue left Serapigui for Punta Arense. Col. Titus, you will not be surprised to learn, was (aboard). He said he was going around to Gen. Walker. Perhaps so. But before leaving, the Colonel distinguished himself again. When the Rescue arrived, she was boarded by a British officer, who, as usual, offered British protection to all who desired it. Col. Titus, being in a bad humor in consequence of the unfavorable light in which his unfortunate movement above, was looked upon by his brother officers, used some abusive words to the officer. Misfortunes never come singly. The British officer retired, but returned soon afterwards and conveyed the poor Colonel on board the H.B.M. frigate Cossack; while the little Rescue was hauled alongside the gunboat Victor. This was bad, but it could not be avoided. The Colonel had to wait on board until a gunboat was sent to the Commander of the fleet, Capt. Erskine, who was on board the line-of-battle ship Orion, at Pearl Key Lagoon. He arrived on the following morning, when the Colonel and the Rescue were released."

In a similar vein, The San Francisco Herald's 29 March edition reported:

"We copy the following statement of operations on the River San Juan from the Panama Star, a paper violently opposed to Walker, and in which a truthful account of the condition of things in Nicaragua has never yet been published...The news below was...brought by the British steamship Clyde. The arrest of Col. Titus is probably authentic.

"Col. Lockridge has garrisoned Greytown and the mouth of the San Carlos River. On the 18th, Col. Titus held a parley with the Costa Ricans at Castillo, and permitted a messenger to pass through his lines from their forces, on condition that they would surrender next day at noon. One hour before the time specified the messenger returned with a large Costa Rican force under Gen. Mora, which drove Titus from his position, with loss. On the 3d, the steamer Reserve (The above states the steamer was the Rescue.) returned to Punta Arenas, and was boarded by a British officer, with the usual offer of protection to any of the Nicaraguan army, upon which Titus abused the officer, who returned to his ship and had Titus taken prisoner and placed on board the frigate Cossack. The Reserve was seized and placed alongside the gun-boat Victor. A gun-boat was immediately dispatched to inform Capt. Erskine...The following morning...Titus and the steamer were released, shortly after which the Saratoga came to an anchor."

A. J. Hanna, in his "Florida's Golden Sands," said:

"On his way out of these difficulties, Titus passed from retreat to arrest. While at San Juan del Norte he found it necessary to enter into an altercation with some English officers whom he enraged by reflecting on the character of Queen Victoria in language 'so vile and foul' that he was arrested by them and confined in the hold of their ship 'on half rations, very much to the chagrin of the handsome Colonel.' As there were no legal grounds for such an arrest, Titus was soon released, whereupon he sought redress from the United States

counsel. When that official explained that filibusters, by their own unlawful actions, automatically abandoned their rights as citizens, there issued from the rich and inexhaustible Titus vocabulary what was lamely described as a 'torrent of personal abuse and insult.' For this insult he was taken prisoner by officers of the United States man-of-war Saratoga."

(Note: A search of the National Archives' files did not reveal any such incident having been recorded in the log(s) of the U.S.S. Saratoga.)

In his "The Story of the Filibusters," James Jeffrey Roche said:

"A strong force, under the command of a certain Colonel Titus, a whiney Border Ruffian from Kansas, succeeded in ascending the river as far as Castillo Viejo and were on the point of capturing that key (to the situation) when their leader (Titus) weakly allowed himself to be hoodwinked and befooled by the commandant. The latter finding himself sorely pressed, begged for a 24-hour truce before surrendering; which he was granted. He sent for reinforcements and by the time the truce had expired was prepared to laugh at the simplicity of his antagonist.

"The mistake was unrepairable. Through the incompetence of Titus and Lockridge, the key to Nicaragua was lost, perhaps forever."

San Juan del Norte 19 March 1857: "Col. Titus left residue....it appears that the Costa Rican force boasted that only 50 men drove Col. Titus' 200 men from Castillo."

On March 19th, the Herald (SF) said: "Nothing of importance has occurred on the river since the retreat of Col. Titus and his men from Castillo...It appears that the Costa Rican forces that drove Col. Titus from Castillo consisted of only fifty men, while the forces under Titus numbered two hundred. The Costa Ricans boast greatly about the affair."

In its April 4th edition, the Times related an account by a Captain Brontley, who had gone with Titus from New Orleans. Brontley said he was second in command and had charge of the "Alabama Rifles." The story, in part, as told by the Times reporter:

"The force under Col. Titus was making its way as stealthily as they could through the plantains, trying to keep their approach concealed from the enemy till they got opposite the fort, and everything in readiness for a surprise charge. As they got opposite the fort, Col. Titus saw a bull at a short distance. Regarding it as a prize too valuable to let get out of their way, he ordered two or three men to fire their pieces. The bull was killed, but the result of the firing was to alarm the garrison, and give time to prepare to resist the attack."

The reporter learns that he (Brontley) has the greatest respect for Walker; that he regards him as a great man of the age; and that he is a second Napoleon. He reported further on Brontley:

"General Walker he declares to be in a bad fix...The prime cause...he attributes to the inefficient character of his leading officers. Col. Lockridge, he says, is a robust six-footer, brown-complexioned, with bent shoulders and an intelligent eye, but possessing no elements of a good commander. He put him down as

possessing neither decision, firmness, nor tact. He says that with a force of 5,000 men he never could make his way to General Walker.

"The personnel of Col. Titus, the captain describes as being unusually imposing. He weighs 220 pounds and is finely proportioned. For mental calibre, however, he says he has not two well-defined ideas in his head. His chief characteristics he defines as want of courage, an immense brag and a selfish tyrant."

A few days after the Castillo defeat, the reporter's story continues:

"Col. Titus, according to our informants, is a man of unquestioned bravery, but destitute of some of the requisite qualifications of a military commander. At Castillo he committed a grave blunder, but it was an error of judgement rather than an instance of disaffection to the cause...Col. Titus is described as very much of a gentleman, and is the man to enforce respectful treatment from all. It was not till after his departure for Aspinwall that any reflections were openly cast on his qualifications and conduct..."

"Our informants have a poorer opinion of Colonel Lockridge. They say he calls himself a Texan, but Colonel Kinney, who hails from that section, don't know him as such, and is not willing to recognize him as a fellow citizen. He is...horribly illiterate. He has had no military experience, and is regarded as altogether incompetent. He acts like an Irishman hired by the hour, and is good at carrying logs, or knocking down a refractory private...(Lockridge) by coloring his own reports he has impressed the Commander-in-Chief with an undue confidence in his abilities, and so managed to exclude all his superiors in rank who chanced to join him..."

"Wheat and Col. Anderson are credited with planning and carrying out the operations on the San Juan. Col. Lockridge is said to have a great affection for the river steamboats, and takes an intense delight in sailing up and down, especially when the foe is around. Thus, at the taking of Serapiqui, he occupied a safe position on the Rescue and left the brunt of that battle to Wheat and Anderson."

The Times (Apr. 15) had another version of the Castillo attack by Titus. It said:

"After the taking of Serapiqui on the 14th of February, Col. Titus, flushed with the prestige of success, demanded the right of proceeding with his party to attack Castillo, and on the 15th, aided by Gen. Wheat, and by three companies, amounting to about one hundred and sixty men, with provisions and ammunition, Col. Titus was taken up the river, and landed one mile below the fort, upon the same side of the river. He then proceeded round to the rear of the fort. The colonel remained for several days, occupying Nelson's Hill in the rear, and overlooking the fort, without any damaged being done to either side.

"Finally, Col. Titus raised a white flag, which was immediately answered from the fort, and the representative of each belligerent party met. Col. Titus demanded an immediate surrender, and he had five hundred men to back him. The Costa Rican officer then read an order from the President of Costa Rica, that all Americans who should fall into his hands should be forthwith put to death; that he could not surrender without consent of Gen. Mora, but that within 24 hours he

would decide. Col. Titus gave him the time to consider.

"Just before the expiration of the twenty-four hours, a small body of Costa Ricans came through the woods from up the river, and fired upon one of the piquet guards, who came running to Titus, saying that the Costa Ricans were coming upon them. He was told to go back to his company and give them fight. 'But,' says the guard, 'there are more than five hundred of them.' Col. Titus replied: 'The hell there is! Then we better run--save yourselves, boys.' (He ran) with one company with him, some of them before and some behind him. One of those reported afterwards that he never saw so fat a man run so fast before! Gen. Wheat had left before him."

(Was not Wheat derelict also?)

"In the meantime the other two companies had not heard the retreat order, but fought...and succeeded in driving the enemy back...Some one asked, 'Where is Col. Titus?' Another replied, 'Why he left us some three-quarter of an hour ago,' whereupon they all retreated...leaving their provisions and ammunition in the river.

"They found Col. Titus about two miles down the river. When they all met, Col. Titus said: 'Now, boys, let us stand and fight the enemy like brave men, or die in the attempt.' Not a Costa Rican essayed to pursue them."

In its April 17th edition, the Times, in its report on the above battle, said:

"Col. Lockridge, who had been down the river during this time...inquired of Titus...why he had left Castillo...He (Lockridge) told him that he could have taken it with 50 men...and that Titus was a coward. Whereupon Col. Titus replied that he allowed no man to call him coward; that Lockridge played the coward at Serapiqui, and seizing Lockridge by the throat, was about to throw him overboard, when some friends interfered.

"Col. Lockridge apologized to Titus and for the sake of keeping the men in subordination, the difficulty was hushed up. Soon after...Lockridge sent Col. Titus as special messenger and bearer of dispatches to Gen. Walker via Aspinwall.

"On the 21st of March, the steamers Scott and Rescue took the recruits...numbering about 150 men, up the river, and landed them at Machuca Rapids, twelve miles below Castillo. On the 23rd the steamers returned to Serapiqui, and ...took the 1st Battalion (with them). The whole army upon the San Juan River, with their sick and wounded, ammunition and provisions, were now concentrated at Machuca, in all a little less than 400 men, with about 300 fit for duty.

"The men were now set to work...After accomplishing this, on the 28th, about 300 men, being all the able-bodied in the expedition, were landed upon the right of the river about a mile below the fort preparatory to an attack upon Castillo the next day...

"Early on the morning of the 30th, the whole party advanced to attack the enemy, and proceeded to within 50 or 75 yards of the Costa Ricans, within sight of their fortifications on the hill, and remained upon their arms, while the principal officers and their staff reconnoitered the force and strength of the Costa Rican fortifications from different positions. After three hours spent in

this way they became satisfied in their own minds that it would be impolitic and imprudent to attack so strongly a fortified place and so many men as there seemed to be within the enemy's lines with so small a force as 300 men."

(Note: Titus was pilloried for not taking Castillo, but a force several times larger [plus several of the officers who had condemned his actions] also failed to capture it.)

Carlos, the Times correspondent of the above, relates the story of "the defenseless and home-sick soldiers, who, through the mercy of Col. Lockridge, were now left to die of starvation, or be devoured by crocodiles. The Scott's...boiler burst...scalding to death and blowing overboard a large number of the men on board...Colonel Lockridge did not return...in the boat with the men.

"All, sick or well, were anxious to return to the States by the Tennessee. They had seen the elephant."

Carlos' story continues: "Captain Patterson of the Tennessee was in a dilemma...(he) could not take them away without the consent of the Government...or someone thereby authorized...Colonel Lockridge was the only person acting under the authority of Walker directly; and the men say he purposely remained up the river to avoid the responsibility of ordering or refusing them a passage..."

"The late recruits were loud in anathemas and threats against Col. Lockridge, and when he does come down to Punta Arenas, his chance for personal safety will be very small."

The Times, in its April 16, 1857, edition, ran the following: "Col. Lockridge retreats, leaving all of the San Juan river to the Costa Ricans. Later, the Scott blows up, killing 60."

The (SF) Daily Evening Bulletin's 30 March 1857 edition reported:

"Capt. Titus, of Kansas notoriety, went to San Francisco on the Sierra Madre. It is said he was dismissed by Col. Lockridge for cowardice. Of this I know nothing except from rumor; but probably he has regaled you there with his astonishing feats on the San Juan, at the attack at Castillo. The Costa Rica account no doubt will read a little different from Capt. Titus'. Here it is:

'After describing the first attack upon the position, protected as it was by only thirty men, and taking of the steamer Scott by the filibusters, which steamer the Costa Rican commander says was so completely riddled with balls and broken up to make her useless,' he proceeds: 'About midday, Col. Titus sent in a flag of truce, and modestly demanded a surrender without conditions. I replied that this was impossible, without the consent of the commanding general, and asked for twenty-four hours to decide upon it. I went down to the lines of the fortification and took a drink with Col. Titus. He told me that he had a large battery of cannon of great calibre, mounted for the attack, and his force consisted of one thousand men. This appeared so gassy that I paid no attention to it, but resolved to resist to the death. At ten o'clock on Thursday we heard firing at a little distance, accompanied by loud shouts and vivas for Coast Rica, which we answered, and in half an hour Capts. Alvarez and Ortiz with sixty men came to our succor, having driven the enemy from his position at the point of the bayonet. The filibusters fled, throwing away

their arms, ammunition and provisions so that the road for two miles was strewn with them. Fortunately for Col. Titus, a steamer arrived at the embarcadero just in time to take them off. On Saturday we received forty more men, and are now secure against all the filibusterism in the world. The steamer they got possession of was good for nothing. We are glad to get rid of her, as it took ten of our force constantly to bail her out. The enemy lost one hundred and forty men. Our loss was very little. We lost one officer, Salvador Rojas.' I can not vouch for the entire correctness of the proceeding information."

An extract of a letter from San Juan Del Norte, March 7, 1857:

"Colonel Titus arrived here a few days ago in an incontestible high state of dudgeon against several brother officers operating upon the River San Juan. He denounces Colonel Lockridge, and says he is not equal to his position, and that if he had been properly supported in the attack which he led in person, on Castillo, his command would not have experienced such a sanguinary failure. He further says that the climate, the heat, and incessant wet, is playing the very devil with the men, who are becoming much discouraged.

"The attack on Castillo was made with 325 men and lasted several hours, but as the Costa Ricans kept up such an infernal 'fire,' he was compelled to retreat three times during the engagement. Lost 28 killed and 19 wounded.

"Col. Titus urges Walker's friends to send without delay strong reinforcements, as he feels certain with the present complement of men the River San Juan cannot be forced, and, until fresh arrivals Castillo, was not to be attempted again.

"The Costa Ricans are in strong body at Castillo, and being commanded by Capt. Spencer and Col. Cautz, displaying considerable bravery. Their gunning he describes as very steady and sure.

"The Colonel leaves by the Tennessee for Aspinwall, in hopes of reaching Walker via Panama, with the intention of recommending to Gen. Walker to place the command of the San Juan forces in abler hands. Several disasters have made their way down here and give rather sad accounts. During the attack on Hipps Point...Lockridge's loss: 12 men killed...30 wounded of whom most died due to lack of proper medical treatment and places to house them.

"Soon after this event, however, Lockridge sent Col. Titus as special messenger and bearer to Gen. Walker via Aspinwall."

Continuing the article, the reporter quotes the statements of LT. J.W. Gage and Dr. Geo. S. Wier:

"Upon the retreat of Col. Titus from Castillo down the river the force was divided, one-half being left at San Carlos Island...the condition of the men was most pitiable...many became discouraged and gave up: the German position succumbed: fifteen died at Serapiqui...the absence of Col. Titus had the effect to dishearten the men.

"Among the relics of the campaign brought home is the identical coat of Col. Titus, left at Serapiqui, which he wore in Kansas-- buttons and all."

Continuing, the reporter wrote:

"Col. Jacques thinks that Col. Titus has shown himself as a great coward, or at least an errant fool in retreating from Castillo...and believes he's gone to California, for he would scarcely dare meet the 'gray-eyed man' after his bad management on that occasion."

Following this article was a statement by William Brown:

"As soon as the little steamer Rescue was put in order, his (Brown's) detachment went up in her to a point twenty-five miles up the River San Juan, six miles below Fort Serapiqui...(they) called the place Fort Anderson. They were joined by Col. Titus' command, which swelled their ranks to 400 men. On the 6th of February they were attacked by a force of 500 Costa Ricans, whom they repulsed with great slaughter.

"On 14 February, Col. Titus, with 205 men, started up the river for Castillo. A little below the rapids lay the steamer Scott in possession of the Costa Ricans. When Titus' forces were perceived by those on board, they set fire to the boat and deserted her. Titus then offered a reward of \$100 to each man that would swim to her and extinguish the flames. Two brave (mercenary?) fellows did so, but they never received a cent of the promised reward. (Note: This is the only account found mentioning a reward.)

"On arriving at Fort Castillo they completely invested it. There were only 40 men in it and Titus demanded its surrender. The commanding officer, an Englishman, asked a parley, which Titus granted. A long private conversation ensued between Titus and the Commander of the Fort. Titus stated the result to his officers in this way: 'The Englishman has no authority to surrender his post, and would resist to the last, but he asked a truce of twenty-four hours, and permission to send a messenger through his lines to General Mora, at Fort San Carlos, to get the necessary authority to surrender.'

"This request Titus accorded. His officers, even some of the bolder privates, expressed their dissatisfaction with this arrangement, and wished an attack be made immediately. But Titus was inexorable. The messenger returned with a force of 500 men, under Gen. Mora, for the relief of the fort, and Titus immediately gave the order to retreat. They were highly incensed at their commander, for he had two cannon planted so as to command the entrance to the fort, and they could have killed the greater part of the enemy, if they attempted to enter. Two companies were stationed below a hill, out of sight, and did not get the order to retreat, and thirty men belonging to them were lost. The opinion became general that Titus had been 'bought up' by the enemy, and so betrayed his soldiers.

"They then went down to Serapiqui, which remained in the hands of Col. Anderson, and a dispute arising between him and Titus, with reference to his conduct, the latter transferred his command to Gen. Bob Wheat, and announced his intention of going to Rivas to join Walker. He came down to Greytown in the little Rescue, which made trips every day or two for provisions. On these occasions a guard of three men from each company was detailed to come in her, and Mr. Brown was one of them. Col. Lockridge came down in the Rescue also. There were, in all, 31 men on board. On arriving at Greytown they were all taken prisoners by the captain of the English steamer Corsair (Was

this the Cossak?), and the two Colonels were taken on board that vessel, but soon after released." (Again, Titus was not the only officer confined by the British.)

In Hanna's account of the Nicaraguan encounter, the following: "As to the Titus behavior in Nicaragua there was no conflicting testimony."

This is patently false. Generals Hall and Wheat, as well as Captain Farnum, made written statements that tend to refute Hanna.

Letter from Gen. Hall, commissary General of Walker's Army, to the Times (NY):

"I left...with a small detachment under Capt. J.E. Farnum for San Juan del Norte, for the purpose of reaching general headquarters by the shortest route that offered. Arrived there I found it impossible...to reach Rivas by Panama, and therefore determined to assay the river. Immediately on our arrival the small steamer Rescue came alongside and the self-styled Col. Lockridge boarded us...and we immediately proceeded up the river to a point called Camp Titus, and landing there joined the forces under Gen. Wheat, Col. Titus, and Col. Anderson. Whilst there, at the solicitation of Lockridge, and for the better preservation of the stores, which were being wasted, I consented to take temporary charge of the Commissary Department, and, by the way, this was the only connection I had with the river command. A few days after the battle of Serapiqui was fought, Capt. Farnum being in temporary command of the recruits, whilst I, in attending to the duties of my department, remained in camp, or upon the little steamer, in company with Lockridge who, during the entire engagement, was not exposed to any manner of danger, Gen. Wheat, Col. Anderson and Col. Titus having not only decided upon the manner of attack, but commanded, without the presence of Col. Lockridge, during the day. After occupation of Serapiqui I was upon the boat when she proceeded to within a mile and a half of Castillo, for the purpose of landing the troops under Gen. Wheat and Col. Titus, that were to, and did, attack the place. During the engagement there, he, Lockridge was not under fire, nor exposed, and when Gen. Wheat returned, Lockridge sent a message to Col. Titus, to the effect that he should hold his position for 24 hours, in which time he promised to return with reinforcements; he then proceed to Serapiqui. Instead of returning as he promised, he went down to Greytown, and running the boat aground, failed to keep his engagement. The consequences of this failure is the loss of Castillo, for if he'd returned with reinforcements in 24-hours instead of 56-hours, as he did, Col. Titus would not have retired.

"I have mentioned these facts in the connection for the purpose of showing the man's (Lockridge) incompetency and great regard for self when any fighting was going on. These are the causes that have led to want of discipline, and desertion, and all other evils that have delayed the opening of the San Juan River."

At Greytown, General Hall, Colonel MacDonald, Captain Farnum, and other officers, decided to remain until the TEXAS arrived. Hall said: "Lockridge left, and to cap the climax of his overbearing, unmannerly conduct, he has absolutely appropriated to himself all the public stores with him, but had also taken the baggage and private

stores, in fact everything that he could lay his hands upon!"

The Times (April 14th edition) quotes Captain J. E. Farnum:

"It was through either negligence or culpable ignorance of Lockridge that Col. Titus returned from Castillo. I have the word of Gen. Wheat for it; that Col. Titus is as brave a man as ever trod on Nicaraguan soil. I have the assertion of Col. Lockridge...that failing to received reinforcements Col. Titus deemed it prudent to retire and did so orderly and without the loss of a man.' He (Lockridge) condemned Titus, not to his face but after he left for Rivas."

Farnum went on to say: "Col. Lockridge was the last man I saw over the side of the ship *Texas*, and neither to Colonels Hall or MacDonald, Major Ellis or myself, did he ever, by word or sign, intimate his approval or disapproval of the course we had pursued. As in the case of Col. Titus, he awaited five days to become assured of our certain departure, before he dares put an indignity upon us."

Part of a story in the June 13th edition of the *Times*: "There are two sides to the story about Col. Titus. Some say the talk about the 24 hours armistice at Castillo is bosh; that Titus could not have done better."

In its March 21, 1857, edition, The New York Tribune, a strongly pro-Abolitionist paper and no friend of Titus, reported that when Titus reached Colon, Panama, enroute to Walker at Rivas, that men formerly under his command were awaiting him and: "The valiant Titus went about with a loaded revolver in his fist, expecting that his outraged men would really take his life."

On March 30, 1857, the *Daily Evening Bulletin* had the following: "Capt Titus, of Kansas notoriety, went to San Francisco on the *Sierra Madre*. It is said he was dismissed by Col. Lockridge, for cowardice."

In Walker's book, "*The War in Nicaragua*" he wrote:

"On the 13th, Caycee (Cajcee?), with his Rangers went to San Juan for the purpose of bringing to Rivas the letters and papers brought by the *Sierra Nevada* from Pananma. Titus was a passenger on the steamer, and had been entrusted, so Lockridge afterward said, with the official report of events on the river; but Walker did not get this report until many days after Titus' arrival at Rivas, and then in the shape of duplicates by the next vessel with mails from San Juan del Norte. Hence, for some time, the chief information as to affairs on the San Juan was derived from Titus, and this, as may be readily imagined, was of very inaccurate character. This person, Titus, had not been at Rivas long, before his reports were regarded as wholly worthless; for, during the sickness of one of Walker's aides, Titus was requested to act, for the time, on the staff of the general-in-chief. The first duty on which he was sent, required him to approach where the Allies and Americans were in presence of each other; and Titus, not venturing within range of the enemy's fire, received a statement from a soldier and brought it to headquarters as a report of facts. A moment after Titus' return, Henningsen rode up, and reported to Walker a state of facts entirely the reverse of Titus' report. Of course, the services of Titus were immediately dispensed with.

"From the first, Walker placed no confidence in the statements of

Titus about affairs on the river. No commission was given to Titus; on the contrary, when he requested to be sent to the United States with authority to act for Nicaragua, his application was refused. Although possessed of some plausibility, he could lead only superficial observers astray as to his real character. He had too much the air of the bully to gain credit for either honesty or firmness of purpose."

A reporter, in the June 13th edition of the Times wrote:

"I send you the following statement, furnished by the author, Major (Horace) Bell, a favorite officer of Walker's, for several reasons. It illustrates the despotic character of Walker. It shows that even his officers were influenced more by fear than by love of serving him. It exemplifies the poltroonery of Titus, if any further exemplification of it be necessary, after his running away from Casitillo.

"The following is a statement of facts which led to my separation from Gen. Walker during the siege of Rivas. On the 28th of April, two days before the final capitulation, a man known as Colonel Titus, who had been acting as aid-de-camp to Gen. Walker, came to my quarters at St. Ursula, an outpost commanded by myself, and asked permission to pass the picket into the hacienda, to get some fruits, which request I, without hesitation, granted...About 4 o'clock, a Mr. Bostwick, Attorney-General and Acting Secretary of State, came down, making inquiries about Titus. After some conversation we went out ourselves, Bostwick under the pretext of getting some cocoa. As we passed down an avenue leading through the hacienda, we saw Titus and one of our soldiers, who motioned us towards them...within fifteen or twenty yards of them, some twenty-five or thirty soldiers of the allied army closed in around us. I asked Titus what it meant. He answered that he had been taken prisoner, and that now we were prisoners also. I protested, and accused him of treachery. I was then taken to Gen. Chamorro's quarters, and after explaining how I had been captured he allowed me to return to camp without imposing any conditions.

"After returning to camp, (I) was met by an officer who informed me that orders had been sent to the pickets to fire on me whenever they saw me, and at the same time orders had been sent for the guards to arrest me. I asked him what in God's name it could mean. He answered that the men were all deserting, (near 100 had left) and Gen. Walker accused me of being the cause of it.

"(I) rode back to Gen. Chamorro's camp, and requested that he take me prisoner...(which I was) and treated with courtesy due to my rank...I was given a passport...(and) I embarked on the steamer Panama."

W.O. Scroggs in his "Filibusters and Financiers" continued his tirade against Titus with the following:

"Titus, the 'border ruffian,' who after his fiasco at Castillo Viejo had joined Walker by way of Panama...Bostwick, Walker's secretary of state, and Bell, major in the infantry, were among those who went over to the enemy's camp...Titus and other deserters night after night mounted the allies' barricades and called on their

comrades to come and join them, sometimes singling them out by name, and regaling the starving men with accounts of an abundance of food, tobacco and aguardiente."

Another reporter said of the desertions, "Some of your contemporaries are an unbelieving set, and affect to doubt my asserting in letter, dated in Nicaragua that 'Walker's men were heartily tired of the hard service, and not fifty of them would remain a day longer in the country if they could get out of it.' I presume their doubts will be dissipated when they glance over the list of deserters, for only about forty days."

In its May 29th edition, the Times reported:

"Col. Cajcee, Walker's Q.M. General, who was reported by the Costa Rican papers sometime since to have deserted, remained with Walker up to the last, and then joined the allied army.

"Col. Titus, the Kansas Bully, who ran away from Castillo at the head of 250 men when his enemy had only 22, joined Walker at Rivas, but deserted some five or six days before the final break up. He has gained a noble reputation as a warrior truly."

Shortly after the capitulation of Walker, Titus went to San Francisco where the newspapers there re-told of his real--and maybe imaginative--exploits.

It is believed that while in San Francisco, he engaged in recruiting of men for an invasion of Sonora, Mexico.

It is known that he did have a contingent which actually proceeded toward that hot spot; however, due to defections and hardships suffered by some of those with him, he settled in the Sonoita Valley of the Arizona Territory.

Here, again, he was involved in another of his controversial adventures: mining.

This was the beginning of of the last legs of the odyssey that eventually led Titus to his final resting place: Titusville, Florida.

CHAPTER VI

Despite the fact that he had left Nicaragua, Titus was not forgotten, He still appeared in news reports from or about that country.

Writing from San Jose, Reporter K. Roman (NY Times, 29 July 1857) reported about the influx of contractors (called "Richmonds") who were in Nicaragua to bid for right-of-ways through that "Indian Empire."

He said: "Many think that Vanderbilt will be the winning horse since his bids were high for the golden prize--the right-of-way.

"Costa Rica is fully determined to maintain a large force on the San Juan, at Greytown, Castillo, and San Carlos. Both Castillo and San Carlos are being strongly fortified, and the river will be under the command of Col. Cauty, who, you will remember, defeated Titus."

After leaving Nicaragua, Titus did, as stated, go to San Francisco, but, after that, his itineray was as varied as his life-style. He criss-crossed the country several times, travelling to Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Missouri and New York--and back to California.

In August, 1857, he was in Kansas--again--according to the Times in its Aug. 10 edition. The paper had written about the still-smouldering Kansas mini-war which it headlined: "The Seige of Lawrence Raised - Governor Walker gone with his troops to Fort Riley."

The story continued: "Governor Walker having remained watching the people of Lawrence till on his sober mornings he became heartily ashamed of himself, has been for several days easting about him for some means to get out of his miserable scrape...Walker's famous camp near Lawrence was broken up, and he and all his troops started up the river (for Ft. Riley), leaving the people of Lawrence to commit treason unpunished.

"The whole thing is understood here as an invention to give Walker an opportunity to withdraw gracefully from Lawrence. Ashamed of his exploit, he is glad to retire back into the interior of the Territory away from newspaper reporters, and out of sight and hearing of Lawrence.

"Colonel Titus arrived here last night. He has gone up the river with the Governor."

In its Aug. 12 edition, the Times reporter said: "By the way, while on this subject (pro-slavers), I am reminded that Col. Titus has returned to Kansas. He came to Lecompton a few days ago, and still resides there. He looks to be in admirable health and excellent spirits."

It is possible that Titus was in Kansas for various reasons. One, to support the pro-slaver's position in the forth-coming consti-

tutional convention; two, to enlist troops to go to Sonora, Mexico; or, three, to solicit funds for developing silver mines in Arizona. It could have been for all of those reasons. Regardless, he kept himself busy.

He eventually got to Arizona (which may have just been a stopping off point prior to fighting in Sonora) with a small army of men armed and ready to fight as a result of his recruitment activities.

The San Diego Herald's September 18, 1858, edition reported the following:

"It was confidently believed that the regiment of Rangers...would be at once mustered into service...to proceed against the Indians on the frontiers...the President (Buchanan) had reason to believe that the men had been enrolled under a pledge that at the expiration of their two years...they would march against Sonora..."

"When the mail left Olympia (Fort Davis), Col. Titus, with a party of seventy-five filibusters had arrived destined for Sonora, as was supposed, although they professed to intend settling as farmers in Arizona. They were well provided with such agricultural implements as Sharp's rifles and six-shooters. Rumor had it that two hundred and fifty men were on the way from Santa Fe, and two hundred were expected from California."

Again, on Nov. 20, 1858, the Herald ^{S.D.} headlined: "Col. Titus about to Attack the Apaches."

It went on to say: "Col. Titus and his party had arrived at Tucson, but having lost a large number of their animals, by the Apaches, and owing to dissensions that had arisen among them, the party had divided, some returning to Texas, and others to the new gold diggings. A large portion of the original party, however, remained with the Colonel, who was planning an expedition into the Apache country, and was waiting for assistance promised from Fort Buchanan, and it was expected that a large force would soon start out against these thieving Indians, who had become troublesome beyond endurance."

P. | In its Jan. 8, 1859, edition, the Times (NY), in an article about the Apaches, told of ex-Sheriff Jones (of the Lawrence attack) of Kansas being in the Arizona territory and also wrote that "Col. Titus, of Kansas and Nicaragua memory, had gone from Tucson to Patoni's Silver Mine."

It's almost a foregone conclusion that Titus was in Arizona when his first acknowledged child, Edward Hopkins, was born. The birth took place at Savannah, Georgia, January 15, 1859.

This so-called "first child" brings up an unanswered question: Were there more children born to Henry Theodore and Mary Evelina Titus than now-known?

All records indicate that Edward Hopkins was the first child, but could others have died prior to, or shortly after, his birth?

It does seem strange that nearly seven years elapsed between their marriage and his birth, a most unusual time delay for that period.

Many articles mentioned Titus and his "family" during his Jacksonville and Kansas periods.

For instance, Hanna wrote that when Titus was to leave Jacksonville for Kansas, the Republican, April 2, 1856, used the term

"and family." This seems to connote that there were more than just Titus and his wife.

Then, there are the incidents prior to and after the Battle of Fort Titus: (1) The stagecoach driver telling Walker that he had Mrs. Titus and two children with him; (2) Walker's account of Titus pleading for his life, saying that he, too, had a wife and children.

This mystery may be solved--one way or the other--when some of the Jacksonville papers of that era are carefully researched.

In a letter from St. Louis, June 2, 1859, a Bulletin (SF) reporter, in writing a story on filibustering, told of Titus, who, in the spring previous, was in Arizona in connection with some mining ventures. He wrote:

"The Arch-filibuster General Walker...has taken us all by surprise, turning up suddenly in New York...only a few days after (learning) of his having gone down from San Francisco with three hundred followers, all ready prepared to pull up Sonora or Nicaragua by the roots...

"The pugnacity our heroes had been treasuring up to expend upon the Sonorians or Nicaraguans, when their last chance for a fight had to be given up, of course expended a little more, under a sense of their deprivation, and reached explosion point. It found vent upon a luckless brother-in-arms who was whilom a leader among them. The telegraph tells us of a fracas among them, in which Wheat, Anderson and others gave Col. Titus, their late friend and brother, a mighty pounding. No mention is made of the cause of the affray, or why half a dozen of them banded together to thump the unfortunate Colonel. By those who have known anything of filibuster secretism however, it has been guessed that they had had a rod in pickle for the doughty Titus ever since the famous seige of Rivas. As the Colonel's antecedents are pretty well known, I will be very brief in recapitulating them.

"The State of Alabama is entitled to the honor of giving Titus to history. His early life was not remarkably eventful, and, like better young men, he did not come of age until twenty-one. Not long after attaining this important period he sallied out from his native village, got up a numerous company of adolescent fire-eaters, and came up with them to Kansas, to take part for the pro-slavery men in the partisan warfare which reckless men were then trying to get up in the Territory. The border folks gave him a very cold reception, and he and his troops soon turned their faces southward, procured transportation, at New Orleans, through an agent of the Nicaragua revolutionists there, and ultimately joined Walker. His troops deserted as rapidly as they could find the means of returning home; Walker's footing in the country becoming more and more insecure, there was a proportionate relaxation of zeal for the cause on Titus' part, and, at last, when the fortune of the 'gray-eyed man of destiny' waned, at the seige of Rivas or thereabouts, the Colonel followed the example of his men. Having had some important and responsible post in Walker's service, his retirement, under the circumstances, affected the cause so severely that Walker and his officers were greatly exasperated at his conduct, and they did fail to attribute it to an excessive discretion in time of danger. Most of them viewed his

conduct so resentfully that they determined to whip him on sight, and the meeting with Titus the other day in New York is the first chance they have had to make good their purpose. Captain Sevier, now editing a paper in Nashville, Tennessee, and who was dangerously wounded at Rivas by being shot through the lungs with a Minnie rifle ball, met the Colonel some time after his convalescence at Panama and challenged him, but did not obtain a meeting. Titus subsequently returned to Kansas, whence he made frequent visits to St. Louis, and in one of them was calaboozed for a short time for shooting at a baggage porter at the Planters. Last spring, he went to Arizona and became superintendent for a silver mining company.

"Col. Titus had succeeded in selling the silver mines of the Union Co. to a company in New York, of which Alvah Clark is President, for a handsome compensation, and was on his way to Tubac with capital, goods and machinery to work the mines," said the Bulletin on July 18, 1859.

In a September 17, 1859, the Times printed a story by a reporter called "B." In the story, "B" said:

"Near this place (Fort Buchanan, Arizona) are several lead mines of great value for the silver they contain; they are generally situated in a well-wooded and watered country, but often in rough and rugged mountains; those already prospected and worked are, the Patagonia, by Capt. Ewell and Mr. Brevort; the Compadrie and French, by Col. Titus & Co..."

"The mines now being opened by Col. Titus & Co. contain ore adapted to the smelting process, and the company are now putting up extensive furnaces in a valley about ten miles from the post." ^{SAN FRANCISCO}

In its November 22, 1859, edition, the Bulletin wrote:

"On 1st November, Col. H. T. Titus had a difficulty with a Mexican, one of the hands working for the mining company of which he is superintendent. At the office of the company on the Sonoita, he was settling an account with the Mexican who, from some misunderstanding, got excited, and attempted to strike the Colonel with a stone hammer, and with the intention undoubtedly of killing him. The Colonel drew his pistol and fired twice, the second shot taking effect. The Mexican lived two or three days."

A reporter for the Bulletin, D'Aumile, of the Geological Survey of Sonora, was found murdered shortly after writing the following:

"The Compadrie (Titus') and other mines of the New York and Compadrie Mining Company, in the Sonoita valley, near the road to and about ten miles from Fort Buchanan, are completely paralyzed. The works are in a charmingly romantic location (see above)--perhaps the sickliest in the country. The managers and employees are constantly prostrated by the endemic fevers so prevalent in the valley. The only silver shown from this mine was obtained by the following nice little bit of hocus-pocus.

"Col. Titus, of Nicaraguan notoriety, the manager, finding that he could get no silver out of the Compadrie ores--which are a mixture of argillaceous peroxide of iron with calc-spar, a little oxide and carbonate of lead, and \$5 of silver to the ton--hit upon an ingenious expedient to get the stocks up. Having bought \$700 or \$800 of silver from the proprietors of the Patagonia mine, he quietly dumped it in

parcels into the furnace without the knowledge of the smelter, a German gentleman, and of course produced excellent results and secured a certificate to that effect. The treasurer providing refractory, a favorable 'report' was elicited through the medium of a loaded revolver, the gallant colonel, provided with rich specimens from Arivaca, went on his way East rejoicing. The result may be seen in leading paragraphs in the late St. Louis and Cincinnati journals, to the effect that 'Col. Titus, manager of the Compadre and New York Mining company, reached our city yesterday by the overland mail, and has kindly submitted to our inspection, over 50 lbs. pure silver, the product of his mine, together with a large number of fabulously rich specimens of the ores, &c., &c.' Vive la bagatelle! These statements I received from some of the most respectable citizens of Arizona, cognizant of all the facts--including the over-reached metallurgist himself, and can avouch from my own assays that the ore in question is absolutely incapable of yielding the silver exhibited as its product.

"The San Antonio Mining Company, is one of Titus' abortive humbugs."

(Note: Based upon the time frame, Titus had to have been in the East when the murder occurred.)

On August 5, 1860: "Today (Sunday) there is to be a meeting at the house of Col. Titus, Sonoita Valley, which will be largely attended, to take measures for the protection of the miners and farmers who are scattered through this portion of Gadsden's Purchase, and to consider the best means to bring the murderers of the San Pedro mine to justice. Depend upon it there will be serious trouble growing out of this business.

"Col. Titus has just struck very rich mineral in his Eagle mine, which he has been prospecting for some time back. There is a company in New York waiting for this event, as they are anxious to buy a mine on the same lead, and near the Patagonia--the Eagle being but half a mile distant," reported the Bulletin in its August 21, 1860 edition.

In its 1860 census for the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, the Federal census listed a "Titus, Harry F., 37, Male, Miner, \$80,000, New Jersey" and "Titus, Elliot H., 33, Male, Miner, \$8,000, New York."

The Arizona Weekly Star, April 29, 1880:

"Dr. Charley Titus came to Arizona from Kansas with his brother Col. Harry (Henry Theodore) Titus, in 1857, and established a camp upon the Sonoita, near Ft. Buchanan, afterward Camp Crittenden.

"Col. Titus had attained considerable notoriety in the States during the filibustering mania and afterwards in the Kansas trouble.

"The brothers Titus, having tired of war, engaged in mining and opened several mines of value between the Sonoita and the San Pedro.

"Col. Titus went East in 1859, and never returned to the Territory, probably settled in Florida on the anticipated value of his Arizona mines.

The 1860 census shows Henry T. Titus to have been there in that year. His brother remained in the Territory during the war and was in the Patagonia district in 1864 when the Apaches made the celebrated

raid upon the Butterfield party on the Santa Cruz river between Santa Cruz and Calabasas.

At the time, Dr. Titus and Delaware Joe, an Indian, were cornered by the Apaches and Delaware Joe was killed while the doctor ended his own life after being wounded in the fight.

(Note: A group of Pennsylvanians later retrieved the body of Dr. Titus and interred it in his home state.)

Before his brother died, Henry Theodore Titus had sold his interest in his silver mine and had gone to New York. Whether he was there when his wife gave birth, December 2, 1860, at Jamaica, Long Island, to their second child, Catherine Howell (Kate), is not confirmed. (His wife was reported in the 1860 census for Jamaica.)

At some point, either before or after Kate was born, Titus returned to Florida. Again, whether he went with his family or if they joined him later, that has not been established. At any rate, he was there during the Civil War.

With the advent of that war, Titus must have been in his glory. He was once again a participant, albeit not a combatant, a part he played to perfection.

CHAPTER VII

Titus was very active during the Civil War; however, neither side, Confederate nor Federal, show him to have been enlisted or commissioned in their forces.

Because he lived in the South, he was prone to support its cause, but not at the expense of his livelihood. He furnished both sides with supplies--for a price.

In other words, his primary obligation was to advance but one cause: his own.

Much of his financial success may have been due to his father-in-law, Edward Stephen Hopkins. Hopkins, a Confederate commander, had the mission of defending forts from approaches by sea. To adequately do that, he needed armaments and, supposedly, Titus was commissioned to bring the armaments required for such defense.

Titus, reportedly, transported cannon taken from a fort at Tampa to Hopkins at Pensacola via wagon train. He also, in connection with Leilar, R. H. & Co., supplied Confederate forces with various provisions and equipment and received considerable sums for same. Several bills of sale indicating payment have been found.

(An aside: Authorization for some payments were signed by Francis J. Pons, Jacksonville merchant. Pons later married Beulah Barnett Platt who'd divorced Pons' grandson, Louis Platt. The Barnetts were associated later with Titus at Madison and some Barnetts (same family) were clergymen at Titusville churches.)

(While the Tituses were still at Jacksonville, Mary Evelina (Minnie), the third child, was born on April 29th, 1862.)

In addition to his overland transportation of supplies and equipment, Titus was also involved with sea operations.

Fernandina, his former springboard for the Cuban Filibuster War, was his home port, and from there he managed to evade Federal authorities who were trying to blockade the Florida coast.

Running blockades was vital to the Confederate cause since but few supplies were available locally. Titus, and others, sailed in and out of little-known inlets, bays, and bayous of the Florida coast, successfully eluding the Federal Blockade. Cotton was ferried to Palatka, then loaded in oxcarts and carried to near-by ports for trans-shipment to Nassau or Cuba.

As stated above, Sand Point was also a site favored by the blockade runners, as well as a haven for criminals.

In addition to supplies, Titus also ferried deserters and Confederate draft dodgers to the Bahamas.

That phase of his life surely contributed toward his having selected Sand Point (now Titusville) as his future home.

Apparently Titus was well-known by officers of the Federal navy,

whether it was during his sea-going phase or not, an event involving slaves occurred. Whatever, the Federal navy was involved.

Lt. T. H. Stevens, a Federal ship commander, on April 3, 1862, wrote to the Commander of Naval Forces in the waters of the St. Marys, the following:

"A Colonel Bryant and a Mr. Fairbanks, both gentlemen of character and influence in this section of the country, go to Fernandina in the Hope, to look after some slave property which has deposited itself here.

"Colonel Titus has been informed that two of his slaves have been left by the Wabash at Fernandina. Can they be sent in one of our vessels to him? I told him I would bring the subject to your attention."

Later, another Naval officer, Commander Woodhull, on October 11, 1862, requested permission to "land a large force (at Yellow Bluff) and the breastwork be leveled, the houses burned, and the neighboring woods cut down, so we could see at all times if anything is being done."

He further stated: "I understand also that Colonel Titus, one of Walker's men, crossed the river (St. Johns) from the right bank to the left some 10 miles below this and has gone to Tallahassee. He is an able soldier and may have gone to that place to get means to arm that point."

On February 23, 1863, Henry A. Crane, a Volunteer Acting Master's Mate of the U.S. Gunboat Sagamore, while on detached duty, captured the English schooner Charm. The mate reported:

"On the morning of the 23rd reached a cove some five miles above the mouth of St. Sebastian River...discovered a schooner bearing down and apparently filled with men. From their numbers and general careless manner upon the deck, I at once arrived at the conclusion that they were rebels designing to act on the offensive. Allowing them to run well down, and stripping the disguise from my boat, determined to attack them, whatever their numbers...In a few minutes we were alongside, mounted her deck and demanded surrender, which was instantly complied with. Securing their arms, correspondence, etc., I found 12 men on board...and (it) proved to be the Charm; Captain Titus, from Nassau, New Providence."

In a follow-up, Earl English, Crane's captain, to Secretary of the Navy Welles, said: "A detachment of six men under (Crane)...captured in the Indian River, at a place called the Narrows...the English schooner Charm. She was bound to Nassau, New Providence, with a cargo of cotton. Had on board...the master...and crew of 4 persons; likewise 7 passengers, most, if not all, armed. The passengers, with two exceptions, expressed themselves endeavoring to escape the late rebel conscript act."

Later on, after Federal forces had neutralized the East Coast of Florida and were attempting to envelope Confederate forces at Tallahassee (the only state capital not captured by them), Titus and family moved to Madison, Florida, where, besides continuing to supply the Confederates, he also became a land owner. (Some parcels were not sold until several years after the Civil War.)

(On August 11, 1865, the fourth child, Howell Elliot, was born at

Madison, Florida.)

One of the stories credited to Titus (and told by his son, James) was that he had brought beef cattle from Texas to the Madison-Tallahassee area which he then sold to the Confederates. This route, allegedly, became known as the "Titus Trail."

That all may have been true but a search of many publications in the Texas A & M library failed to find one mentioning the "Titus Trail." Possibly the name was just familiar to those who brought cattle into Florida. No mention of that trail has been found in Florida sources.

The end of the Civil War was also the end of the colonel's forays into ventures which exposed him to extreme physical harm. It was not the end of his "battles" against those who opposed him; nor was it the end of an active life.

Why Titus went north after the Civil War is not known, but why he returned to Florida is a conjecture: health and/or wealth.

His return marked the beginning of what was to become the hub of America's space project: Titusville.

*Doesn't appear in Marcus Price article
on Captains and pilots of blockade runners.
which Navy O, R.*

CHAPTER VIII

With the war over, Titus may have gone to Sand Point for a short while before leaving Florida for a northern clime. That is, if his daughter's account is factual.

Helen Margene quoted Minnie, his daughter, about the Titus travels following the Civil War, and, according to Margene, Minnie said:

"We sailed on the 'Live Yankee' and journeyed up the river to Jacksonville in 1866. We sailed on to New York, where father left the family. The cold of the north was not good for his rheumatism and the warmth and sunshine of Florida attracted him. He was a great sufferer by now, and spent many years in a wheel chair before his death."

(Apparently, the family also lived in Pennsylvania during that same period as the fifth child, Henry Theodore, Jr., was born August 25, 1866, at Wilkes-Barrie.)

Minne went on to say, "My mother owned a tract of land at what was then Sand Point, now Titusville. He conceived the idea of founding a town and opening that part of the country. In two years, the family joined him."

(Just what the year was, based upon Minnie's "two years," is speculative. Could it have been 1868?)

As is obvious, nearly all events detailing the life of Titus have had conflicting facts.

For example, the date he settled in what is now known as Titusville is not factually known.

Ianthe Bond Hebel, in her account of the founder of Titusville, states that she received the following from the Mariner's Museum of Newport News, Virginia, on Sep. 3, 1968:

"According to our records the Indian River formerly U.S.S. Clyde, formerly British steamer Neptune, was lost on the Florida coast in 1865. She was a paddle steamer of 302 tons; 199x19x9. The records of the New York Custom house show she was conveyed Nov. 16, 1863, by N.J. Hammill to New York & Indian River Preserving Co."

She went on to say that his son, Henry, Jr., stated that the Indian River was shipwrecked on Nov. 5, 1867, the date when the Tituses moved to the area. Yet, in another account which she credits to the son, the date was 1866 and was at Fort Pierce.

Some historians set the year as 1867.

On June 4, 1868, Mrs. Mary E. Titus, resident of Duval County, purchased "A parcel of land lying on the Indian River, the Lot 1 of Section 16, Township 22 South, of Range 34 East - 75 and 52-hundreds Acres, lying and being in the County of Volusia in the said State of Florida, and in fee simple."

Regardless of the exact date, it was where Titus wanted to be,

having known the area from his Civil War blockade-running days.

Although living in Titusville, its founder was still involved with things elsewhere, sometimes not to his advantage. For one: The Madison County (Florida) sheriff filed an indenture on January 6, 1868, relating to a Judgement (Nov. 20, 1866) awarded to a plaintiff against Titus.

This action was the result of a non-settlement of property purchases during the time Titus and family were living at Madison.

It is not known whether Titus was present for the birth of each of his first five children; but, surely, he must have been there when the last three (four?) were born. They were as follows: Ellett Livingston, Nov. 25, 1869; Theodore II, Oct. 23, 1871; and Pierre Soule, Aug. 16, 1873. Place of birth: Titusville.

(Was there another child? The name "Theodosa" has been mentioned as a possible one; although there has been no confirmation of this.)

There have been many articles written of and about Titus. Some are quoted below:

Bert Collier in the July 27, 1975, edition of the Gainesville Sun wrote about Titus as an example of the colorful characters that had helped shape Florida and had contributed to the pageant of the nation. Some of what he said is as follows:

1. "Col. Henry T. Titus was a mountain of a man and he had a personality to match."

2. "He ruled Titusville, said the historian A.J. Hanna, as his namesake, the Emperor Titus, ruled Rome."

3. "He (Titus) built a tremendous hotel, one of those pleasure palaces...to attract the Yankee tourist trade."

4. "Titus served gourmet dishes, featuring shark and turtle steaks, oysters and exotic fruits. He specialized in the finest alcoholic beverages... 'pure liquors, imported wines, ale, etc.,' read his advertising brochure. 'Old Port and sherry wines kept especially for invalids--also notary public and insurance agent.'"

5. "Patrons included not only wealthy Americans but European nobility. They soon discovered that one of the chief attractions of the place was the proprietor himself."

6. "Such stories he had to tell! He had a special talent for finding trouble."

7. "It was a miracle that he lived long enough to give his name to a Florida city."

8. "With his disposition it is a mystery how he managed to survive the evil days of Reconstruction. On a Jacksonville street one day, he argued with a former Union soldier and smashed his head with a walking stick. 'He used language I didn't like,' Titus blandly explained when he was hauled into police court. He was fined \$5 but managed to get out of paying it."

9. "To him Titusville was 'the grand center place of trade and will continue to be so. No slanderous article from any irresponsible person will change or destroy her

motto, 'I live and let live.'

Jack B. Horton, Jr., in his "Titusville, Florida: The First 50 years, 1867-1917," wrote:

1. "In the years immediately following the founding of Titusville by Colonel Henry T. Titus in 1867, this area was a wilderness--a 'real pioneer's country.'"

2. "Late in 1870 Colonel Titus completed the famous Titus House, 'an excellent hotel.' Dr. G.W. Holmes recalled that 'the southeast corner of one (of the wings) was always occupied by Capt. Mills O. Burnham, lighthouse keeper of Canaveral, when he visited Titusville in his famous sailboat, 'Osceola.'"

3. "On October 16, 1873, the name of the Post Office was officially changed to Titusville... (Holmes) recalled: 'Colonel Henry T. Titus was postmaster and had the name changed to Titusville. While there were but a few people, some did not want it named after him.'"

(Note: The Postal Service records do not show Titus as ever having been postmaster of Titusville; nor was he the postmaster when it was considered Sand Point in Volusia County. Not until Oct. 16, 1873 was it designated as Titusville. He was, however, listed as having been a mail contractor over several different years.)

4. "Dr. Holmes left a very good description of Colonel Titus: 'He had rheumatism and neuritis, and he was confined to a wheelchair. Colonel Titus owned a hack that met the boats at Salt Lake and Harney, (and) he and his good wife kept an excellent hotel. He was a public-spirited man and always zealous to do for the town named after him.'"

5. "One of the most important events of the decade was the county election held on October 7, 1879, which selected Titusville as the County Seat of Brevard County. Dr. Holmes stated, 'that Colonel Titus gave the land on which our county building stands, but only for County or Public purposes, rather firmly anchoring the County Seat.'"

Several authors have written that Titus was confined to a wheelchair during his later years. Apparently, that affliction did not restrict his movements as he was "All over town in his chair propelled by his negro body-servant."

One writer, in the book "Florida: The Long Frontier," when telling of Titusville, said:

"St. Johns River boats took more adventurous visitors up beyond Enterprise to Salt Lake. The wagons that brought in fish, venison and honey for Jacksonville took passengers jolting back through the sandy scrub to the new settlement of Titusville at the head of the flashing waters of the Indian River. It was named by that crippled old reprobate Colonel Henry Titus, who dominated its few houses, seven saloons and one store from a wheelchair on the verando of his long, low

hotel, a shotgun across his lap. People were attracted as much by his wild tales as by the lavish meals of venison, oysters, fish and rum punches. He had fought antislavery mobs in bloody Kansas, was said to have escaped jail after capture by John Brown (Brown was not present at his capture), had raided Cuba and Nicaragua, but notably had run the blockade on this coast, where he had made a lot of money supplying, at high prices, medicines and anything else to the Confederate Army. A huge, mustachioed blusterer, he swaggered even in a wheelchair among his admiring tourists."

Apparently, the Titus House shared hotel customers with the Lund House. It was said that both were crude, but they set "good tables."

Connie White in "Today's Sunrise," April 8, 1973, said: "He established a mule team to connect Titusville with the St. Johns River steamer, which ran from Lake Monroe. He also established a mail route which was carried on horseback.

"Titus had a machine to make shingles and fancy canes, cups and saucers and napkin rings from the native wood."

Bob Hudson, when editor-publisher of the Star-Advocate, wrote in its Aug. 19, 1981, edition titled, "It's Been 100 Years Since the 'Ageless' Colonel Titus Died." He said:

"Titus was tireless in his efforts to convince residents such a move (making Titusville the County Seat) was important.

"Planning for the vote, Titus made sure local residents were freeholders (property owners) since voting eligibility on such a question was based on property ownership--even to the extent of temporarily deeding some non-property owners small parcels to make them eligible. After the successful vote, he donated the land on which the old courthouse sits today."

The vote, taken on Oct. 7, 1879, was as follows: Eau Gallie, 35; Rockledge, 39, and Titusville, 135.

Dave Heath, who called Titus a "Scurrilous Pioneer" in an article written for the "Today" magazine, quoted one contemporary source as having said:

"In 1867, rich, presumably wifeless and something of a cripple, Henry Titus came back to the camp (Sand Point) already filling up as a hideout for criminals.

"He built the Titus House, a hotel, in the camp, a town which by then 'consisted chiefly of seven Saloons.'

"Titus also opened a store there in 1868.

"His stock consisted of whiskey and family supplies, though commonly short of all save the first-named article, of which he was careful to keep a full store.'"

An editorial in the Star-Advocate of January 14, 1976, remarked: "He gave employment to many here in clearing land and laying out portions of Titusville.

"He was a lover of beauty and had planted many shade trees we enjoy today, as well as hibiscus and other plants.

"How many other people have done as much for Titusville--or for other cities"?

In its Sept. 24, 1980 edition, the Star-Advocate reported:

"Titus built a sawmill and then constructed a family home of red

cedar, which burned a short time later. He operated a general store; established a mule team to connect Titusville with the St. Johns River Steamer at Enterprise (north shore of Lake Monroe opposite Sanford); established a mail route on horseback between the two points; established a sailboat mail route between Daytona Beach and Jupiter; invented a machine to make roof shingles, fancy canes, cups and saucers and napkin rings."

In its 75th anniversary edition, the Titusville Star-Advocate had several vignettes about Titus and his town. They are as follows:

1. "In its first issue, one of the advertisers was Henry T. Titus, liquor dealer."

2. "Hogs often sought shelter under the old Titus House, one of the first hotels built here, while cows usually spent the nights in the main street of the village.' Col. Titus, owner of the hotel, complained about this practice."

3. "Our enterprising neighbor, Col. Titus, is improving the surroundings of the Titus House, preparatory to receiving winter guests."

4. "In its earlier days, Titusville was quite lawless with drunks from rotten liquor. Mosquitoes were so thick, a pint cup swung through the air would garner a quart of mosquitoes."

(Note: Georgiana Kjerulff, in her "Tales of Old Brevard," gives credit to a John O. Breckenridge, Vice President of the Confederacy, for the mosquito quote. It was allegedly made while Colonel John Taylor Wood was escorting him during Breckenridge's flight to freedom.

(Breckenridge also supposedly said: "I never saw such poor people. The Crackers barely had rags to cover them. This is awful country."

(There is no evidence that the above-named Breckenridge was ever Vice President of the Confederacy. A John Cabel Breckenridge was Vice President of the United States under Buchanan. Later, he was a Confederate general and was also Secretary of War for the southern cause (1865) and he, too, took flight to avoid capture by Federal forces. She may be referring to this Breckenridge.)

5. "Henry T. Titus was the first settler here coming in 1870 from New York state with his family. He opened roads and was responsible for many improvements which helped develop this section. The town acquired its name from him."

6. "Titusville, originally called Sand Point, was used during the Civil War as a landing point for blockade-runners."

7. "The first settlers, led by Henry T. Titus, came to Sand Point immediately after the Civil War."

8. "1870--Henry T. Titus, founder of Titusville, was forced to land here after being shipwrecked, thus founding

the town."

9. "Between 1870 and 1875, two hotels had been erected, one of which was owned by Henry Titus. The Titus House, as it was called then, became the hub of all social life in the town. (Two small wings of the present Dixie Hotel are said to have been part of the old Titus House, one of the first hotels built here. It was operated by Col. Titus.)"

10. "On Jan. 5, 1880, the Board arranged to rent (the) church from Colonel H. T. Titus for \$25.00 a year...on Jan. 6, rented rooms for \$10.00 per month from Colonel H. T. Titus. Rooms to be used as offices for Sheriff and Clerk."

11. "A complaint against persons who had deliberately set fire in Titusville was registered through the Florida Star in the issue of December 8, 1880. In concluding his communication, Henry T. Titus said: 'Is there no manhood left in the people and no interest left for the future property of this town? If there is, investigate the recent fire and bring the guilty to condign punishment.'"

12. "The first Court House at Titusville was built in 1882."

In a letter to the Florida Star, Titus berated the action of the County Assessor. He said:

"The unnecessary excitement over the assessment being made by the County Assessor is, at this time prematurely uncalled for. When that assessment is made the County Commissioners have the power to equalize all the acts of the Assessor under law. If justice cannot be obtained through this channel, the people have the unqualified right as freeman to apply to the Judge of this Circuit for a writ of Certiorari, to test the validity of any illegal or unjust assessment; which we stand ready to do. Every good citizen must have a deep interest in the welfare of his county. Under no circumstances do we intend to be run by a one man power, who in his official position, through ignorance or prejudice, uses his power to grind the people through an unlawful and unjust assessment of taxes. The constitution of this State defines the right of every citizen against an oppression. If justice cannot be obtained in Brevard county, we can seek it beyond her borders."

In the Weekly Floridian, August 10, 1875, the following:

"Cedar Keys Journal has a petition addressed to Gov. Stearns, signed by 37 citizens of Titusville, Volusia County, asking removal of H. T. Titus as Justice of the Peace."

"The petition states that Justice Titus refused to issue a warrant for the arrest of J.M. Hopkins, charged with assault and battery, on the grounds that he had no constable and had no authority to appoint one."

The Tallahassee Sentinel, Feb. 19, 1876: "H. T. Titus is listed as a notary public for Volusia County in the list of state officers."

In notes copied from G.B. Christian's, "My Lost Millions," the following:

"General (sic) Titus of Titusville, founder of the settlement,

had been Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, hence the title. In early life he was a soldier of fortune and his adventurous career included participation in Walker's Nicaragua expedition. In this venture Generals Walker and Titus disagreed and Titus narrowly escaped execution. They were never reconciled. Meeting later by chance at the Southern Hotel in New York, there was an immediate revolver duel at short range in which Titus received bullets which were never removed. With his uncle, Christian called on Titus to learn that muscular rheumatism forced him to live here. Titus was a man of wonderful proportions and splended appearances. As he told of his escapades his dark eyes flashed, and this with his choice selection of vituperative adjectives showed what manner of man he must have been. The natives whispered that the General's daily habit was to sit on his verandah with a loaded rifle across his knees awaiting one or more of his local enemies carelessly to come within range of his gun. We found him a fine gentleman, however, interesting and hospitable and, moreover, the brand of his liquor drove away the remembrance of our long discredited supply.

"A little old barge-like boat driven by a steam wheel, the steam furnished by a saw mill boiler chained down to the deck, agreed to take Christian's party from Mellonville to Salt Lake up the St. Johns. The fall from Salt Lake to the Indian River was but eleven feet, west from Titusville. To reach this lake the steamer passed through a winding branch called Snake Creek. No end of flamingoes and sand hill cranes abounded in this swamp. Two mules and a spring wagon were driven out into the water alongside the steamer for the convenience of the passengers in disembarking. By this, one of General Titus' sons took passengers to Titusville. A larger wagon brought the freight."

On file at FHS(?) Library, a letter from Joshua C. Chase to Watt Marchman, April 17, 1942:

"The writer is under the impression that Colonel H. T. Titus was still living when he (writer) reached Sanford early in the spring of 1884. At that time he (Titus) was crippled, and navigated in a wheelchair. In that condition he was just as ready to fight a duel, or otherwise as at any time during his life.

"At the close of the War Between the States there was a great deal of smuggling going on, that was finally traced to a gang that operated in Titusville. The writer's cousin named Captain Clark Dutch, served with the U.S. Navy during the war, and at its close enrolled in the Secret Service. He was assigned the job of ferretting out the smugglers and visited Titusville.

"In some manner Titus learned of his arrival, and notified people that it was the intention to shoot him on sight. They met in a saloon, and my cousin was fortunate enough to grab and harpoon Titus with a pair of granes, which brought him to the floor where he was overpowered and taken by my cousin to St. Augustine, which was then the headquarters for the U.S. Marshal and U.S. Court.

"A strong friendship sprang up between Titus and Dutch, which continued as long as they both lived--they carried on quite a correspondence."

(Note: The Secret Service reports that it finds no record of an

agent named Clark Dutch in its files; consequently, no court action by one of its agents was found.)

In its Nov. 28, 1879, edition, the Star-Advocate's staff writer, Betty Morris, said:

"St. Gabriel's Episcopal Church...is an architectural charm, and it's the oldest church in Titusville still in continuous use. Only the old La Grange Church (site of the Titus plot), no longer active, is older.

"St. Gabriel's was built after the widow of Henry Titus, Mary, deeded the property to the church in 1886."

(Note: Another source states that the property was donated on October 12, 1896; however, the 1886 date is probably correct.)

In 1883, the first Negro school was built and had six pupils. The school was later moved (1886) to land donated by Mrs. Mary Titus.

In the June 29, 1881 edition of the Jacksonville Florida Dispatch, a critic who used the nom de plume "Will-'o-the-Wisp" said: "I find (Titusville)...a dreary waste of white sand. I felt when I first beheld it certainly I had come to the poorest place on earth."

Titus, in the Dispatch's July 10th edition, had roared back:

"Some unknown correspondent, who sails under the name of 'Will-'o-the-Wisp,' giving a graphic account of this section--more particularly that of Titusville. The immaculate conception of his audacity and self-esteem so strong on the Baron Munchausen order, has caused no little comment and surprise in the friends of the Dispatch Line at its publication in your valuable journal.

"This Knight of the Quill, 'Will-'o-the-Wisp,' as he doubtless sits on the sand hill of Cape Malabar in his vivid imagination of the surroundings, has caused his imbecile nature to soar into 'poetical regions' to find material in order to abuse and vilify his neighbors. If the old lady from the West, instead of building a sanitarium (sic) on Merritt's Island for the invalid, would erect a house for the reception and education of all such liars and itinerant quill drivers and provide a 'wet nurse' to keep them out of mischief, she would receive the hearty thanks of every good citizen on the Indian River.

"Titusville is the county seat of Brevard, and is the grand center of all trade, and will so continue to be so. No slanderous article from any irresponsible person will change or alter its destiny. Her motto is 'to live and let live.' We know no section. Indian River is our home, and for its welfare every good citizen is interested."

In its August 2, 1881, edition, the Weekly Floridian wrote:

"Mr. Henry T. Titus writes to the Titusville Star 'That the Enterprise and Titusville Railroad is a fixed fact, and that the road will be completed by December 31st, 1881, and that the Coast Canal Co. will commence operations at once, and pushes the work to completion with the greatest energy. So put your houses in order, your transit will soon be perfected and our Indian River country will be a continuous city from Titusville to Eau Gallia.'"

The Dispatch ran a follow-up to the "Will-'o-the-Wisp" story on August 3rd, and one by the "Will-'o-the-Wisp," writer in its August 10th edition. The paper rebutted Titus' article.

Unfortunately, Titus did not get a chance to counter it, having

died on August 7th.

Titus, knowing he was in poor health, had already written his will. Dated July 2, 1880, it was as follows:

"I, Henry T. Titus, as life is uncertain and I wish to provide for my wife and children, in case of my death, be it known to all it may concern, that all property whether it being real estate or personal, I do hereby bequeath to my wife, Mary E. Titus, for her benefit as long as she shall live. She to have free management of the same and in case of her death it shall be equally divided between my children in accordance with law, etc. /s/ Henry T. Titus."

The will was witnessed by Abraham Parkinson and Mary Parkinson. The Florida Star, August 10, 1881:

"Titusville has lost an energetic citizen in the death of Col. H. T. Titus.

"Died at his residency in this place on Sunday morning August 7th, Col. Henry T. Titus after a prolonged illness, aged 66 years."

(Note: The age cited would have Titus born in the year 1815, the year Hanna supports. Yet, this conflicts with that entered upon his gravestone.)

The Weekly Floridian, August 16, 1881:

"A private letter received here yesterday, says the Union of Saturday, addressed to General Edward Hopkins, from Titusville, announced the death of Col. Henry T. Titus, at his home in that village, on Sunday last, the 7th instant. There are few men more widely known in this State than was the deceased gentlemen. Although for the past few years he has suffered much from rheumatism, from the effects of which he was physically crippled, he nevertheless succeeded in accumulating a large property. At the time of his death he was 'Underwriters' agent on the Southern coast of Florida."

The death of Titus was widely reported in newspapers across the country. Most replicated accounts of his life as first published; however, others were objective in their history of him.

A few were not so kind, but then men who have been widely reported upon have had their attractors and detractors.

Mary Evelina, his wife, outlived him by nearly 30 years. She died at her son's (Theodore) residence at Thomasville, Georgia, in November, 1911. She is buried at the Evergreen Cemetery, Jacksonville, Florida, alongside her father.

Although gone these many years, Henry Theodore Titus must relish in all his glory that his city, "The Gateway to the Cape," is the center of his country's space program; that with each launch, he is with them in the shuttle when its giant engines belch forth fire and steam, shaking the very earth which covers his mortal bones.

Yes, he's there with them as they hurtle into space in a machine that in the furthest reach of his imagination he could not ever have conceived.

He's with them because he knows that those astronauts are not risking their lives just because its their "job." He's there because he knows that they, too, are just like himself, willing to risk life and limb to the fullest to pursue adventure, fame, and fortune.

(Wow! Imagine his thoughts when he sees women doing the same job

as the men.)

There's no doubt that Titus is there, pushing to the end of the envelope. He's there because he, just as these new Ajaxes, wants to see the elephant.

Many things have been said of and about Titus, some good, some bad. But, no matter what was said, Henry Theodore Titus was, above all, one thing: a man's man; a man who lived the life of adventure; a man who believed in himself; a man who was not afraid of what others said or did.

For being the man he was, he should (will) always live in the annals of history for his actions.

Even if he were not remembered by historians, there is no doubt that he was part-and-parcel of his--our--country's expansion, of its trials and tribulations as it merged into the greatest nation on this earth.

Regardless of how he was perceived during his life, or how historians may now write of him, he has one accomplishment which no one can deny. He has what was once a village, then a town, but what is now a great city that bears his name: Titusville!

In order to eliminate extensive page listing, the protagonist of this biography, Henry Theodore Titus, will not be an indexed name, per se, as it appears, in one way or another, on nearly every page.

Usually, he is identified by only his last name. He is also reidentified as "Henry or Henry Theodore Titus," as well as by the name "Harry." The latter will be indexed.

There are other Tituses, however, (son "Henry," as an example) and these will be indexed.

Many other individuals have names repeated throughout and, in those cases, they will be indexed under their full name or title, without use of subtitles.

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HENRY THEODORE TITUS

EPISTLE OF PAUL TO TITUS

In Chapter 3, Verse 8, Paul said to Titus, "We should be made heirs..."

In Chapter 3, Verse 9, he admonished Titus to "Avoid foolish questions and genealogies..."