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THE
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

NOTES

The annual meeting of the Society. will be held in Tallahassee November 13th at 10 A. M., in auditorium of the new County Court House, during the Centennial Celebration of the location of the capital at Tallahassee. Due notice will be sent out by the Secretary.

The citizens of Tallahassee have honored the Society by featuring our meeting on the program of the Celebration and in securing a meeting place. Let us show our appreciation by attending the meeting and the Celebration 100% strong.

There have been a number of very valuable additions to our membership since our last issue due to the good work of some of our members. If we would make an effort to get a new name to fill in the blank application in the back of this number our membership would be doubled in a short time. It can be done if the effort is made.

Contributions of articles of historical interest from members for the Quarterly will be appreciated.

COLONIAL FLORIDA

By LOUIS J. MENDELIS
Plains, Pennsylvania

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The extent of territory and the duration of time covered by a subject so broad as COLONIAL FLORIDA make an introductory note necessary. The name Florida once covered all the territory from the end of the Peninsula to Labrador. In Colonial times, before James Moore's destructive expedition, the name was confined to the present States of Florida and Georgia. Not until 1821 did the State acquire its present boundaries.

The Colonial history of Florida may be divided into four periods :

I 1513-1565, the period of Beginnings.

II 1565-1763, the period of first Spanish administration.

III 1763-1783, the period of English domination.

IV 1783-1821, the period of second Spanish occupation.

To trace the history of three hundred years within the narrow limits of three thousand words - ten words for each year - is no trivial task. Such small compass invites no adequate treatment of any single period, much less of four periods. Considering the vast possibilities of the subject, I thought it best to confine my account mainly to the colonial history of the territory now called Florida, over which five flags have flown successively, the Spanish, the French, the English, the Confederate, and the Star Spangled Banner. I shall touch only its most important events, and mention only its most interesting characters.

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The sixteenth century was a century of discovery and exploration. In discovery, in adventure, and in colonization, it was Spain that led the way. Her daring mariners, lured by the lust for gold, pushed their prows into uncharted seas, and her gallant cavaliers and missionaries, fired by religious zeal, penetrated into strange wildernesses where no white man's foot had ever trodden. Long before the ice-crusting pines of Plymouth heard the rugged psalmody of the Puritan, the sandalled foot of the Franciscan friar trod the solitudes and shadowy wilds of Florida.

Florida, a land of perpetual summer, began its historical existence wrapped in romance and adventure. Ponce de Leon, a bold Spanish mariner, came upon it in 1513, while he was searching for a fabulous Fountain of Perpetual Youth. Finding the fields covered with flowers, Ponce de Leon believed himself transported to an enchanted land. The whole country decked in the fresh bloom of spring charmed his senses. The trees, trellised with vines, gay with blossoms, and fragrant with delicious odors, first seen on Pascua Florida, or Easter Sunday, led him to call the country Florida. Though Ponce de Leon failed in his romantic quest, he gave us Florida, a name which, unwittingly, perpetuates his own.

The first attempt to plant a colony in Florida was undoubtedly that of Ponce de Leon himself in 1521. But the natives, hitherto friendly to Spaniards, quite naturally, resented their attempt at conquest and bravely re-

sisted de Leon. His expedition ended disastrously. An arrow wound forced him to retire to Cuba, where he died, leaving the colony unfounded and the Indians unconverted.

For fifty years, following its discovery, the history of Florida is studded with names of explorers, conquerors, and colonizers. Diego Miruelo (1516), De Ayllon (1520), Pedro de Quexos (1523), Panfilo de Narvaez (1527), Ferdinando de Soto (1539), and Don Tristan de Luna (1559) were but a few of the brave Spaniards who tried to plant colonies and to convert the savage Indians. All alike met with failure, disappointment and death, but not before their explorations had widened the geographical knowledge of interior Florida.

The record of the Spanish attempts to conquer and colonize Florida during this period tells a sad story of dishonesty and treachery. Very often the Spaniards betrayed the trust of the ignorant savages, and more than once they repaid their kindness and confidence with cruelty and deceit. Even De Soto, the most brilliant cavalier of that brilliant time, in spite of his great achievements, deserves censure for the cruelty with which he treated the natives.

Fairbanks in his HISTORY OF FLORIDA tells us that until 1562, the Spanish cavaliers, with the battle-cry of St. Iago, carried slaughter and devastation in their march through the wilds of Florida. Intoxicated by a desire for the gold and silver of Peru, they saw in Florida a land so devoid of wealth, so utterly unsuited for colonization, that all further attempts to settle it were regarded as visionary. The sad fate of Narvaez and De Soto, who found only graves in the wilds of Florida, added to the gloomy outlook, so that for a time all exploration of the interior of the Peninsula had ceased. The various expeditions had borne no fruits, no permanent settlements had been established, and Spain had not yet gained a foothold.

In 1562, however, an entirely different class of

people appeared upon the fields of the Floridian Peninsula, a class whose main object was not conquest but colonization and settlement. These were the French Huguenots, religious exiles, under the leadership of the courageous Jean Ribault. Having been successful in winning and retaining the affection of the savages, these Frenchmen founded a short-lived colony at Port Royal. The customary difficulties were encountered. Although the land was fertile enough, none were willing to cultivate it. Indolence brought on starvation, and mutiny followed. Two years later, Rene de Laudonniere, also a Huguenot, sent out by Admiral de Coligny, followed Ribault, and in 1564 established a colony at Fort Caroline on the St. Johns. But this colony fared no better, and the colonists were near starvation when Menendez appeared upon the scene in 1565.

Both attempts of the French to establish a colony ended tragically. The arrival of Menendez sealed the fate of the colonies. The failure of a surprise attack upon his men provoked him to a merciless slaughter of the French colonists. The brilliant pages of Parkman's *THE PIONEERS OF FRANCE* recount at length the struggles between the colonists of Ribault and Menendez. No historian of Colonial Florida fails to mention the tragic fate of the French or the unpardonable cruelty of Menendez.

The hanging of Ribault's men by this explorer casts a black stain on an otherwise noble character. But we must bear in mind that he lived in the sixteenth century, a century of religious intolerance and bigotry. The sinister revenge of Dominic de Gourgues, a self-constituted champion of his countrymen's wrongs, in 1568, offers a parallel of cruelty and vindictiveness no less sad. His retaliatory act was not less bloody and cruel than the deed of Menendez.

With the landing of Menendez in 1565 and the founding of St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, begins the period of the first Spanish administration, a

period extending over almost two centuries. The history of St. Augustine now becomes the history of Florida. The birth of St. Augustine, a quaint, romantic, straggling, and, as Sidney Lanier puts it, "dear and clearer growing" city, was signalized by the firing of cannon, by the sounding of trumpets, and the display of banners. The "Te Deum Laudamus" was chanted, while Adelantado and all his company kneeling kissed the crucifix in the presence of assembled Indians who gazed at them in solemn wonder.

The site of St. Augustine was an Indian village, and the colony consisted of but 600 Spaniards. The chronicle of its early history reveals nothing unique. Low provisions, wars with Indians, mutinies within the garrison itself, desertions through disaffection caused by increasing distress - all these constitute a part of its early history. Had Menendez been a man of less perseverance, energy, and fortitude, the colony would probably have shared the same fate as its predecessors. Its success was due mainly to the' resolute leadership of its courageous governor.

The first Spanish administration of Florida is of religious rather than political importance. A missionary spirit underlay all attempts to colonize the Peninsula. Fairbanks, emphasizes this fact by saying that Menendez did all in his power to advance the cause of religion. Secular and regular priests accompanied every expedition. As soon as St. Augustine was established, zealous Franciscans began their toils among the savages. Theirs was the first church, theirs the first school on the continent. At first their efforts met with but feeble results. They found the Indians stubborn and unresponsive, Nevertheless, within eighteen months from the landing of Menendez, the entire coast from Cape Florida to St. Helena had been explored and forts had been built at St. Augustine, San Mateo, Avista Guale, and St. Helena. Block-houses were erected at Tequesta, Carlos, Tocobayo and Coava, and chapels dotted the land.

Some thirty years later, in 1592, twelve Franciscans landed in Florida, and, in less than two years, established twenty missionary houses. But in 1598 occurred the massacre of the saintly sons of St. Francis. One of the friars reproached a dissolute son of the Indian chief of Guale for his licentiousness. The revengeful young savage incited a general conspiracy, which was known as the Yamasee uprising. The heroic death of Fathers Corpa and Rodriguez at this time offer examples of Christian fortitude equalled only by the martyrs of pagan Rome. The Indian marauders went up and down the coast and almost exterminated the missionaries. The Spanish governor, Canco, however, to avenge the death of the fathers, made inroads into the country, slew the Indians and burned their villages and granaries.

The fate of the martyred priests served only to stimulate the missionary zeal of the Franciscans ; for fourteen years later we find in Florida thirty-two sons of St. Francis, headed by Geronimo de Ore, recently arrived from St. Helena. The fathers began their pious labors at once. An Indian catechism had already been written and soon the missionaries began to see some fruits from their blood and toil. Twenty missions were established in the principal Indian villages and the friars preached to the natives with great success.

The opening of the seventeenth century found no European colony on the Atlantic coast except St. Augustine. Although the recipient of government aid, its progress and settlement had been extremely slow. By 1647 the number of families or householders of the town had reached three hundred. It boasted, however, a hall of justice, a parish church with a full staff of ecclesiastics, and a monastery with fifty Franciscans. Shea estimates that at this time there were over 30,000 converted Indians.

The settlement of Carolina by the English in 1663 and the moving of certain colonists to Port Royal caused the colonies to fall into hostilities, which lasted for a

century. The Spanish settlements in Florida at this time suffered disturbances from the buccaneers and free rovers that filled the seas. Only two years after the founding of Carolina, John Davis, a famous pirate, sailed into the harbor of St. Augustine and pillaged the town.

The political history of Florida during the whole seventeenth century is a record of feeble and spasmodic efforts at colonization. Until 1692 the Spaniards had been content to fortify St. Augustine and carry on the work of the missions among the Indians. The success of La Salle, however, in exploring the Mississippi River roused the Spanish government to new energy. The spirit of enterprise and discovery that had practically died out came to life again. The re-awakening led to the colonization of the western coast of Florida, and in 1696, the Spanish colony of Pensacola was planted. This is the second oldest colony in the State.

The new town passed through numerous vicissitudes. The French, under De Bienville, by a skillful stratagem, captured the fort and destroyed everything in 1719. Three-years later, the Spaniards rebuilt it on Santa Rosa Island, but in 1754 it was swept away by a hurricane. Many inhabitants lost their lives; the few survivors settled on the northern shore, the site of the present city.

Petty changes in government, accompanied by little real progress, and difficulties between the neighboring provinces of Florida and Carolina characterize the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Governor Moore's destructive expedition opens the century and furnishes an example of cruelty and wanton destruction hardly paralleled in history. Entire tribes of Indians were completely annihilated. For two years men were tortured, mutilated, or burned at the stake. Though governor of a Christian colony, Moore made no distinction between priest, colonist, or Indian. Besides horribly butchering seven Franciscans, he destroyed the humble chapels, where the sandalled fathers were wont to gather their dusky flocks for instruction in the knowledge of the true

God. He snatched the light of faith from the natives and pulled down their altars, thus demolishing in less than a decade the work of more than a century. The ruins of the edifices can still be seen along the old Spanish highways from St. Augustine to Pensacola.

After Moore's depredatory campaign there was question of abandoning the colony altogether. A constant source of worry to the monarch and an expense to his treasury, it seemed an undesirable possession. He retained it, however, because of its strategic position - it was an outpost protecting Cuba, Santa Domingo, and Puerto Rico - and because it had furnished thousands of converts to the Catholic Church.

Georgia was founded in 1732. Although it formed a barrier between the Indians and Spaniards of Florida and the colonists of Carolina, it became a source of constant friction between the English and the Spanish settlements. A growing feeling of enmity incited Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia to attempt the capture of St. Augustine in 1740, but after months of fruitless battering, the Georgians finally gave up the attempt and returned home. At this late date, the population numbered only 2,143.

The Spanish labors of more than two centuries and a half produced only two small settlements of St. Augustine and Pensacola, and a few Indian missions in the interior of the country. The province was still almost all wilderness and the inhabitants, at the time of its cession to Great Britain, did not exceed six thousand. The Spanish system of colonial government advanced none of the material interests of the country. The government never considered the inhabitants capable of self government. Around the garrisoned posts there gathered a crowd of military and civil parasites, dependents who drew fat salaries for petty official positions. The agricultural population, the backbone of the country, was exceedingly small, as the inroads of the English and the repeated outbreaks of the Indians discouraged all attempts at culti-

vating the soil. St. Augustine remained little more than a garrison town until Florida, by the Treaty of Paris, was ceded to England in 1763.

Under English rule, which lasted nearly twenty years, Florida, infused with a more vigorous life, prospered rapidly. Immigration was invited and liberal grants of land were made to the soldiers of the late wars upon condition of settlement and quit rents after ten years. Literature descriptive of the colony was distributed; the production of indigo was stimulated by means of bounties ; the public roads were so well constructed that they remain to the present day the best roads in the State, still known as the "King's Roads." Commerce developed, and, for the first time, something like a representative government was established. Every effort was made to develop the country, and, consequently, unexampled prosperity attended Great Britain's attempt at colonization. Indeed, for the first time in over two centuries, the colony became self-supporting. But these material gains were more than offset by the irreparable religious losses. While Spain had nourished the soul of Florida, England fed only her body.

At the time of the English occupation, Colonial Florida, embracing the coast of Alabama, Mississippi, and a part of Louisiana, was divided into East and West Florida. The former comprised the territory of the present State, with St. Augustine as its capital. The latter embraced roughly what is now Louisiana and portions of neighboring States, with Pensacola as its capital. General James Grant was the first English governor of East Florida.

Many new settlements were made by the English at this time. Beresford, Spring Garden, Rollestown, and Mosquito belong to this period of colonization. Forty families from Bermuda went to Mosquito to engage in shipbuilding. Its fine groves of live oak had attracted the attention of the British government, and the abundant supply of ship timber was considered one of the most

valuable assets of the acquisition of Florida. Sir William Duncan and Dr. Turnbull, with 1,500 Minorcans, founded New Smyrna. In the last three years of English occupation the government spent \$580,000 on the two provinces.

Florida was still a part of the British kingdom when the American Revolution was fought, but it took little or no part in the conflict. The transfer to Great Britain had been too recent for the growth of disaffection, although some of the inhabitants sympathized with the colonists. The territory was used largely as a refuge for loyalists who fled from other States. The news of adoption of the Declaration of Independence was so distasteful to the English loyalists of St. Augustine that they burned Adams and Hancock in effigy on the Plaza. An invasion of Florida was also contemplated at this time by the patriots of Georgia, but it was never effected. If it had been, it would probably have met with entire success, as the English forces were weak in numbers and divided in council.

After the close of the American Revolution, Great Britain, deprived of the other American colonies, found Florida of little importance, and, by the Paris treaty of 1783, formally receded it to Spain. The evacuation was to take place three months after the ratification of the treaty. The unfortunate- inhabitants, placed in a wretched predicament, suffered intensely. The fine estates of the thrifty Englishmen mouldered into decay. Only a few settlers had come from Spain, and the activities of the State were mainly confined to trading with the Indians.

The period of the second Spanish occupation of Florida (1783-1821) is of no great interest. A series of incursions of the United States troops ruined the agricultural interests of the country which had begun to revive. The State itself was not at this time a pleasant place of residence. Indian warfare and the irregular conflicts of adventuring parties with ill-advised republican

frontiersmen kept the inhabitants in a state of anxiety. For St. Augustine alone, these thirty-seven years were comparatively peaceful. Its inhabitants, though poor, were generally light-hearted. They loved music and dances ; they celebrated the carnival each year with masking and frolic.

July 10th, 1821, saw the formal ratification of the treaty which ceded Florida to the United States. On that day the guns of the forts thundered a departing salute to the Spanish flag, as the garrison marched out over the drawbridge. The same guns roared forth a rousing welcome to the Stars and Stripes now waving triumphantly over the colony. Florida had at last been made a territory of the Union. Its birth as a territory of the United States closes the history of its colonial period, and opens a new and more glorious era in the life of the State.

FLORIDA'S GREAT SEAL Its Historical Inaccuracies

By T. FREDERICK DAVIS

(Author of History of Jacksonville, etc.)

Since Florida became a possession of the United States there have been in use at different times at least four official seals - two in the Territorial days and two after it became a State.

The first State coat-of-arms was authorized by the Legislature in 1847. The circumstances surrounding the selection of the design are not known, but the idea evidently was to display the extensive coast line of the State and the waterways within its bounds.



Seal of 1847

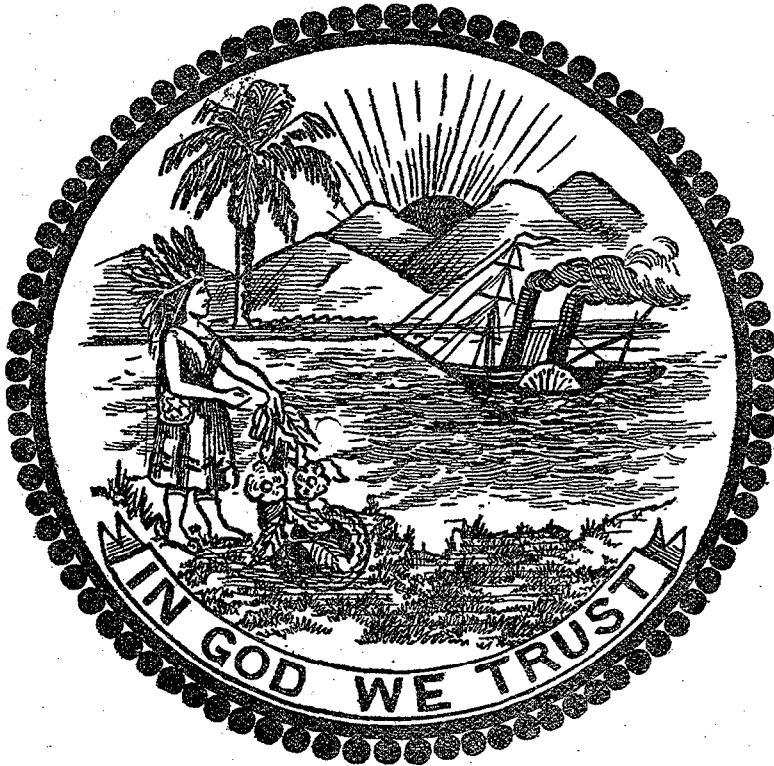
The design had much to commend it. It was not overburdened with detail ; the impress was plain ; and in the absence of lettering even a school child recognized it at once as the geographical outline of Florida. This was the official seal of the State until 1868, when it was discarded by a Legislature composed principally of people who had not even a bona fide residence here. Therefore it is not surprising that the seal they provided

in its place, our present seal, should have historical inaccuracies, one of which is positively ridiculous.

SEAL OF 1868

On August 6, 1868, the Florida Legislature passed a resolution that abolished the old State seal and provided for a new one as follows:

“The size of an American silver dollar, having in the center thereof a view of the sun’s rays, over a highland, in the distance a cocoa tree, a steamboat on water, and an Indian female scattering flowers in the foreground.”



Present Seal of Florida

The actual designer of the seal is unknown, but an analysis of his product makes it plain that he had no more ability in interpreting the provisions of the resolution than the Legislature had in furnishing him historical material to work on.

THE MOUNTAIN PEAKS

The view is that of a steamboat coming in from the east, with a series of peaks in the distance. The water is plainly a river, with the highland on the north side, a circumstance favorable to the St. Johns River and Fort George Island, where the highest natural elevation on the Atlantic coast south of the New Jersey highlands exists - Mount Cornelia. But there are no mountain peaks on Fort George Island like those in the seal, nor are there any in Florida.

YO-HO-E-HE INSTEAD OF FLOWERS

Steamboats did not enter Florida's waters until after it became an American possession. The Seminoles never were friendly to the white Americans and they were especially hostile at that time (about 1830) when the first steamboat came this way. They had not forgotten the raid of Andrew Jackson upon them in West Florida just a few years before, at which time they were severely punished and their villages destroyed ; and they were even now being driven southward farther and farther from their haunts and homes. Yet the Florida seal shows an Indian of that period welcoming the arrival of the steamboat, signifying the progress of the white man, in the most sentimental fashion. An Indian's nature did not change over night and we may rest assured that the Florida Indians did not celebrate the event by scattering flowers, but, instead, found it difficult to suppress the "Yo-ho-e-he," the war whoop of the Seminoles.

AN UNCLASSIFIED SAVAGE

The Seminole Indians did not wear the head-dress illustrated in our seal. It was characteristic of tribes farther north and those of the West, and it was an insignia of distinction for the head-men and warriors exclusively. Their women did not wear it.

When the 1868 artist put the crown of eagles' feathers on his Indian female he presented Florida with an unclassified savage having the head of a warrior and the body of a squaw.

Florida is entitled to a new coat-of-arms.

FLORIDA AGAINST GEORGIA

A Story of the Boundary Dispute

By JUDGE FRED. CUBBERLY

It has been said that boundary line disputes between individuals are the worst kind of quarrels, and often cause lifelong differences and even descend to heirs of original disputants. When sovereign states have boundary line questions to settle, the Supreme Court of the United States is the tribunal that settles the question, for it is in that Court alone that such questions may be litigated.

It is not generally known that for many years boundary line questions existed between Florida and Georgia. Before the creation of Florida as a State, this question had been a subject of negotiation between the State of Florida and the United States.

The year 1795 marks the beginning of this boundary line question, for in that year the treaty of San Lorenzo was negotiated by Mr. Pinkney, our Minister to Spain, and the Duke of Alcadia representing the Crown of Spain. Subsequent to the Revolution of American Colonies, Spain acquired East and West Florida from Great Britain ; but the limits of the Florida provinces were not definitely located and Spain was claiming territory that was also claimed by Georgia.

By the Treaty of San Lorenzo the boundary between the United States and Spanish provinces was to be ascertained by a commission composed of two members, each Government selecting a Commissioner. Andrew Ellicott, a noted surveyor and engineer, a friend of Thomas Jefferson, was selected as the representative of the United States ; and Captain Esteven Minor was designated the Commissioner on the part of Spain.

The Treaty provided that the Commissioners should begin on the east bank of the Mississippi on the northern limit of the 31st parallel of latitude, and run thence east

to the Chattahoochee River, thence down the middle of that river to its junction with the Flint River, and from this point the line was to run to the head of the St. Marys River, thence down the St. Marys to the Atlantic Ocean.

The appointment of Ellicott as Commissioner and Thomas Freeman as surveyor to accompany him, was made in May, 1796; but the work was not completed until the year of 1800. It appears from the journal of Ellicott that he proceeded from Philadelphia to the Ohio and on down the Mississippi to a point below Natchez, where he was joined by the Spanish Commissioner. The Commissioners proceeded to locate the northmost limit of the 31st parallel of latitude and the line was carefully and accurately run east to the Chattahoochee. This task was done after many difficulties and in the face of apparent reluctance and many obstructive tactics on the part of the Spanish Commissioner.

Proceeding down the Chattahoochee to the mouth of the Flint preparations were made to run the line from that point to the St. Marys, but it was found that the country was in the possession of the Creek Indians, who refused to permit of further progress of the survey.

Ellicott and Minor then procured boats and began a long journey beset by many difficulties down the river to the Gulf and around the coast of Florida to the mouth of the St. Marys. It was while on this journey that a British man-of-war was found ashore on St. George's Island, and on board this ship was the notorious William Augustus Bowles, known as General Bowles, a native of Baltimore, and a Tory who had been with the British at Pensacola. Bowles had married a daughter of a Creek chief and because of his influence with the Indians had become obnoxious to the Spanish authorities. He was arrested and some years before Ellicott saw him on St. George's Island had been imprisoned in the Moro Castle in Havana. It had been reported by the Spanish authorities that Bowles had been hanged; but Bowles in-

formed Ellicott that the Spanish authorities had banished him to the Philippines, where after a short sojourn he had managed to escape and made his way back to Florida, intending to join the Creeks and again make war on both Spain and the United States.

Arriving at the St. Marys the Commissioners procured canoes and ascended the river to the neighborhood of the Okefenokee Swamp. They found several branches of the St. Marys and after some discussion finally agreed upon a point which should be the terminus of the line and here they erected a mound which is known as Ellicott's Mound. Having previously ascertained the latitude and longitude of the junction of the Chattahoochee and the Flint, the Commissioners now determined the latitude and longitude of Ellicott's Mound and calculated the course of a line to be run between the two points and stipulated that this line when run should be the boundary.

The Commissioners then went down the St. Marys and retired to the south end of Cumberland Island, where General Nathaniel Green, of Revolutionary War fame, resided in Castle William, where they spent some time in compiling their final report.

In a letter written from Cumberland Island, March 22nd, 1800, addressed to the Secretary of State, Mr. Ellicott mentions some of the difficulties that had confronted him during the progress of the survey. Among other things he says, "I am extremely anxious to have the report signed; for my want of faith is so great in all the officers of his Catholic Majesty that I suppose nothing done till it is finished" * * * "this expedition has taught me a useful lesson: I was always pleased with our Government : I now think it perfect; I can now see the difference between a government whose basis is the people and one supported by intrigue, duplicity and parade: In the former man feels his dignity ; he is open, candid and honest: But in the latter he becomes a jealous assassin."

It was not until after the cession of the Florida prov-

inces to the United States that any question arose as to the unmarked boundary between the Flint and the St. Marys. About the year 1822, the United States authorities began the survey of the public lands in the recently acquired Florida and it became necessary to determine by a line actually run and marked, the boundary line that was not run by Ellicott and Minor. A point was selected at Tallahassee through which point a line running due north and south known as the Tallahassee or principal meridian was established and through the same point a line due east and west known as the base line was established. This point, which is located near the County Jail in the City of Tallahassee, is the beginning point of all of the land surveys other than Spanish Grants in the State of Florida.

The Surveyor General of the United States in charge of the surveys found it necessary to have the boundary line between the mouth of the Flint and Ellicott's Mound marked so that the land surveys of Florida could be continued northward towards the State of Georgia and he caused a line to be run by a surveyor named McNeil and this line has been known as the "McNeil Line."

As early as 1819 the Georgia authorities had raised the question that Ellicott's Mound was not at the true head of the St. Marys River, and as it had been reported that the Federal authorities were about to run the line in accordance with the Ellicott report, the General Assembly of Georgia requested the Governor to appoint commissioners to proceed without delay to ascertain the true head of the St. Marys River and make a special report to the Governor, who was in turn, to communicate the same to the President of the United States, and the Governor was further ordered to order out a suitable detachment of militia to protect the commissioners in the performance of their duty. Governor Raburn of Georgia appointed Generals Floyd, Blackshear and Thompson to make this investigation. General Thompson afterwards

became a resident of Florida and was killed at Fort Ring by Osceola.

The General Assembly of Georgia became interested in the question of the true location of the head of the St. Marys, for the reason that Captain William Cone, who was a member of the Legislature of Georgia from Camden County, in the year 1817, claimed that Mr. Ellicott had made a mistake as to the true head of the St. Marys River.

It appears that Captain Cone had explored the country, he being a resident in that neighborhood, and his opinion was that the true head of the St. Marys River was twenty or thirty miles south or southwest of Ellicott's Mound.

The Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Georgia made an exploration of the country accompanied by Captain Cone and they also employed a surveyor by the name of McBride, who made extensive examination of the St. Marys and its numerous branches. McBride submitted a report containing an elaborate calculation of the volume of water discharged by each branch.

The Commissioners finally reported to the Governor that in their opinion Captain Cone was mistaken and that Ellicott was correct. Georgia in the meantime had employed J. C. Watson to survey, run and mark the line; but Watson's line ended considerably south of Ellicott's Mound ; but not as far south as some of the Georgians contended for. However, the Watson line was south of McBride's line. The State of Georgia claimed and laid out counties and surveyed its public lands to the Watson line.

In May, 1826, Congress passed an Act providing for running and marking the line dividing the State of Georgia from the territory of Florida and under the terms of this Act, President John Quincy Adams appointed as Commissioner to represent the United States, Thomas M. Randolph, former Governor of Virginia, and a son-in-law of Thomas Jefferson. And the State

of Georgia appointed as its Commissioner, Thomas Spaulding, of Darien, Georgia.

Mr. Randolph proceeded to Darien, Georgia, and entered into consultation with Mr. Spaulding, a party was organized and Mr. McBride was engaged as surveyor. The Commissioners proceeded to the St. Marys River and commenced the operation of running the boundary line by measuring one mile due north from Ellicott's Mound. The reason that the beginning was one mile north from Ellicott's Mound, was that Ellicott and Minor had agreed that if the line which was to be run from the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochee to Ellicott's Mound should terminate within one mile due north of Ellicott's Mound, that the line thus run should be the true boundary.

It appears that the plan of the Commissioners was to start at this point and run a random line through to the junction of the Flint and the Chattahoochee and then return marking the true line and allowing for the proper deflections. The survey was started on March 8th, 1827, and on April 7th the party reached the neighborhood of Jammonia Lake, north of Tallahassee. From the correspondence of Governor Randolph we find that he visited Tallahassee on April 7th, for the purpose of consulting the Surveyor General of Florida and also to see if he could find in that place a copy of Ellicott's Journal. It appears that all of the party except Randolph were Georgians and that the hardships incident to the survey were very trying to the distinguished Virginian.

In a postscript of his letter from Tallahassee addressed to the Secretary of War, he apologizes for his "slovenly handwriting," and refers to the fact that the Georgia Commissioner has a secretary attending him at five dollars per day. And with the further observation that "Every man of the party is a Georgian but myself, left to depend upon myself, alone, uninstructed, unaided, unprovided, obliged to act in contrariety to their leader upon important points, among men who join him in sup-

port of an opinion, daily almost, declared by him, that Georgia will be forever cramped in her growth and retarded in improvement, until she separates from the Union.”

When the Commissioners had approached to within a few miles of the junction of the rivers Flint and Chatahoochee, a dispatch was received by the Georgia Commissioner from the Governor of Georgia, wherein the Governor of Georgia recalled the assent of Georgia to the concurrent operation provided for by the Act of Congress relative to the Florida boundary and also declared that Georgia would require a more satisfactory demonstration and investigation of the source of the St. Marys.

The line thus far run by Spaulding and Randolph, of course, would not correspond with the lines run by McNeil and Watson; and lines being north of that run by McNeil, and it was apparent that the settlers along the southern boundary of Georgia were unduly agitated by the running of this experimental and random line.

However, the line was run back to the St. Marys. The Commission was dissolved and nothing definite was accomplished as the result of this effort to locate the boundary.

In 1830 the Governor of Georgia appointed a commission to investigate the St. Marys River question and in May and June of that year the Georgia Commissioners, Messrs. J. Crawford and J. Hamilton Couper examined the north, west and south prongs of St. Marys River. The Federal Government had been requested to take part in these proceedings, but the President replied to the invitation by stating that it was his intention to lay the subject before Congress at its next session.

The Georgia Commissioners decided that the true head or source of St. Marys River was Lake Randolph, usually known as Ocean Pond, near what is now known as Olustee. They examined all of the creeks, swamps and water courses in that neighborhood and finally decided on a point on the southern boundary of Lake

Randolph or Ocean Pond as the eastern extremity of the boundary line and ran a random line from this point to the Flint and Chattahoochee, and then came back and established the true line, which they finished on the 16th day of August.

It will be observed that if this contention had been allowed and the boundary line established in accordance with the Georgia Commissioners' survey that Georgia would have gained a considerable extent of territory. In fact, the Georgia Commissioners estimated that if the claim of Georgia should be sustained that it would take from Florida a triangular tract of land containing an area of 2,335 square miles or 1,507,200 acres of land.

It does not appear that the line run by Crawford and Couper was ever recognized by anyone in authority and certainly not by the United States.

In 1845 Florida was admitted into the Union as a State and soon afterwards efforts were made by the Governors of the two States to effect a settlement of the boundary without success.

In 1850 the State of Florida filed a bill of complaint in the Supreme Court of the United States against the State of Georgia for the purpose of procuring determination of the controversy.

The United States intervened in the suit in 1854. Some evidence was taken but the suit was never brought to a final hearing.

In 1857 the Governors of the two States entered into conference which resulted in an agreement by which Georgia relinquished her contention to have the eastern terminus of the line changed and it was agreed that the termini fixed by the Commissioners, Ellicott and Minor were adopted.

In 1857 both States passed Acts authorizing their respective Governors to appoint surveyors who were to jointly run out and mark distinctly a line between the two agreed points, which line was to be known as the settled boundary between the two States.

The Governor of Florida appointed B. F. Whitner, Jr., as the surveyor on the part of Florida, and J. J. Orr was appointed surveyor on the part of Georgia. The line was run by these two surveyors and it came out within the stipulated distance from Ellicott's Mound, in fact, less than twenty-five feet north of the Mound. The Orr and Whitney line was a little further north than the McNeil line, but was further south than the line agreed upon by Ellicott and Minor, which it will, be recollected, could run to a point at least one mile north of the Mound. The result of this survey being reported to the two States numerous resolutions were passed by the Legislatures and final resolutions passed in December 1866 by the Legislature of Georgia, recognized the fact that the Orr and Whitner line would not depart exceeding one-fourth of a mile from Ellicott's Mound, and referring also to the Acts of the Florida Legislature of February 8th, 1861, adopted the Orr and Whitner line as the permanent boundary line between the States of Georgia and Florida.

This agreement was recognized and confirmed by an Act of Congress, approved April 9th, 1872, which quieted the title so far as the United States was concerned to lands along the several boundary lines as run by Orr and Whitner and Watson so that the controversy which began in 1819 was ended in 1872 and a final definite line agreed upon by the two States, and the suit that was brought by the State of Florida against the State of Georgia was dismissed.

The question of land titles that were involved because of the boundary disputes were finally adjudicated by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Coffee vs. Groover* and decided by the Supreme Court of the United States October 17th, 1887, and reported in Volume 123 of the Reports of Supreme Court of the United States.

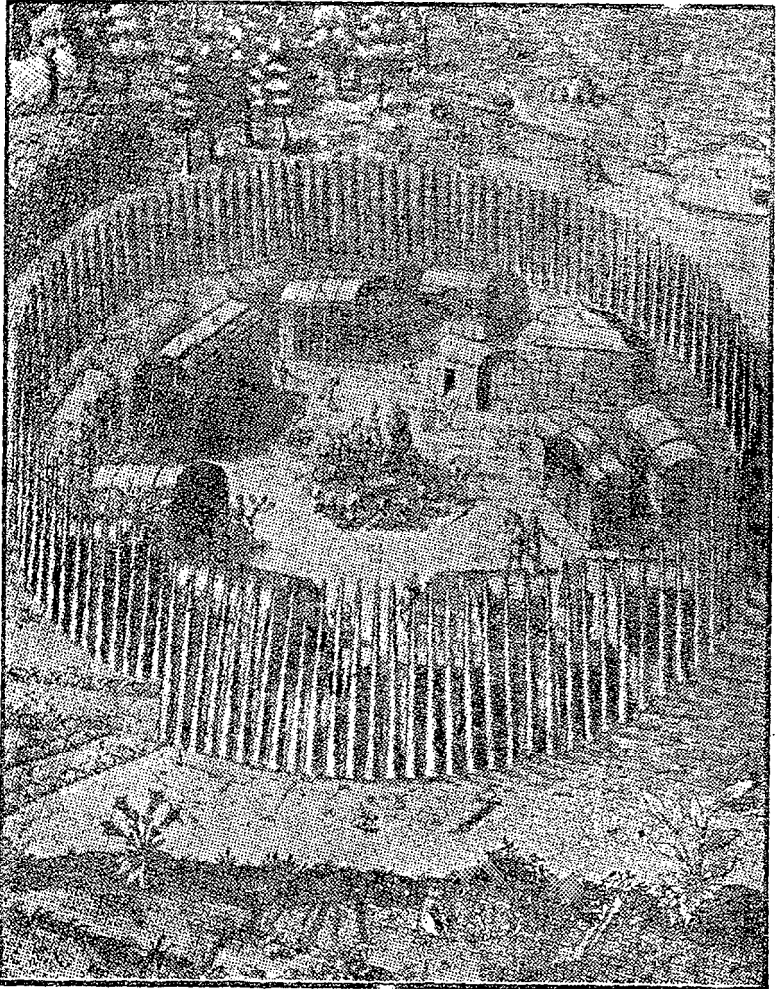
INDIAN RACES OF FLORIDA

By JUDGE BENJAMIN HARRISON

Ethnologists now accept the conclusion that the races who built the mounds were pressed to the southward by ruder invaders who came from the North and that the great battles of the conflict between the two were fought in Ohio where the remains of the fortifications erected for defense still remain. On this continent we have, on a smaller scale, a duplication of the struggle which ended in the overthrow of the Roman empire. The great body of these invaders were diverted towards Mexico, where the Toltec empire was overthrown by the Aztecs, soon to be conquered in their turn by the Spaniards under Cortez. But there was no wide difference between the culture of the invaders and the Mound Builders ; both were ignorant of the use of metals and both belonged to the Stone Age, although a people capable of such works as the defensive mounds must have been much more than rude hunters. The strategic points they selected are now the sites of our cities and showed ability of no mean order since they constituted successive lines of defense such as would now be adopted under like circumstances.

It must have been the descendants of these mound builders that De Soto found in the Southern States since they still occupied such artificial positions and were still building them. Thus we are to understand that the works in the Southern States are of a later date than those of the Middle West and we can gain some knowledge of the old conditions by studying those which attracted the attention of the white men on their arrival; In Florida we have from Garcilaso de la Vega a description of the Indian method of founding a town; they first collected a quantity of earth with which they formed a platform large enough to hold ten or twelve houses—sometimes fifteen or more. In these dwelt the chief, his family and the principal men. At the foot of this a

square was marked out sufficient to accommodate the inhabitants and within this the houses were built. Around the whole a palisade was often erected and the trunks of trees bound together with vines.



Fortified Village of Florida Indians

Sometimes there were walls of earth and ditches ; the palisades were too close to admit of the passage of a man's body but open for shooting arrows. Within were warehouses for the storage of provisions and the land outside was laid out in fields for the growing of crops. These towns were always bravely defended; despite their superiority of arms the Spaniards were roughly handled and little progress was made in the conquest of these peoples until our government undertook the task, although the Spaniards exterminated the Mexicans and Peruvians without much effort who were both more numerous and seemed to be more advanced in the arts and in the science of war.

The Spaniards often speak of Indian kings and nobles but they found nothing answering to these titles as used by us - usually the chief was taken from a certain family, but he was always chosen by election and the influence he exerted depended much more on his character than on his birth. The tribes were made up of clans but the communities thus formed were confederacies of independent communities. No government known to the Indians of our territory could enforce its decrees except by general consent; all land was in common and there was little personal property beyond the arms and clothing of a family that might not be called upon, on occasion, for the use of the whole community. The system of government was socialistic and communistic, regulated only by established customs and varying with the character of the chiefs in power at the moment. Each village was independent in very much the sense that our States are independent, with a common subjection in some respects to the council in which every village was represented. The township system in Massachusetts bore a very close likeness to that of the tribes holding the country when the white man came and the likeness is continued in our constitution today for the government of the nation. Thus the American began under a social-

istic conception which some of us would renew in many respects.

The Indians of our territory had no domestic animal except a dog which they had reclaimed and partly domesticated from the wolf of their forests, but on the Pacific coast they had tamed the turkey. For the summer they had booths of branches and leaves, caring little for the rain, but when the cold required it they built huts of wattled branches or other easily adapted materials which they strengthened with clay and grass mats; "daubed within and without with clay and the door is very little; they shut it by night and make fire within so that they are in it as warm as in a stove and so it continueth all night so that they need not clothes. Besides these they have others for summer and their kitchens near them where they bake their bread. And they have barbacoas where they keep their Maiz, which is a house set up on four stakes, boarded about like a chamber and the floor of it, is cane hurdles. * * * And about them they have many lofts wherein they lay up maiz and deer skins and mantles of the country which is like blankets; they make them of the inner bark of trees and of a nettle which, being beaten is like flax. The women cover themselves with these mantles. They put one on from the waist downward and another over the shoulder with the right arm out, like unto the Egyptians." So says the Gentleman of Elvas who passed with De Soto through the country.

The possession of Florida in our time was disputed by the French, the Spaniards and the English; even so when the white man came he found three distinct races struggling for it. The Muscogeese held Georgia and Alabama with their allies and kinsmen, the Apalachees holding western Florida and reaching down into what is now part of middle Florida; the Timuquanans who came from the East held Amelia Island which they called Guale, the Atlantic coast south to Cape Canaveral and the whole of Peninsular Florida down to Lake Okeechobee, where their boundaries met those of the Calus or

Carlos Indians whose villages kept the south and Gulf coast from Tampa to the keys with their main settlements on the Caloosahatchee river which keeps their name. These Calusans were Caribs who were the pirates and buccaneers of the islands when Columbus came.

We have given the description of the original Muscogees by the Gentelman of Elvas; as a companion picture here is the sketch of the Timuquanans by Laudonniere who saw them at the mouth of the St. Johns River. He says they had great skill in the manufacture and use of dyes which they obtained from vegetables. "The most of them have their bodies, arms and thighs painted with fair devices, the painting whereof can never be taken away because the same is pricked into the flesh * * * They exercise their young men to run well and they make a game among themselves which he winneth who has the longest breath. * * * They have their priests to whom they give great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers and callers upon devils * * * They eat all their meat broiled upon coals and dressed in the smoke which they call boucaned. * * * The agility of their women is so great that they can swim over the great rivers, bearing their children upon one of their arms."

Fontanedo says that the Apalachees lived in communal houses, some of these accommodating 500 persons, but each Timuquanan family occupied its separate dwelling which was thatched with palmetto leaves with walls of skins or mats of grass. From the Apalachees came the pearls De Soto noted among the Indians and these were taken from the oysters at the mouth of their river and passed as ornaments throughout the neighboring peoples.

The village of the Florida Indians consisted of a central council house, sometimes on an artificial mound; in this the warriors and chiefs met to debate questions of public interest and here sat, as often as need arose, a body over which the chief presided to give judgment-a court of last resort. But a village site was often changed



Chiefs of Florida Indians on the War Path

From Le Moyne, 1565

for a variety of reasons; sometimes from a superstitious motive, for security from attack, failure of the food supply or exposure to flood, etc. But there was something of a limitation of territory for each community. Within the tribal boundaries land was common but intrusion on hunting grounds was often the cause of war.

The Indian had but one cereal and on this his agriculture was based, but he had indigenous vegetables in the pumpkin and a variety of beans. He used a great variety of fruits and roots and his women dried stores of both these so that the French settlement was often supplied with them to meet a time of scarcity. A stick or stone was the implement of husbandry - usually this was pointed with a shell or a bone.

Whether in the village or on the march, the clan was the unit of the community through which the government operated and kindred was based on descent through the mother; no man could marry in his own gens, but

sought a wife in another clan to which his children would belong. It was always the clan that enforced justice on its members or demanded satisfaction for murder or other wrong. It was the clan that held the common property and it was the clan that provided for those who could not care for themselves. A clan assumed a distinguishing name, usually that of some animal to which it attributed its origin in some remote past and to which it paid a certain reverence.

The government of the village in time of peace resided in a civil chief who was elected, but was sometimes allowed to retain his office and even to leave it to his brother. He was assisted by the old men and to the council an appeal could always be made.

In time of war the headship resided in a war-chief, who was elected though the office usually was restricted to a family; however, the leader had no power except such as personal character won for him. "Nowhere in North America," says Major Powell, "have a people been discovered who had passed beyond this tribal society to a national society based upon property." Groups of villages are mentioned by early writers who call them confederacies but these were loosely held together by pressure from without and acted together only to meet a common danger though a seeming alliance may have continued for a long period. Of such a nature was the confederacy of the Six Nations or Iroquois, that of the Muscogeese and the one over which Powhatan presided in Virginia.

Lowery and many other students insist that the Indian had no idea of a supreme being except as Christian influences have so shaped his superstitions. "But the Indian feared the powers of nature in their visible aspects, in their constant influence on his life, in his success or failure in the war or in the chase, in the abundance of rain for his crops and his recovery from disease. Wherever he could trace an influence exercised over him by any object whatsoever he immediately endowed it with

intelligent being and propitiated it by sacrifice or prayer." That may be ; if so we are still compelled to admit that the Indian owed many virtues to nature. He was simply amazed to find that the Spaniard did not hesitate to break his pledged word ; before the Indian had experience of the white man's code a promise to him was enough. Even yet, the most amazing charge he can make against the white man is that of bad faith and the fact that "The big chief of the white men is a liar all the time" seems more wonderful to the Seminole than the white man's power.

The Indian is accused of worshipping his maize ; is the authority sufficient? What are his dances and ceremonial observances but our celebration of the harvest home? "Dances, feasts and fasts were celebrated in its honor ;" did our ancestors "worship" wheat because the last sheaf was brought in with dances and songs? The Puritans condemned the dances around the May-pole and it is true that this festival also was once idolatrous, but did the dance and the song necessarily imply worship? The Indian was accused of "animal worship," and here he may be more guilty, but this, with him, was much nearer akin to ancestor-worship in which he bears company with those of corresponding culture throughout the world. We are taught that the Egyptians did not worship the bull, the dog and the cat, but divinities who manifested themselves under these forms; the Indian might be treated with equal consideration. The history of the Indian from the coming of the white man is easily understood after we recognize the racial differences in the population of Florida. When Ponce de Leon entered a bay on the Gulf Coast a multitude of canoes came out to attack him - these were the Caribs of Calusa, who made war in their war-canoes in all the islands. On the East Coast the Indians attacked the white man only after his landing; these were the Timuquanans. De Soto found that Jean Ortiz stole away from one Indian town near Tampa and was protected in the adjoining one; he

fled from cruel captivity among the Caribs and was protected and kindly treated by the Timuquanans, who were of a gentler nature and always held themselves the enemies of the Caribs.

In his march De Soto broke the force of the people of Vitachuco and marched on. After this there was a vacancy in peninsular Florida which the Muscogeas and Apalachees hastened to occupy. Within a few years Menendez found these Apalachees in possession of the country between Jacksonville and Tallahassee and they made incursions into the valley of the St. Johns so that he was obliged to make war upon them. Somewhat to his surprise he found the Indians of his neighborhood willing to help him; the Timuquanans hated the Apalachees almost as bitterly as they hated the Spaniards and gladly saw their hereditary enemies forced as slaves to build the fort of San Marco.

When our Seminole War began the Timuquanans appreciated the necessity and made common cause with the Creeks because Caocoochee was a statesman, but the Caloosans refused to join the league until Americans attacked them without cause and so made an enemy without need. The Caloosans withdrew to the islands when threatened with subjection by the Americans and given the option of removal. A remnant of the race is still found in Jamaica and Martinique.

The Timuquanans differed in language and character from the Creeks and even during a war of ten years their forces were not joined until the last battle on the shore of Okeechobee.

TALLAHASSEE IN 1824-25

(An unsigned letter in the Pensacola Gazette
September, 1825)

TALLAHASSEE, Sept. 10 (1825). It was in the month of April, 1824, that the first wagon was seen wending its devious way through that part of the wilds of Florida which now constitutes the Middle Judicial District. The sons of the forest were often arrested while in pursuit of their wonted game, to gaze with wonder at the strange Phenomenon, for there was not a being among them within whose knowledge so strange a vehicle was ever seen to disturb the repose of their solitary retirement; nor were they sensible. that this was the day star which warned them to prepare to leave the land of their fathers, whose bones for centuries had mingled with the very soil from which they raised their bread. The weary party (who consisted of two men, two women, two children, and a mulatto man,) at length arrived in the morning of the 9th of the month by the way of a gentle rise upon the summit of a commanding eminence at whose eastern and southern base a beautiful rivulet meandered its course through a rich Hammock ; here they made a halt, and one of the gentlemen by familiarity with the wilderness was enabled soon to discover (though almost obliterated) the only marks which the Governor in his Proclamation had given designating the scite (!) selected by the Commissioners as the Seat of the Government of Florida ; our party was not long in selecting a camping ground, and pitching their tent about midway of the southern slope, which might well be taken for the land of the Fairies: to the southward and westward, the country opened to their view like a magnificent park gently undulated and studded with beautiful basins of limpid water, at their feet a crystal fountain, gushing from the declivity of a hill; to the eastward the view was more confined by the thick foliage of the undergrowth,

which served to screen the view, though not the sound of a beautiful cascade, which was formed by the rivulet above described, falling over a ledge of rocks into a deep glen, which forms almost a circle of about seventy yards in diameter, and disappears at the bottom of the same ledge of rocks, very near the cascade. In the afternoon our sylvan party commenced building and in two days were enabled to secure themselves and their furniture from the weather in the first house ever built in Tallahassee. The same day in the evening Judge Robinson and S. M'Call, Esq. arrived with hands and put up three buildings to accommodate the Legislative Council, which was expected to meet in May following and in a few days a small store was erected, after which very little improvement was made for some time in consequence of the session of the Council being postponed until November, as also the many and almost insurmountable obstacles which at times seemed to preclude the hope of ever removing the Indians from this section of the country; so firmly were they attached to their native soil that they would make the most frivolous excuses for procrastinating their departure, and nothing but the peculiarly firm and resolute, yet mild and persuasive measures adopted by the Executive, could have removed them without resorting to military force. The act providing for the laying off of the town of Tallahassee etc. allowed the right of pre-emption of all those who had built houses within the limits of the town, previously to the approval of the Bill which was the 11th Dec. and when the Commissioners under that act proceeded to sell the lots on the 5th and 6th of April, there were but six claimants for that privilege.

At this time the town contains more than fifty houses, many of which are occupied by quite large families ; there is now one house for public worship, one school house, two very commodious Hotels, seven stores, and one Apothecary's shop ; the mechanics shops are, one Printing office, two shoe-makers, two blacksmiths, three carpen-

ters, one tailor, three brick yards, etc. Nor has the country in the vicinity of the town been less prolific, although the lands were sold at a very inauspicious season (past the middle of May) for within five miles of the town there are now over twenty farms, plantations, etc. opened ; considerable corn has been raised this year, and one gentleman about a mile from town has a small field of sea island and upland cotton which appears equal to any of the similar kind raised in Georgia or South Carolina.

The Society very greatly appreciates the following editorial from the "Pensacola Journal."

J. C. Yonge, son of Hon. P. K. Yonge, is a student of early Florida history and with a number of kindred spirits is trying to revitalize the Florida Historical Society. Mr. Yonge has sent a copy of the quarterly publication to the editor, and it contains articles of intense interest.

Gathering data of a historical nature is a Herculean task, and the Florida Historical Society, founded in 1856, has had anything but a path of roses to travel, and the quarterly tells something of its task.

The Society needs new members. It is performing a work for the residents of the State today and those who will come in future years, therefore everyone who can do so should become members. The membership fee is nominal, \$2.00 the year, which includes a subscription to the quarterly magazine.

The Journal suggests that every family with children should be particularly interested in this society. The quarterly publication should be kept and bound into permanent volumes for future use.

Publication of
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902

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JULIEN C. YONGE

To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written, to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our own history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our own State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

St. Augustine, *April, 1857*