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THE SCHOONER EMPEROR
An Incident of the Illegal Slave Trade in Florida

By DOROTHY DODD

The story of the African slave trade after its prohibition in 1808 is one which, because of the illicit nature of the trade, can never be fully known. In Florida, as in other Southern states, however, occasional hints of this subterranean traffic found their way into records which have been preserved. A record, fuller than most, found in the archives of the Florida Supreme Court as the case of the *United States vs. the Schooner Emperor*,¹ may be taken as a fair illustration of the methods employed in the slave trade, when entered into upon a small scale, and of the difficulties involved in enforcing the prohibitory statutes.

There is no way of ascertaining the extent of the illegal slave trade. U. B. Phillips, though stating that illegal importations into the entire South between 1808 and 1860 had been conjectured from unreliable sources to be as high as 270,000, contents himself with remarking that "these importations were never great enough to affect the labor supply in appreciable degree."² We do not even have estimates, unreliable as they must be, of the number of slaves illegally imported into Florida. Frederic Bancroft, however, calls attention to the fact that

¹ This case is not mentioned in Helen T. Catteral, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, because there are no published reports of the Court of Appeals of the Territory of Florida. The published reports of the Supreme Court begin in 1845, the year in which Florida became a state. There are several hundred manuscript records of cases heard before the Court of Appeals which have recently been filed in envelopes and indexed according to title and term of court in which heard. The titles give little indication of the nature of their contents. Of 150 cases examined at random, thirty pertained to slaves.

² *American Negro Slavery*, 147.

Florida, especially in the earlier years, bred very few slaves and was almost entirely a slave-importing state.³ Although Bancroft is concerned primarily with the domestic slave trade, the factors that made Florida a good market for negroes bred in the Old South probably created a certain tolerance of the importation of negroes from beyond the seas.

Expression of this tolerance is to be found in private opinion and semi-official acts and utterances, rather than on the statute books. The Legislative Council adopted, perforce, the federal attitude toward the African slave trade and made federal statutes on the subject the law of the Territory of Florida. In addition, the Act of March 3, 1822, fixed a fine of three hundred dollars for every negro imported into Florida from without the limits of the United States and decreed that every negro so imported should receive his freedom.⁴

In spite of the law against the importation of African negroes, many citizens of the Territory doubtless agreed with the Editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian*, when he wrote at the time of the seizure of the schooner *Emperor* for the importation of slaves from Cuba:

"Apart from this act, being a violation of positive law, many do not regard the importation of slaves from Cuba as a crime. They are already slaves and their change of residence to this country is undoubtedly an amelioration of their condition, and should not be objected to by friends of humanity. It is a much less crime than the stealing by the abolitionists of ten slaves from the South, and also a much less evil; but while the law prohibiting their importation is in force, it should not be violated, and every good citizen should aid in its enforcement."⁵

That Captain Charles G. Cox, master of the *Emperor*, thought the law could be violated with impunity because of complacent public opinion is

³ *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 383.

⁴ *Florida Acts . . .*, 1822, 21-23.

⁵ Quoted in *Pensacola Gazette*, May 27, 1837.

shown by the deposition of Joseph Elsaundi,⁶ a witness in the case, who testified:

“Witness met Cox a few months since at Key West and asked Cox if he had not been hung yet. Cox replied that no Jury in the United States would hang him for bringing negroes in the United States as an evidence of it he said they bailed him for four hundred dollars.”⁷

Twenty years later, when the question of reopening the African slave trade was agitated by southern hot-heads, Floridians in high position favored the trade in principle, though admitting practical difficulties in its way. Florida's delegates to the Commercial Convention of 1857 at Knoxville refused to agree to an amendment to a proposal to recommend abrogation of Article VIII of the Treaty of Washington⁸ which would have declared it inexpedient and against settled policy to reopen the slave trade.⁹ Two years later, however, Florida's delegates to the Vicksburg convention voted against a resolution which demanded repeal of all state and federal laws prohibiting the African slave trade.¹⁰

Governor Madison S. Perry, discussing the subject in his message of November 22, 1858, deprecated its agitation, not from any “sickly-sentimentality,”¹¹ but because of treaty obligations and because the South itself was not united in its opinion. A united South, he thought, might defy the abolition North,

⁶ Joseph Elzuardi, presumably the same man, was a member of the Florida House of Representatives from Monroe county in 1841. *Apalachicola*, Jan. 16, 1841.

⁷ *United States vs. the Schooner Emperor*, MS. The federal Act of March 3, 1819, made the importation of African Slaves piracy, punishable by death.

⁸ This section of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 provided that Great Britain and the United States should maintain squadrons of specified strength on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade.

⁹ DuBois, W. E. B. *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*. 171.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 172-173.

¹¹ Perry believed “that had we the ability to import and *continue* in *servitude* all the negroes of Africa, they would be most unquestionably benefited.”

but “unhappily for us-in all of the Southern States there are large masses decidedly opposed, from motives of policy, to the re-opening of the Slave Trade.” He believed that the time would come when England would reverse her policy toward the slave trade, “and then our loving brethren of **New England**, whose filial affections are admirable, will gladly follow the example of their pious mother.” The Southern states had but to “bide their time,” remaining faithful to their compacts and united in the defense of their reserved rights, “and that Providence which has hitherto blessed them will shape their ends, and conduct them to their high destiny.”¹²

By 1859 the agitation had become so wide-spread that a letter from Jacksonville, published in the Baltimore *American*, stated that “it is believed here that the slave trade has been re-opened.” As a result of this belief, the writer said, a bark had sailed from Jacksonville for the African coast several weeks before to take on a cargo of negroes for sale in Georgia and Florida. And on the preceding day, a brig had left port to meet the bark and transfer the cargo at sea.¹³ The result of this venture is not known.

Because of its long and indented coastline and of its proximity to Cuba, Florida afforded an excellent opportunity for the illegal importation of slaves. Before the purchase of the territory by the United States, slaves had been landed in Florida and smuggled across the border, the piratical community on Amelia Island having been especially brazen in its activities.¹⁴ When Andrew Jackson was appointed governor of the Territory of Florida in 1821, *Niles' Register* approved the appointment

¹² Florida Senate *Journal*, 1858, 39-41.

¹³ Unsigned letter dated Jacksonville, Jan. 30, 1859, quoted in *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 10, 1859.

¹⁴ DuBois, *op. cit.*, 113-114.

because it brought assurance that the laws "to prevent the importation of slaves, will be duly enforced, if the means are allowed."¹⁵

But the means were not allowed. It is true that the United States immediately stationed a squadron in the West Indian seas for the protection of commerce and the suppression of piracy and of the slave trade,¹⁶ but appropriations for the purpose were small and the last object, at least, was never fully achieved. The slaver who wished to effect an entry on the Florida coast had the choice of two methods of attaining his end. He might man his vessel with West Indian negroes and, after purposely wrecking it on the Florida reefs, sell his crew,¹⁷ or he might attempt secretly to land African negroes at some place chosen in advance and where arrangements had been made for the disposal of the negroes. The master of the schooner Emperor engaged in a venture of the latter type.

Charles G. Cox appears to have been a seaman of uncertain reputation¹⁸ whose vocation frequently took him to Havana, where he determined to profit

¹⁵ XX. 49. March 17, 1821.

¹⁶ *American State Papers, Naval Affairs*, II, 789. This squadron frequently had its base at Thompson's Island, now Key West.

¹⁷ DuBois, op. cit., 166. In the case of the *Guerrero*, a large slaver was accidentally wrecked on Carysfort reef, Dec. 20, 1827, while being pursued by a British man-of-war. The Spanish crew took possession by force of two wrecking vessels from Key West and escaped to Cuba with 398 slaves, while a third wrecking vessel succeeded in bringing only 121 of the cargo into Key West. After many delays, the negroes landed at Key West were sent to Liberia. *Niles' Register*, XXXIII, 373, Feb. 2, 1828; *House Reports*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., I, No. 268.

¹⁸ After Cox's arrest in May, 1837, on the charge of illegally importing negroes, he wrote to acquaintances in Havana for money and testimonials of good character. The replies were notable for their failure to say a good word for Cox. The firm of DeConinck and Spaulding said they had never heard the report that Cox had "been a prisoner with a ball and chain," and refused him an advance.

Unless otherwise noted, the story of the Emperor is reconstructed from the MS in the Florida Supreme Court archives.

by the cheapness of negroes in the Havana market and the opportunity which the location of the city offered for the illicit introduction of slaves into Florida. He approached a Dr. Bumstead, of Havana, with a proposal that Bumstead put \$20,000 into the business of running slaves, but the doctor refused to entertain such a risky proposition. Failing to attract a large sum to his project, Cox associated himself with Le Chevalier Paul de Malherbe, "a Frenchman of some distinction, residing in Florida,"¹⁹ and the two entered upon the business on a modest scale. De Malherbe was said to have borrowed part of the money for the purchase from Farquhar Macrae, of Florida, whose part in the affair did not become generally known until after his death on the steamboat *Pulaski*²⁰ on June 18, 1838.²¹

The terms of Cox's agreement with de Malherbe are not known, but they may be inferred from a proposal which Cox made about the same time to Joseph Elsaurdi. Elsaurdi later testified that while he was in Havana in April or May, 1836,²² Cox

"proposed to him a speculation but first said he was engaged to land some negros at St. Joseph, or Appalachi-cola, he said after landing there he would land others for the witness at the same rate towit at one hundred dollars per head in the United States, he Cox was to run all risk at sea, but the witness all risk in landing on shore."

¹⁹ Charles S. Sibley to John Forsyth, Aug. 25, 1838. Solicitor's Office, U. S. Treasury, BIA, Misc. Let. 2144. The Editor of the *Floridian* stated that de Malherbe was well known in Leon county. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 27, 1837.

²⁰ Sibley to Forsyth, Aug. 25, 1838.

²¹ A memorial to Rev. J. L. Woart and his wife, Elizabeth, who perished on the *Pulaski*, stands in the yard of St. John's Episcopal Church, Tallahassee.

²² This date apparently is wrong, as the slaves were landed at St. Joseph, Feb. 6, 1837. Elsaurdi's deposition was not taken until Jan. 8, 1839, and faulty memory probably accounts for the discrepancy in dates, which played its part in confusing the issue when the case was tried. The only other explanation is that Cox and de Malherbe engaged in two ventures, in 1836 and 1837, which is not likely.

Elsaurdi further stated that after this conversation he saw Cox and de Malherbe

"at the deposit for the sale of negroes at *Havanna* bargaining for some negroes, [and] a few days afterwards he heard Cox say that he had purchased the negroes at *three* hundred dollars to land in the United States. Cox and his vessel soon after Sailed from *Havanna* and Malherbe disappeared about the same time."

Since the average price of negroes in the United States at that time was around \$300,²³ and probably higher in Florida, de Malherbe would have made a tidy profit had he succeeded in his speculation.

Cox solved the problem of transportation by signing on as master of the *Emperor*, a 72-foot, single-decked, two-masted schooner of 105 tons burthen, of American ownership and registry. The crew was foreign, and Cox carried a certificate from the American consul at Havana²⁴ stating that he had been unable to procure an American one. The temporary register showed that the schooner belonged to Anthony G. Richards, of Savannah, Georgia, although John J. Evertson was the owner when the vessel was seized in Pensacola four months later. Whether Anthony G. Richards was a fictitious name, invented by Cox, or the schooner was purchased by Evertson in the meantime is not clear. The *Emperor* was bound for Mobile when she cleared from Havana late in January or early in February, 1837.

On the afternoon of February 6, Captain Robert Jenkins, pilot for the port of St. Joseph, spoke a small schooner from his station at Cape St. Joseph. Although the vessel was strange in those waters, the master declined to take a pilot and stood off between

²³ DuBois, op. cit., 162, gives the average price of negroes in the United States in 1840 as \$325.

²⁴ The consul was Nicholas P. Trist, who was proved to have aided the slave trade, "consciously or unconsciously," by the issuance of blank clearance papers. *Ibid.*, 164.

the point and the mainland during the night. The next morning the *Emperor* was entered at the office of Gabriel J. Floyd,²⁵ collector of the port. Floyd overlooked the irregularities in the schooner's papers because of the certificate from the American consul. The *Emperor* carried one passenger, Paul de Malherbe, and Floyd noted that, though bound for Mobile, her cargo "consisted of only a few Oranges in the hold." The mate of the *Flavias*, then in St. Joseph's Bay, might have enlightened Floyd as to the true nature of the cargo, for he later told Captain Jenkins that on the night of February 6, "he saw Slaves or persons of color taken from the Schooner Emperor & put on land [in] the boat in which Malherbe was afterwards drowned."

It was not long before everyone in St. Joseph knew what the mate of the *Flavias* had seen. The report that African negroes had been landed was substantiated when later in the month Joseph Croskey²⁶ conducted the negroes across St. Andrews Bay, by way of Captain William Loftin's ferry,²⁷ on his way to his Econfino plantation in Washington

²⁵ Floyd was collector of the port for a number of years. He later removed to Missouri and was killed, Aug. 26, 1842, by a band of ruffians who robbed his house. *Florida Journal*, Sept. 23, 1842.

²⁶ Croskey was a rolling stone who had once been at Oxford. He edited the short-lived *Apalachicola Courier* in 1839 and 1840. J. O. Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism*, 31, 78, 119. He apparently left Florida in 1843, for his Econfino plantation of 280 acres, "eighty of which have been cleared and cultivated," was advertised for sale in the *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser* of Feb. 4, 1843, and succeeding issues. He is evidently the Joseph R. Croskey, American consul at Cowes, England, for whom E. C. Cabell, of Florida, presented a petition to the House of Representatives, Jan. 20, 1852. *Cong. Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, 382.

²⁷ By act of the Legislative Council of Jan. 12, 1827, any owner or keeper of a ferry or toll bridge who allowed a slave to cross his ferry or bridge without permission of the master of the slave was liable to a fine of twenty-five dollars. *Florida Acts*, . . ., 1827, 143. It was necessary, therefore, for Croskey to declare his ownership of the negroes in order to get them across the bay.

county. Croskey later claimed, in defense of his participation in the affair, that the accidental death of his friend, de Malherbe, had forced him to take charge of the negroes.²⁸ Several persons testified, however, that Croskey told them that the negroes belonged to him and de Malherbe, and it seems very probable that their destination, from the first, had been Croskey's plantation. Croskey gave it out that the negroes were from Louisiana,²⁹ presumably in the hope that their African dialect would be mistaken for French. Since they bore unmistakable evidence of their origin on their faces, Captain Loftin was not deceived, and gave information to the district attorney.

It was not until the first week in May that Samuel H. DuVal, marshal for the Middle District of Florida, visited Croskey's plantation and took eight negroes into custody. According to a statement by DuVal:

"The negroes were on the Plantation of Mr. Joseph Croskey. Mr. Robert C. Adams who lived about half a mile from the plantation and acted as overseer for Mr. Croskey had charge of the negroes, the name of the negroes were Sam, Jim, Coogar, Milo, Larkin, Tony, Harper, & Peter (who had since died)-

"The negroes could not speak the English language or understand it when spoken to them and the witness sup-

²⁸ The Editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian* stated in discussing the matter: "We learn little if any blame is imputable to Mr. Croskey, who has hitherto been esteemed as a highly respectable and enterprising citizen and who became unfortunately entangled in the matter, by the death of Malherbe, who was drowned in landing the negroes, and the care of them thrust upon him against his inclination. It is to be regretted that he did not overcome his scruples to give public information of the violation of the law by his deceased friend, and thus have prevented any shadow of censure being attached to himself." Quoted in *Pensacola Gazette*, May 27, 1837. This was written before the depositions of witnesses to whom Croskey claimed ownership of the slaves were taken.

²⁹ Even had the negroes been from Louisiana, it would have been necessary under the Act of Congress of March 2, 1807, for them to have been declared to the collector of the port by the master of the Emperor, who *would* have been required to swear that they were not illegally imported.

posed them to be foreign negroes. Two of them are tatoored upon their cheeks and two of them had their front teeth of the upper jaw flied to a point ; One of them whose name is Milo says that he is from Africa, that he was brought here from Havanna & he is the only one has acquired any knowledge of the English language--the negroes appear to be of different African tribes and will not associate or eat together."

An information was immediately Bed charging illegal importation of the negroes, and on May 30, Charles S. Sibley, United States attorney for the Middle District of Florida, requested an executive order from the President concerning the disposition to be made of the negroes. This was refused until the fact of illegal importation should have been ascertained by verdict of a jury.³⁰ In the meantime, Thomas Randall, presiding judge of the Court of Appeals, placed the negroes in the custody of DuVal, as United States marshall. On August 25, 1838, Sibley stated that the negroes had been "adjudged to have been illegally imported and declared free," and again requested an executive order "for their removal from the country to Africa, or elsewhere, as their support and maintenance by the Marshall will cause considerable expense in addition to what has already been incurred."³¹ As late as January 24, 1839, however, the negroes were still in the custody of DuVal, and their ultimate disposition is not known.

Long before Loftin's information had been given, the *Emperor* had left St. Joseph. She put in at Pensacola on March 16, but the information evidently had not been received at that port then, for she proceeded to Mobile, where she registered on March 29, and then returned to Havana. The schooner was fitted out for another voyage by the owner's agents, and soon was cleared for Tobasco.

³⁰ A. O. Dayton to Sibley, July 30, 1837. Dept. of State, BIA, Dom. Let. 29, 2101.

³¹ Sibley to John Forsyth.

Cox, ignorant that his venture had not been entirely successful, ignored his orders and sailed to Pensacola, probably in the hope of making arrangements for the landing of a second cargo of negroes. Soon after his arrival he engaged W. W. Kelley in a conversation on the profits to be had from the slave trade, especially as the penalty for bringing slaves into the Territory was only \$300.

On May 3 the *Emperor* was seized by Robert Mitchell, collector of the port of Pensacola, and on May 25 Cox was arrested by order of John A. Cameron, judge of the Superior Court for the District of West Florida. Cox and Croskey were both indicted, but it does not appear that Croskey was even arrested. Cox was in jail as late as November 18, 1837, but was later released under bail of \$400. If he was ever convicted, we have no record of the fact.

A legal battle followed over the *Emperor*, which was appraised at \$3,000 and was subject to confiscation if it could be proved that she was the vessel in which the negroes had been imported. The case was continued from the special June term of the Superior Court, sitting as a District Court of the United States, for lack of the depositions of two witnesses from St. Joseph, who were unable to give their testimony "on account of Indian disturbances in their immediate neighborhood." At the November term of the court, Judge Cameron found that there was insufficient evidence to connect the *Emperor* with the importation of the negroes and ordered the schooner restored to the claimants. George S. Walker, United States attorney for the District of West Florida, thereupon appealed the case to the Court of Appeals of the Territory of Florida.

The Court of Appeals at once ordered DuVal to sell the *Emperor* at public auction and to pay the

proceeds into the registry of the court, to be held until the decision of the court should be given. The sale took place in Pensacola on March 24, 1838, but DuVal did not deposit the money as directed by the court.

Sibley, who had taken over the prosecution of the case from Walker, busied himself in locating witnesses in Florida and Havana, but it was not until January 8, 1839, that he secured the deposition of Joseph Elsaundi, which contained the most damaging evidence against the *Emperor*. His efforts appeared to have been in vain when the case was dismissed on January 24, 1839, because the transcript of record had not been transmitted from Pensacola within two terms after the appeal had been granted. When Thomas H. DuVal, former clerk of the court, swore that the record had been received on December 27, 1837, and properly filed, the case was ordered back on the docket and was heard by the Court of Appeals, sitting in admiralty as a Circuit Court of the United States, on February 15 and 16, 1839. Robert R. Reid, acting presiding judge, gave the opinion, in which he stated that the question was one of evidence, the defense having been based on the confusion of dates in Elsaundi's testimony. The court, finding other evidence to outweigh the discrepancy, reversed the decision of the lower court and ordered the proceeds from the sale of the *Emperor* to be distributed according to law.

The claimants appealed to the United States Supreme Court, but the court refused to hear the case. On February 15, 1840, the sheriff served notice on DuVal and his bondsmen that the money from the sale of the *Emperor* must be paid into the registry of the court or his bond be forfeited. The money was divided equally between the United States and Robert Mitchell, who seized the vessel, when the certificate of dismissal from the Supreme Court was filed.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR ON EAST
AND WEST FLORIDA WITH ITINERA-
RIES OF GENERAL JACKSON'S ARMY,
1818

By Captain Hugh Young, U. S. A. With Notes by
Mark F. Boyd and Gerald M. Ponton

PART II. ITINERARIES

This part of the report contains sketches of the routes of the Army from Hartford, Georgia to Fort Scott, and thence through east and west Florida to Fort Montgomery in the Alabama territory with hints for the construction and improvement of roads through the more difficult parts of the country. It was thought best to give the *Itineraries* the last place in the report, as the particular description of the routes is made more intelligible and satisfactory by the general account of the country (p. 323) which preceded it.

From Hartford to Ft. Early

Hartford is situated in a pine flat on the east bank of Oakmulgee twenty-seven miles from **Marion** and forty-seven miles east of south from Ft. Hawkins. Some of the river lands in the neighborhood are good and even the pine lands are made productive by industry but the whole aspect of the surrounding country is dreary, barren and inhospitable. The Oakmulgee is navigable this far for river craft but is narrow and somewhat obstructed. It is however the only advantage that Hartford possesses and even with it the town is far from flourishing.¹

¹ To initiate his Seminole Campaign, General Jackson left Nashville with his "guard" of two companies of Tennessee militia on January 22, 1818. After 20 days marching he reached Hartford, Georgia, where he met General Gaines with a brigade of 700 newly-raised Georgia militia. Difficulties from an insufficiency of rations were already foreseen, as reports indicated that the regular garrison at Fort Scott was in a starving condition, due to failure of the contractors to supply provisions.

The Oakmulgee has steep sandy banks high and open on each side at the Ferry and is not fordable-

Hence

31/2 miles to a creek-through low pine woods, where causeways were necessary every three or four hundred yards. Crossed a small creek in the first mile, low and somewhat miry banks and bottom and thickets-in the second mile the ground is uncommonly miry in the wet season. The creek at the end is a branch of Om (sic) Oakmulgee-runs through a flat with scarcely a perceptible declivity to the stream and has on the banks, a thick growth of timber and bushes peculiar to the streams of the country. When we crossed it, the water was greatly over the banks presenting a river 150 yards in width but in common stages the stream is not more than twenty-five feet wide with sandy banks and bottom.

63/4 Miles to Another Creek. Through as flat a district as the last having the same timber-and quite as many difficulties from the softness and spongy character of the soil. In the fifth mile a mixture of red clay is seen at the surface but the spots where this is visible instead of being firmer are more miry than the sand, and sometimes needed causeways in their whole extent. Cross a branch in the 6th mile running at the foot of the hill on the side of which there is abundance of secondary Siliceous rock. The creek at the end runs also at the foot of a flinty hill, has a rapid current and sandy banks-a low but open bottom on the south side. It is fordable at common stages of water but was over the south bank when we crossed and had to be bridged.

73/4 Miles to a Creek. Country a little more uneven for three miles-it then becomes perfectly flat and continues so to the end. A reedy branch in the second mile-a small open branch in the sixth mile neither of them difficult. The last creek has

some red clay on its banks which are high and open-fordable and not difficult.

18 1/2 Miles to Cedar Creek. No change in the face of the country until ascending the dividing ridge between the gulf and Atlantic waters-there the land ascends and presents a hill of moderate height covered with pine and scrubby oak with a sand and gravel soil and resting on irregular masses of secondary flint. The acclivity on the north side of the ridge is steep-on the south, there is scarcely any descent and the land soon assumes its old character of loose rotten quicksand with occasional spots of red and yellow clay. The slope of the ridge on both sides marshy wherever the flint and gravel is not visible-sometimes spreading into thickety ponds and giving rise to innumerable little miry branches-the road continues on the ridge two miles-it then crosses the hollows of Flint which are always miry in winter even where perfectly dry at the surface. From the ridge, the route is through flat pine woods for six miles crossing one small but miry creek generally fordable. At this point the ponds become more numerous (p. 324) speckling the pine barrens in a manner similar to those already described in Florida. Thence to Cedar Creek-down which the road runs for three miles-the country is a little more rolling, having near the creek, a more uneven appearance than any seen yet. In this part the view is diversified by many open lakes in the intervals of the hills-and occasionally little islets of evergreens, among which the magnolia is conspicuous, spread out near the heads of branches and enliven the monotony of the scene. Cedar Creek rises E. S. E. from Fort Early and enters Flint six miles above the Fort. When we crossed it, the rains had swelled it into a formidable river obstructed by bushes and logs and with a current of dangerous rapidity. Where the old

road crosses it the swamp is almost impervious and the creek at high water impassable. But at the ford below, the banks are open and altho miry - the army was enabled by felling trees over the deeper parts of the stream, to cross in one night. When low, Cedar Creek cannot be more than thirty feet wide at this point and has sandy bottom and banks.

6 Miles to Fort Early. Through a pine country little rolling-with several branches some of which are extremely miry. Fort Early is situated on the east side of Flint river, on a high hill. It is simply a picketed square with two block houses, the water is excellent and the country healthy. -The most singular features of the country between Hartford and Fort Early is the extreme rottenness of the soil during the winter months. This character extends even to the top of the hills, and frequently when the surface is perfectly dry and seemingly hard a wagon will sink to the body. This quality of the soil arises from the detritus of the pines forming a thin mould which mixed with the sand and red clay prevents the soil from ever becoming hard except in perfectly dry seasons. When the rainy months commence the falling water easily penetrates the surface but is stopped at the depth of a few feet by a bed of clay on which it remains pervading and swelling the sandy soil above and giving it that spongy penetrable character so destructive of the roads.

To make good winter roads through this country for wheel carriages it would be necessary to dig ditches and throw the earth into the center at all places where there is no appearance of stone or gravel. The low banks of the creeks and branches should be causewayed by a tier of logs and covered with earth taken also from ditches on either side. The logs should be well secured by bands, as the weight of the earth would not be sufficient to keep

them down when covered with water.-Neither of these would require much labour and expense, for the abundance of straight pines gives ample materials for causeways whilst the looseness of the soil makes digging very trifling labour. The general course of the road from Hartford² to Fort Early is SSW, the distance forty-one miles.

2. From Fort Early to Ft. Scott.

There is much variety in the country between these points. The (p. 325) changes from sand and pine to fertile red soil are frequent altho' the former greatly predominates. From Fort Early the path runs through sand and pine to the Flint which it intersects four and a half miles below the fort crossing a creek with sandy banks in the second mile and a small thickety branch one-quarter of a mile farther. Hence, to the crossing place through high but flat pine woods not so miry as the country north of Cedar Creek and with an occasional mixture of scrubby oak. The Flint, at the ferry, is one hundred and eighty yards wide, with a low pine bluff on the east side and a thicket on the west. Steep sandy banks. From the crossing place the path goes up the river one quarter of a mile to a place where the open pine woods are near the bank -but separated from it by a bayou with a deep rapid current and a width of twenty yards. This had to be bridged. The land on Flint is second rate, that on the west side the best with a mixed growth of pine and the varieties of oak.

² The General reached Fort Early on the 26th of February. The excessive rains had made the road so bad that the wagons were abandoned en route. The troops were practically destitute of provisions. Here reports were received that the commandant at Fort Scott threatened to evacuate the fort unless a supply of provisions was received in a few days. To forestall such an event, General Gaines embarked a small force -and proceeded down the Flint river. In his passage down the river the boat was wrecked and three men drowned. Gaines and his detachment reached Fort Scott on foot in a destitute condition after the arrival of the General.

From Flint to Chehaw Town. Flat land (sand and pine) with numerous miry ponds and some flint rock at the surface. This tract is very similar to some of the miry districts between Hartford and Early and would require the same kind and degree of labour to make the route at all times practicable. The Chehaw village was situated on Makolla creek eight miles from where it enters Flint (river) and in a body of second rate hammock land.³ It consisted of fifteen or twenty cabbins with a large council house in the center which on our arrival was decorated with the white flag. The creek at the town is eighty-five feet wide with a swamp on the west side one-quarter of a mile wide and a high open bank on the east. The banks and bottom are firm and sandy. The swamp is not miry except near the highland where for one hundred yards there is a mixture of stiff white clay. It has the usual varieties of bottom growth of Palmetto. There are two bayous between the creek and high ground, one of which is not fordable in freshes - five and a half miles to another large creek on which Canards Village is situated three and a quarter miles above the point where we crossed it. The creek is ninety feet wide-sand and rock on the north side and a little miry on the south, open on both sides. From this point the route lies for twenty-five miles through the finest body of land I had seen since leaving Monticello, Georgia. The country well watered and with a surface sufficiently irregular for beauty and not too much so for easy culture. The branches are numerous and some small lakes with high fertile banks afford charming sites for towns or villages.- Fowl Creek is three miles from Canards Creek-shallow but wide with a thick undergrowth of evergreens. On the south side are the remains of an

³ En route to Fort Scott the army was re-enforced by warriors from the Chehaw villages lead by Colonel Canard.

ancient and very large town, large trees are growing on innumerable little mounds disposed with some regularity and on which the houses were probably built. Eighteen miles from Fowl creek there is a small Indian village situated among some handsome branches and ponds with good land under cultivation. Four miles from this point the fertile country terminates and thence six and a fourth miles to Echenoche creek through sand and pine higher and firmer than any of the pine-barren crossed before-struck the creek five miles from its junction with Flint-its general course S. 30° E. open woods attend to the banks on each side and the ground near the creek is high and tolerably firm. Echenoche at the crossing place is eighty-seven feet with high sandy banks-the water twenty-two feet deep-in summer five or six. In four and a half miles the road crosses another creek, a branch of Echenoche, entering near its mouth. (p. 326) It is one-third the size of the main stream and the banks are equally high and open--fordable-Struck the river in one and a half mile further the road going down the last. creek. From this point the route continues down the river-generally in sight of it to Fort Scott. The country gets more uneven and altho' the soil and timber differ but little from the flatter districts, the ground is much firmer and better adapted to roads. Flint rock is here very abundant-the path intersects the road from Fort Hughes, nine and a half miles from Fort Scott. In the mineralogy of the country thus far there is little variety. The secondary formation continues of a siliceous character but there is some secondary limestone and on the tops of the higher eminences sandstone is found with the different varieties of ferruginous colouring. The limestone is found nearest the water, and is probably the basis of the flint. The general course of the creeks entering the Flint

is S.S.E. and of their extent but little is known. Occasionally they have wide swamps, but on all of them points have or may be found, where the open ground comes to the bank on both sides.

Fort Scott is situated on the west bank of Flint eight miles above the mouth of Chattahoochee and on a high flat of sandy second rate soil. It was formerly only a cantonment and was afterwards irregularly enclosed by a quadrangular picketing.⁴

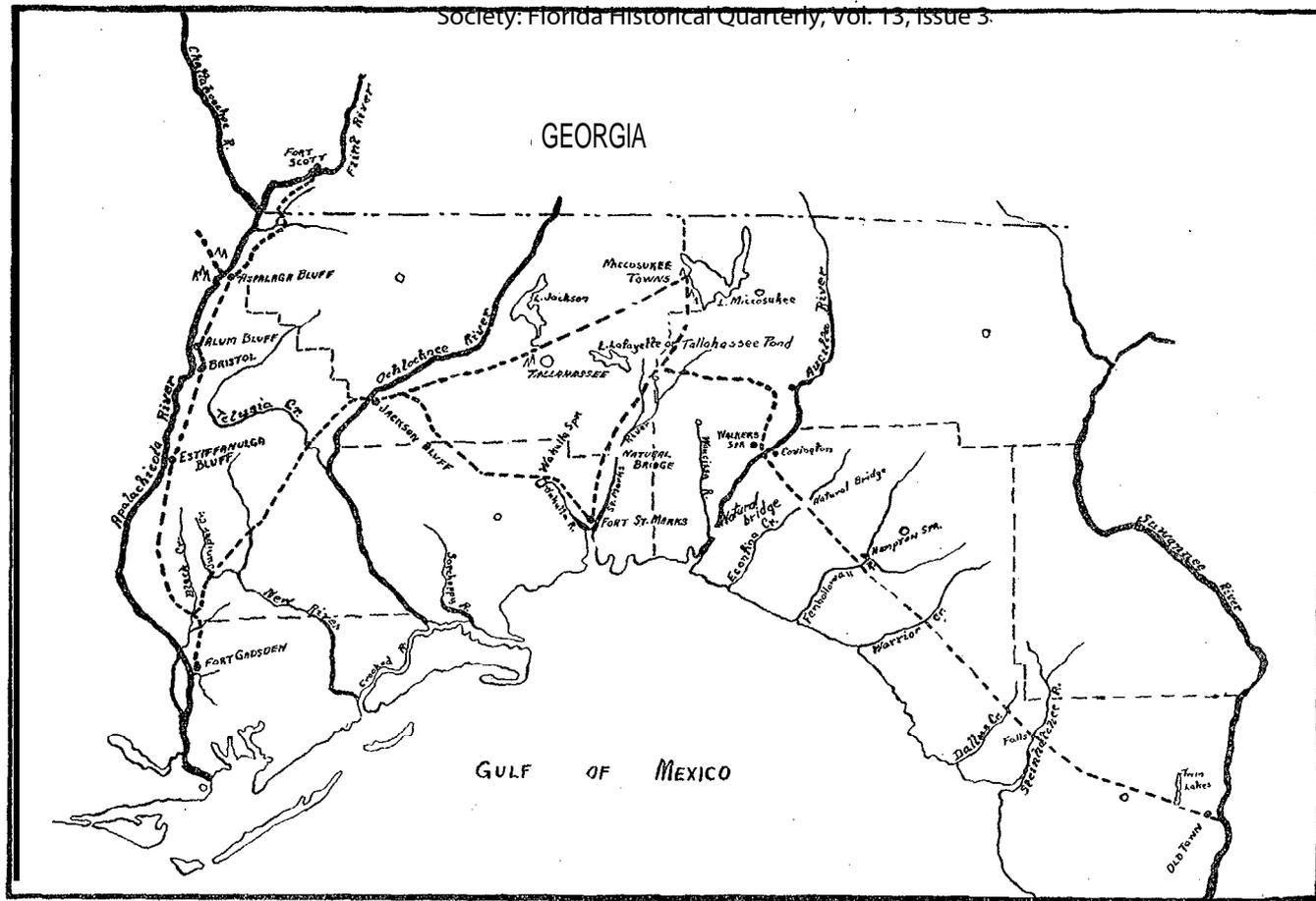
3. From Fort Scott to Fort Gadsden. (Map 1)

The ferry is one-quarter of a mile below the Fort, where the river has a width of 190 yards and a rapid current. Bank high and open on the west on the east a low open bluff two hundred yards below. Thence one-half a mile through miry pine woods to the hills.

Thence 10 1/2 miles to Musquito Creek. Through high sand hills with mixed growth of oak and pine and abundance of moss. These hills are described in the first part of the report-Cross a small branch of good water in the fourth mile and one fourteen feet wide in the sixth mile, both branches of Musquito Creek on the east, the road running at this point on the hills between that creek and the river.⁵ Some second rate land near the last creek-Musquito Creek is twenty-five feet wide at the crossing place, has sandy banks-a bottom of argillaceous rock and no swamp. The main branch of Musquito Creek

⁴ Fort Scott was reached on the evening of March 9th. There were now about two thousand men at the fort with provisions equalling but one quart of corn per man and fresh meat for three days. Learning that two expected sloops loaded with provisions were off the mouth of the Apalachicola river. Jackson, determined to meet them with his force. The tenth was spent in crossing the Flint river to the south bank. On the following day the line of march was resumed. On the 13th contact was made with a provision laden keel boat which was ascending the river. The site of the negro fort on the east bank of the Apalachicola was reached on the morning of the 16th.

⁵ Descriptive of the land where the present town of Chattahoochee is located.



Map 1 Young (Boyd and Ponton) Jackson's Route in East Florida, 1818.

runs nearly parallel with the Flint to the crossing place ⁶ when it turns nearly west, and enters the Apalachicola one mile below the junction of Flint and Chattahoochee.

6 miles to termination of the hills. In half a mile the path crosses a creek ⁷ nearly as large as **Musquito**, entering it a short distance below. This stream is twenty feet wide with sandy bottom, and banks a little miry. It has a narrow swamp with a miry lagoon on the north side. In the second mile, there is some good land with a number of small Indian mounds similar to those on Fowl creek above Fort Scott. In the third mile the path goes over the point of a ridge which stretches down to the river and forms a high bluff opposite to the upper settlement of Yellow Hair. The top of the ridge is red sand stone, but at the (p. 327) water edge there is a stratum of porous limestone with a siliceous mixture. Thence over long high ridges with reed in the intervals three miles to the Ochese path coming on the right. Along this path it is about three miles to the Ochese Bluff (⁵⁶) over broken sand hills ⁸ near the river the hills are entire masses of sand rock cut by the rains into fantastic shapes of many colours from the metallic oxides with which the stone is variously mineralized.

9 Miles to Provision Bluff. For this distance, the road runs round the head of several small branches of the Apalachicola which suddenly emerge from deep indentations in the high pine flat forming the ridge if it may be called, between the Apalachicola waters and those of Okloknee and New River. Those springs, and the singular barren flat from which they rise have been noticed before. The

⁶ Mosquito cr. Crossing about the same as that of Florida Rd. 1.

⁷ South Mosquito cr.

⁸ Aspalaga Bluff.

Bluff⁹ on the river has also been mentioned. The river is here two hundred and ten yards wide with a deep cane brake on the west side. 11 1/4 miles to another Bluff.¹⁰ Very flat and desert the first mile the timber then gets larger and the thickety ponds more numerous. In the sixth mile the path winds around a beautiful little lake with high open banks. Thence for two miles the land is a little higher and some branches are headed similar to those north of Provision Bluff. Cross a small branch with high open banks in the seventh mile and another similar one half a mile further-a third in the ninth mile with a miry thicket. Thence, the path winds among ponds and thickets of great intricacy-the land getting lower and the declivity towards the gulf becoming very perceptible-three miles of these flats to the Bluff which has already been mentioned. The river is here 250 yards wide.

18 3/4 Miles to Big Creek.¹¹ After leaving the last Bluff, the road enters the palmetto flats and continues in them to the end. Cross a bad branch in the first mile, and an open branch in the fourth, another open branch in the fifth-a thickety and miry branch in the seventh and one of the same character in the eighth mile. Thence to the creek, a succession of dry flats and glades chequered by ponds and thickets round which the path is sometimes obliged to make considerable windings. **Big Creek** is twelve feet wide-steep open sandy banks and sandy bottom.

⁹ Alum Bluff. This was called Provision Bluff from the circumstance that the army there met the supplies ascending the river.

¹⁰ Estiffanulga Bluff.

¹¹ Black creek (on some maps Owl creek). This is at or near the northwest corner of Franklin county.

61/4 Miles to Fort Gadsden. ¹² ¹³ No difference between this part of the route and that described last -a succession of glades and palmetto flats with one or two small branches dry in summer.

4. From Fort Gadsden ¹⁴ to Mikosukey.

To Okalockina River, N. 321/2 E. 38 miles-Six and a half miles to Big Creek ¹⁵ branch of Apalachicola (last creek of the preceding itinerary).

Five and a half miles to Juniper Creek ¹⁶ - branch of new river through a thickety flat, and wet district with bay galls. Cross two branches one in the

¹² Fort Gadsden Landing just north of Ft. Gadsden creek mouth and about 2 miles west of Ft. Gadsden on the Apalachicola Northern RR. Situated on Prospect Bluff.

¹³ The so-called "negro fort" on the Apalachicola river was constructed on Spanish territory by Colonel Nicholls of the British Army in the fall of 1814, during the war of 1812, after Jackson had compelled the British to evacuate Pensacola. On Nicholls' return to England in 1815, he turned the fort and its munitions over to the Seminoles. It actually was soon occupied by negroes, largely escaped slaves from Georgia and their descendants, who lived in close association with the Indians. Using this as a base, marauding bands of negroes ventured as far as the Georgia frontier on plundering expeditions. Despite remonstrances made to the Spanish authorities, the latter made no effort to abate this nuisance. The situation finally lead General Gaines to construct in 1816 a fort on the Flint river near its junction with the Chattahoochee, which was named Fort Scott. A convoy of naval vessels carrying stores for Ft. Scott, attacked it on July 27, 1816. A hot shot from one of the vessels struck the major magazine, causing a terrible explosion which killed 270 of the 334 inmates of the fort. It was found that Nicholls had left large quantities of military supplies in the fort, which, with considerable lack of judgment, were turned over to the Indians.

¹⁴ Impressed with the eligibility of the site, the General directed Lieutenant Gadsden to design and construct a suitable fortification to serve as a provision base. Pleased with the talents and zeal the lieutenant exercised, the general named the fortification Fort Gadsden. On the 23rd word was received that the flotilla which left New Orleans on the 12th of February had arrived in the bay. The expected Tennessee volunteers had not yet arrived, having, from the news received, deviated from their expected course via Fort Gaines, to secure provisions.

¹⁵ The army left Fort Gadsden on the 26th with eight days rations. Before leaving arrangements were made for the transportation of supplies to the bay of St. Marks by the naval force.

¹⁶ Juniper creek.

first-another in the sixth mile-small but with bad thickets- dry in summer. The creek is from fifty to sixty feet wide in winter but in summer is nearly without water-bottom and banks a mixture of sand and mud-four and a half miles to the main branch of New river. ¹⁷ In this distance the stream is close on the right of the path-the soil similar to that just described with six small thickety branches-dry in summer. New river is nearly dry in summer but in winter is sometimes swelled so as to be impassable-bottom sandy-banks somewhat miry. Five and a half miles to a large branch entering N(ew) river with a bad thicket-(p. 328). Country like the last Cross one bad branch in the second mile with a thicket on the east side a quarter of a mile wide-dry in summer. Seven and a half miles to Toloche creek ¹⁸ - a branch of Okalokina. Swamp one quarter of a mile wide on the west side and a half a mile on the east. Banks and bottom sandy-width fifty feet depth four feet-country same as last with numerous thickets which make the path in many places very intricate. Two branches, one in the third, the other in the fourth mile--dry in summer with bad thickets-somewhat miry. Eight and three quarter miles to Okalokina river ¹⁹ - through a country rather higher than the last presenting in places a little inequality of surface and a mixture of small oak with the pine several small miry branches with thickets-dry in summer. The Okalokina fifty-six yards wide-usual depth from six to nine feet-banks and bottom sandy. A bluff on

¹⁷ New river.

¹⁸ Toloche creek equals Taluga, Telogia, Teluca, Taloggee Creek of various maps.

¹⁹ Ochlocknee river.

each side - that ²⁰ on the east of considerable height. To Mikosuke N. 68 E. 37 miles. Six and a fourth miles to a branch ²¹ of Okalokina-country high and open-crossing three small branches ²² different in character from those of Okalokina, being clear running streams with steep banks and hemmed in by hills of moderate height-growth a mixture of pine with scrubby oak-Five and a half miles cross an Indian path ²³ leading to St. Marks branch at the end exactly like the others with a bottom of soft rock and sandy banks. Hill on each side - eleven and a quarter miles to pond ²⁴ - country assumes a less monotonous character-the surface becomes more uneven and the growth more mixed. In the ninth mile, the ground becomes quite elevated with a mixture of large oak indicating a favorable change of soil-in the fifth mile, passed an open pond on the right with high banks. In the tenth mile the soil becomes fertile with a growth of oak and hickory-three branches-one in the second mile-sandy bottom and reedy thicket-the other two in the tenth mile-small. Four miles to Tallahassee T. ²⁵ through an ex-

²⁰ Jackson Bluff on the Ocklochnee river in the western part of Leon county. " * * * at Ockloknee river, where nineteen canoes were made, and the principal part of the army crossed by eight o'clock, P. M., the residue next morning ; when the march was resumed at eleven o'clock A. M." Adj. Gen. Butler to Brig. Gen. Parker, Fort Gadsden, May 3, 1818. Am. St. Papers, Mil. Aff. Vol. I, p. 703.

²¹ Harvey creek, near old Yankeetown.

²² First creek is Freeman creek and third is Double branch.

²³ This is the path by which they returned from St. Marks (see 53).

²⁴ Probably pond near Tallahassee Air Port.

²⁵ Probably at or near Levy's spring north of Tallahassee * * * "On this evening (March 30th) Brevet Major Twiggs of the 7th Infantry was detached with one company and about two hundred warriors, with orders to advance on an Indian village called Tallahassee, and surprise it at daybreak. On his near approach, he despatched a party to ascertain its situation, who reported it evacuated some days before. On the morning of the 31st he entered the village, having previously sent out parties to reconnoiter. Two of the enemy were made prisoners, one of whom made his escape before he was brought into camp. The army passed the village about twelve o'clock, and encamped near Mikosuke * * * ". Butler to Parker, *ibid.*

cellent body of land, the soil adapted to any kind of culture growth, oak and hickory. A small miry branch near the village-entering Okalokina. The town was handsomely situated on a hill and consisted of ten or twelve houses with a large clearing cultivated in common. Sixteen miles to Mikosukey Towns²⁶ through land resembling with very little variation that just described.²⁷ In places it assumes

²⁶ On the west shore of Lake Miccosukey about 21/4 miles east of the present village of Miccosukey. "The Mickasukey Towns are situated on the margin of a large shallow pond extending NNW and SSE ten miles, filled with high grass, and surrounded by high and mostly fertile land-particularly on the west side, where the soil is equal to any in the southern country." (Young).

²⁷ Their course probably passed through the northern part of Tallahassee, thence northeast in the vicinity of the "old" Miccosukey road.

On the 1st of April, the army was re-inforced by the arrival of a detachment of Tennessee volunteers under Colonel Elliott, and friendly Creek warriors under General McIntosh. On the same day, one and one-half miles from the Miccosukey towns a party of hostile Indians was discovered located on a point of land projecting into an extensive marshy pond. They dispersed in every direction on being flanked. In this affair one American and fourteen Indians were killed. Pursuit was continued in every direction through the groups of scattered houses. Raiding parties were sent out the next day which consumed nearly three hundred houses and brought in an abundance of corn and cattle. In the center of the public square of Kenhagee's (Kinhega) town, a red pole was discovered to which were affixed scalps recognized as belonging to members of the Scott party. It was Kenhagee who stopped Mr. Ellicott in 1800 at the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochie when he was preparing to run the line from that point to the head of St. Mary's.

"* * On the morning of the first of April * * The army now advanced within a mile and a half of Kinjahaj's town, when a number of Indians were discovered herding cattle on the margin of a large pond. (After the engagement) * * the army now advanced upon the town which was found deserted by the enemy ; * * The army continued the pursuit to a large pond of water which is eight miles in length, varying in width from six hundred to four thousand yards, and from two to five feet deep, through which the army passed, when the approach of night induced the commanding general to draw off the troops. On the succeeding morning, Brevet Major General E. P. Gaines, with a large command, was ordered to pass the lake or pond, and attack the other towns, but which he found abandoned by the enemy. The red pole was found planted in the square of Fowltown,* * * The army remained at this point until the morning of the 5th, when the march was resumed for St. Marks, * * *". Butler to Parker, *ibid*.

quite a broken appearance but even on the higher hills, the soil is rich. In this distance there are but two small branches—one in the seventh, the other in the twelfth mile. Of course the country is badly watered. But water can no doubt be anywhere procured by digging. The path crosses Savannas or wet glades in the third, fifth, fourteenth and fifteenth miles. That in the fourteenth is the largest extending to the south further than the eye can reach.

5. Miles from Mikasukey to St. Mark.

S. 161/2 W. 30 Miles. Eleven miles and a quarter to a reedy branch. Good land for one mile then wet with thickets for the second when the country rises with a growth of large oak and hickory and a soil sandy but cultivatable. This continues two miles, and thence to the branch at the end—the flat pine land continues (p. 329) only interrupted at long intervals by small spots of good land in the neighborhood of thickety ponds—Four branches—one large, in the second mile—one in the fifth mile with high open banks, and sandy bottom—the others inconsiderable and no doubt dry in summer.

Nineteen Miles to St. Marks.²⁸ Little variety in this distance. The soil, growth and branches similar with little exception to the low flat country before described. Eight miles from the Fort, the land rises and presents some inequality of surface with

²⁸ The vicinity of St. Marks was reached on the 6th of April and the army encamped at the distance of a mile from the fort. After a demand for surrender was presented to the commandant of the fort, Don Francisco Caso y Luengo, by Lieutenant Gadsden, which was refused, the fort was seized without resistance by Captain Twiggs on the morning of the 7th. On this occasion Arbuthnot was arrested on the moment of attempted escape. The naval force arrived a few hours before the army, displaying English colors. Deceived by this circumstance, the chiefs Francis (Hillis Hadjo) and Homathlemico (Himathlemico), the latter in command of the band which massacred the Scott party, came on board hoping to receive munitions with which to attack the army. They were promptly seized and were hanged the next day.

abundance of secondary limestone.²⁹ In the second mile, passed the Sahwannee path coming³⁰ in on the left. North of this there is good land, relieving a little the savannas of the pine country. One small branch in the fourth mile open and a little miry.³¹

6. From St. Marks³² to Sahwannee.

²⁹ Good description of region at road near the Natural Bridge. It would not appear that the army passed down the east side of the St. Mark's river, crossing at the Natural Bridge, but that rather it went down on the west side the entire distance, probably closely following the line of what was later the old plank road. Young elsewhere gives a fair account of the natural bridges over the St. Mark's and lower streams. That over the St. Mark's he states to be two and one-half miles from the fork and nearly three miles in extent, covered with thickets and heavy swamp timber. The raft or bridge is swampy and almost impervious.

³⁰ Approximately on the course of the old St. Augustine road. This was laid out on the middle trail. After reaching the vicinity of Lamont the army cut across to the lower trail which was followed to the Suwannee.

³¹ "The fort of St. Mark's is situated at the junction of the rivers St. Marks and Wakally and nine miles from the bay. The land about the fort is open prairie for one mile when the pine woods commence. The prairie is swampy and has a thin covering of rich mould on a base of firm white sand". (Young's preliminary report.)

³² With 8 days rations the army departed from St. Marks on the morning of the 9th leaving behind a strong garrison. On the evening of the 10th it was joined by the rear of the Tennessee volunteers, and the Indians under General McIntosh who had been left at Miccasukey to scour the region. Although the weather was dry, the swampy character of the line of march kept the men wet to the middle, and large numbers of horses gave out daily.

Letter of Capt. David E. Burch to Brig. Gen. T. L. Jesup dated Pensacola June 5, 1823 * * "my information of the country east of this river (Appalachicola) is not so perfect as west of it, but having been with Gen. Jackson's army throughout the Seminole war, I acquired a general knowledge of it, as far as the Suwannee. * * Gen. Jackson's army marched * * thence (St. Mark's) to Suwannee on what is called the lower trail (being the one nearest the sea-coast) 110 miles. The route to Suwannee from St. Marks on this trail is low, with ponds, but the army was accompanied with a 6 pounder and an ammunition cart, and which did not delay our march materially, although these ponds were frequently for 5 or 600 yards near waist deep; they were not however miry or boggy. * * I was informed at the time by Indians and by Hamby that the upper trail (probably rather the middle trail, the approximate site of the later Pensacola-St. Augustine road, Young elsewhere speaks of an upper, center and lower path from Mikosukey to Sahwannee) was not more than 10 or 15 miles north of us and parallel to the one we were marching on; also that it was on a more elevated country." * *

To Assilla creek, N. 59 E. 34 miles-Sixteen miles to the Sahwanne path described before-eighteen miles to Assilla through excellent land with little interruption-tolerably well watered. Sufficiently broken for beauty of aspect and not too much for facility of culture. The branches are small but miry with reedy thickets and without perceptible currents--probably feeding the ponds north of St. Mark and uniting subterraneously with that river. At the end,³³ the path from Mikosukey comes in on the left--then to Assilla,³⁴ seven miles through a flat low pine country with a number of small miry and thickety branches without current-and in spots a good deal of limestone on the surface. Assilla cr. has high banks open on the east but fenced in by a difficult thicket on the west-width fifty and depth five feet-sandy bottom.

To Slippery Log Cr., S. 49 E. 18 miles-Eight miles and a quarter to natural bridge creek.³⁵ Low and flat for three miles with glades covered with water-and a mixture of cabbage palmetto among the swamp timber. At this point the path crosses a large but shallow branch with a thicket-thence two miles to another and similar branch with abundance of cypress and vines-thence through the same kind of country three miles and a quarter to the creek which has high open sandy banks, a width of thirty-five feet, depth of five feet and a sandy bottom. Its name is derived from a ledge of limestone rock which forms over the creek a dry and secure bridge of twenty-five feet width. This curiosity is a short

³³ One and one-half miles to two and one-half miles west of Lamont on the old St. Augustine road.

³⁴ Crossing of the Aucilla river just below Walker Springs.

³⁵ Econfina, Econfenee, Econfena river. (Indian word for Natural Bridge).

distance above the path.³⁶ Nine and three-quarters miles to Slippery Log Creek³⁷ through a country with great sameness of character-flat, low and wet with occasional cypress and bay thicket on either side and with pine, wiregrass, saw-palmetto and some cabbage tree - in the fourth mile cross a branch and bad thicket and two others similar in character in the sixth mile. The creek has open high banks, a width of fifty feet, depth of four and a half feet and a rocky bottom.

To Live Oak Swamp, S. 49 E. 23 1/2 miles-The same description applied to the route in this distance as in the last, except that the country becomes still lower and the wet glades more frequent. In the seventh and eight miles³⁸ these ponds assume the appearance of large prairies, and in very wet seasons must be nearly impassable from depth of water. Four branches in the ninth,³⁹ nineteenth and twentieth, and twenty-fourth miles⁴⁰ -the last the largest on the edge of the swamp. The others are probably dry in summer when they present no other obstructions but their thickets. The live oak swamp is one-half a mile wide covered with water

³⁶ During the night of the 11th sentinels heard the lowing of cattle and the barking of dogs. Local search failing to reveal Indians, the scouts on the morning of the 12th near Econfinah or Natural Bridge, discovered a party of Indians on the edge of the swamp. They were attacked by the Creeks under General McIntosh and about fifty Tennessee volunteers, who routed them in a running fight over 3 miles. Thirty-seven warriors were killed, and, in addition there were captured six men and ninety-seven women and children, On the same occasion there was recaptured a white woman, the only survivor of the Scott party. They proved to be of Peter McQueen's band. The American force lost three killed and five wounded. Several hundred head of cattle were also secured. On the morning of the 15th, the scouts overtook a small party of Indians, killing one man and capturing one man, one woman and two children.

³⁷ Fenholloway river. Crossing likely below Hampton spring.

³⁸ Ponds west of Athena.

³⁹ Warrior creek.

⁴⁰ Dallus creek.

except in the warmest months-and from the marks of inundation (p. 330) must after heavy rains be past fording.

To Sahwannee, ⁴⁴ S. 61 E. 29 miles-Four miles and three-quarters to Histenhatche Cr. ⁴¹ through flat sandy country covered thickly with palmetto-and with intervals of small prairie hemmed in by picturesque thickets of evergreens among which the live oak is conspicuous. Abundance of rock curiously drilled by the action of water is seen on the surface near Histenhatche and through the prairies. The creek has high open banks a width of fifty feet and a rocky bottom. The depth in the rock is from two to three feet but immediately above there is an abrupt change of depth to nine feet and below there is a considerable fall ⁴² - the rock forming a narrow ford or bridge under as well as over which the current obviously runs from the ebullition above the ford.

Eighteen miles to a large pond. ⁴³ The branches become more numerous and less accessible from the closeness of their thickets and the muddiness of their banks. There is rather more cypress in the thickets than seen heretofore-in other respects, the appearance of soil, timber, etc., is similar to that before described. In the eleventh mile, the country begins to rise a little with a mixture of scrubby oak and towards the pond it becomes quite elevated. The pond runs north and south. Cross path in the seventeenth mile-five and a half miles to Sahwannee

⁴¹ Steinhatchee river.

⁴² Falls on Steinhatchee river about 2 1/2 miles below crossing of Florida Rd. No. 19.

⁴³ Twin Lakes at Eugene.

⁴⁴ Suwannee river. The Spaniards called it the Little San Juan. Elsewhere Capt. Young suggests that Suwannee is a corruption of San Juan rather than an Indian word.

towns ⁴⁶ through a country a little rolling with a large mixture of oak for three miles ⁴⁷ when the path enters the thicket bounding the towns on the N. W.-Thence to the first cabin is half a mile from which to Bow-leg's town where the camp was established is one mile and three-quarters. ⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Supposing the army to be within striking distance of Suwannee, an early start was made on the 16th, but after marching 16 miles and reaching a remarkable pond, which the guide recollected as 6 miles from Suwannee, the General would have camped had not six mounted spies been encountered, who escaped. This circumstance determined a forced movement, to prevent if possible the escape of the Indians and the removal of their supplies, as the rations of the American army were exhausted. Lines of attack were formed and the arms put in motion. The left column was composed of the second Tennessee regiment under Colonel Williamson and an Indian party under Colonel Canard (Kinard), (an Indian whose village is mentioned as visited en route from Fort Early to Fort Scott), the center was composed of the regulars, Georgia militia, and the General's personal Tennessee guards, while the right consisted of the first Tennessee regiment under Colonel Dyer and General McIntosh's Indians. The attack was begun by the left column while the right endeavored to prevent escape across the river. Due to the previous alarm given by Arbuthnot, they soon crossed the river leaving nine negroes and 2 Indians dead. Thirteen of Colonel Kinard's party were wounded. Foraging parties were out on the 17th, and on the 18th a strong detachment under General Gaines was sent across the river. Only nine Indians and 5 negro prisoners were secured. During the night of the 18th, Ambrister was captured as he blundered into the camp. This ended the campaign. On the 20th the Georgia militia marched homewards to be disbanded. The sick were despatched down the river to be conveyed to St. Marks by sea in Arbuthnot's captured schooner. With the regulars and Tennessee troops, the General returned to St. Marks on the 21st, which was reached on the 25th. The previous day General McIntosh and his Creek Indians were dismissed. Encampment was made four miles north of St. Marks.

⁴⁶ Near the present village of Old Town but on the west bank of the River east of the present village.

⁴⁷ Descriptive of the southern end of Old Town Hammock.

7. *From St. Marks*⁴⁸ *to Okalokina.*

Eight and one-half miles to thicket at the head of Wakally⁴⁹ - The first three and a half miles through flat pine wood, with abundance of limestone on the surface and some thickets-a little miry. The next five miles, the path runs not far from Wakally⁵⁰ and sometimes on the edge of the swamp, passing occasionally through second-rate land with a little oak and hickory. The thicket, which is an extensive dry hammock is three-quarters of a mile wide and full of sinks - described before.

Eight miles to Reedy Branch, head of Sok-Choppe⁵¹ - Soon after leaving the large hammock, the country ascends a little, and assumes a more rolling appearance with an occasional mixture of scrubby oak bushes with the pines-some good land in the second mile.

Eleven and one-half miles to Mikasukey road, from **Fort Gadsden** - Country high, but nearly flat with scrubby oak bushes and pine without palmetto. Soil, white sand and very firm. Crosses a miry branch at the end of the third mile and a reedy hollow in the ninth mile-in the eleventh⁵² came to a

⁴⁸ On the morning of April 29, leaving behind an American garrison in the fort, the General and his remaining troops were in march for Fort Gadsden, which was reached the 2nd of May. After resting here until the 7th, the army proceeded to Ochese bluff, where the Apalachicola river was crossed near the village of that name on the 10th. Strong garrisons of regulars were left in Fort Scott and Fort Gadsden. The force crossing the river consisted of a small detachment of infantry, one company of artillery and the effectives of the Tennessee volunteers (690) the whole not exceeding twelve hundred men.

"* * the general having previously detached a garrison of two hundred men, under the command of Brevet Major Fanning, to occupy Fort St. Marks." Butler to Parker, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Wakulla spring.

⁵⁰ Wakulla river.

⁵¹ Sokchoppe equals Sopchoppy river. It is fairly definite that this is not the head of what is now known as the Sopchoppy river. This is likely Lost creek on the soil survey map of Leon county.

⁵² This is likely Harvey creek.

handsome branch-a water of Okalokina, with steep banks, a sandy bottom and a hill on each side. One mile thence to the road which the path ⁵³ from St. Marks intersects five and a half miles from Okalokina.

WEST FLORIDA (p. 331)

No materials having been obtained for a correct general view of West Florida, it was thought best to give only the itineraries through the country, comprehending the routes from Apalachicola to Pensacola and thence to Fort Montgomery and comprising such other information as could be collected. From these, a pretty accurate idea may be had of the general face of the country's soil and productions. ⁷¹ (Map 2)

1. *From Ocheese to Escambia R* ⁵⁴

To Big Spring, ⁵⁵ N. 45 W. 18 miles-The Ocheese Bluff ⁵⁶ has been already described-thence the path runs through second-rate land with oak and hickory for one mile-then a pine flat for three miles, then rolling for four miles-then flat but high, for two miles-then a little uneven for six miles-and thence two miles through a rolling country to the spring. . . Good pine land with reddish soil in the sixth, seventh, eighth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth miles. The path then enters an excellent body of land with

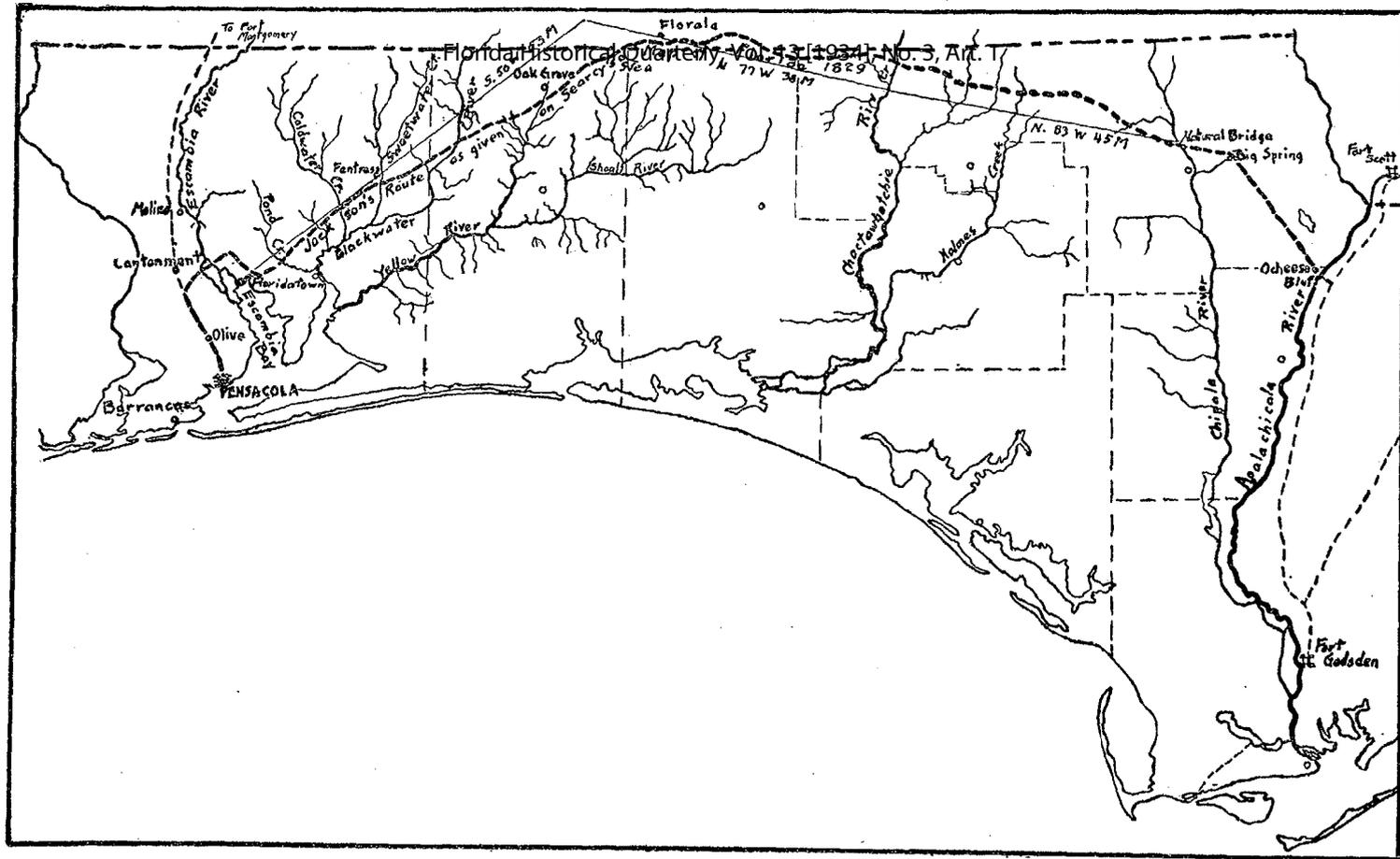
⁵³ Probably the path referred to in note 23.

⁵⁴ "After a fatiguing, tedious and circuitous march of twelve days, misled by the ignorance of our pilots and exposed to the severest of privations, we finally reached and effected a passage over the Escambia". (Jackson)

⁵⁵ Blue spring.

⁵⁶ Bluff opposite Aspalaga bluff. (See notation No. 8)

⁷¹ The campaign in West Florida was stimulated by news that the Governor was feeding a party of 450 Indians in Pensacola that had been dispersed from east of the Apalachicola, who were engaged in plundering and murdering Americans. In addition, supplies destined for Fort Crawford, shipped on the schooner Amelia via the Conecuh river had been seized and held at Pensacola.



a growth of oak and hickory-somewhat similar to the pine land in East Florida, and continues to the end-crossed a path in the first, and two in the second mile-one small branch at the end of the tenth mile. In this distance there are no obstructions to the march of an Army. The country even where flat is high and dry-and where it becomes hilly, a mixture of sandstone gravel makes the route excellent-the Big Spring⁵⁵ which is tributary to Chapulle⁵⁷ is forty yards in diameter and of considerable depth with a rock bottom and a clean and rapid current.

To Choctahatche River,⁵⁸ N. 83 W. 45 miles-Six and a quarter miles to the natural bridge⁴⁹ of Chapulle creek through the same body of good land with soil and timber exactly similar. In the fourth mile, the road runs on a gravelly ridge but the hickory and oak continue-some limestone in the second mile. In the sixth a path comes in one the right near a thicket and a small branch. The Natural Bridge is in the center of a large swamp and appears to be a deposit of earth on a raft or some similar obstruction. The passage is narrow and the creek, with a rapid current is visible both above and

⁵⁷ Chipola river.

⁵⁸ Choctawhatchee river.

⁵⁹ Natural Bridge about 21/2 miles above Marianna on the Chipola river. This has been more or less destroyed in letting logs through and in the mining of limestone. "Near the north end of the bridge is a limestone cave, a quarter of a mile in length. In this cave a number of Indians had taken refuge while Jackson and a division of the army marched overhead on the bridge. Another division of the army had arrived at the river to the north of the bridge, and was delayed in making rafts and bridges in order that the wagons and artillery might cross. Jackson waited impatiently for them to come up, and was very angry when they accounted for the delay by the difficulty in crossing the river. He had seen no river, and would not believe in the existence of one until the guides explained the matter." Brevard, *History of Florida* Vol 1, p. 54. Evidently the cave referred to in Brevard's anecdote is the Rock Arch cave to which Young later refers. An almost contemporary description of this is found in William's *View of West Florida*, page 35.

below. The Chapulle rises west of Fort Gaines on Chatahouchie and enters Apalachicola eight miles above Fort Gadsden. Springs, like the one above described are numerous in the neighborhood of this creek. Sometimes their streams run subterraneously and they are then seen in transparent pools at the bottom of deep sinks, but generally the larger ones unite with Chapulle above ground. The good land extends down this creek six or eight miles below the spring and is part of the extensive tract which has been several times alluded to extending on the west side of Chatahouchie to Fort Gaines and thence, westwardly to Escambia across the waters of Choctahatche and Pea river-where the pine predominates in this district the soil only differs from that of the oak and hickory growth in having a greater mixture of sand-but the foundation a reddish marly clay-is equally good, and the sandy proportions only promotes facility of culture. The limestone seen occasionally has a partial siliceous mixture. On the high hills is seen ferruginous sandstone ponderous from the predominance of the metallic oxide-some gravel of the sandstone kind is scattered through the more elevated ridges of the good land.

To Okchiahatche Cr. ⁶⁰ twenty-one miles-Excellent land to Rockarch (P. 332) spring five miles with a mixed growth of oak, pine and hickory with several sinks affording abundance of excellent water. Limestone visible in one or two places-the spring is in curious rocky cavern in the middle of a thicket and surrounded by excellent land. Thence three miles through good pine land a little rolling-then, after passing an oak and hickory flat-leaving a thickety pond on the right the soil changes to a gray-

⁶⁰ Holmes creek at a point about 5 miles south of the Alabama-Florida line.

ish mixture of sand and white clay-the surface becomes flat and glady and the scrubby pine and wire-grass indicate the worst kind of soil. This continues five miles. The soil then changes again to a deep yellow rather better than the gray but scarcely cultivatable-same for two miles-then flat with scrubby thickets for two miles-then poor, but a little higher, for two miles to the creek. A great deal of this tract after leaving the good land of Chapulle is a little similar to the flat glady land east of St. Mark ; but is more varied by partial inequalities of surface. It is also without palmetto, none being yet seen west of Apalachicola. The thickets have much cypress but are without that luxuriant variety of evergreens which cover the baygalls of East Florida.

Okchiahatche is a branch of Choctahatche, is thirty feet wide at the crossing place-with sandy bottom and banks and a narrow thicket. It crosses the Florida line thirty-nine miles west of Chatahouchie, and five miles west of Chapulle. A cross path in the fifth mile-a small branch in the thirteenth and one in the nineteenth mile-glades in the tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth and nineteenth miles. Seventeen and a half miles to Choctahatche through a country alternately flat and a little rolling-presenting reedy branches in the flatter and pine and wire-grass in the higher parts-a small reedy branch in the fourth mile-creek in the fifth mile twenty-five feet wide, high open banks, and sandy bottom-small open branch in the same mile-small reedy branch in the sixth mile-branch in the seventh mile and a creek twenty-five feet wide, sandy bottom and miry on the west bank-several miry spots in the eighth mile-two branches in the ninth and abundance of fine reed in the tenth mile. A miry reed branch in the eleventh mile-same in the twelfth mile-a small creek in the fifteenth mile-twelve feet wide and with open banks. The soil of the pine land

in this district differs a good deal from that of the pine country east of Apalachicola. Here it is based on clay of a light yellow color with a mixture of sand and thin vegetable mould-and in the higher part, sprinkled at the surface with small rounded sandstone like gravel with a mineralization of iron and manganese oxides-quartz pebbles are very rare. The yellow and red soil is only seen in the rolling country. In the flat and glady districts the soil is greyish from the mixture of white clay with greater or less degree of blackness, in proportion to the thinness or luxuriance of the vegetable covering. In the hollows between the hills there is abundance of small reed affording excellent and durable pasturage-and on the larger creeks there is some cane-(p. 333). Choctahatchie rises about fifty miles above the Florida line. It has two branches-the eastern one of which, called Pea river unites with the main prong two miles above the boundary. Thence its course is a little west of south to its mouth at the east end of St. Roses Bay. South of the boundary there is not much first rate land on Choctahatchie but in the Terr. Y. (sic) both its branches run through a tract of fine land that commences on the Alibama and the head of Escambia. At the crossing place,⁶¹ Choctahatchie is 150 yards wide and not fordable. The bank is high and open on the east-side, and on the west, there is a thicket three-quarters of a mile wide with a growth of cane but sandy and dry.

To Red Ground Trail. S. (sic) 811/2 W. 36

⁶¹ The crossing place was one or two miles south of the Alabama-Florida line.

miles⁶² -Two miles and three-quarters wet and flat -the guide then left the trail and piloted us through the woods-twenty miles through a rolling pine country with numerous little reedy branches between the hills, the heads of small streams entering Choctahatchie, the greater part of this distance on a ridge. For the last four miles the hills are covered with scrubby oak bushes indicating the poorest kind of land. The soil generally resembling the yellowish sand and clay described before. Sandstone gravel is abundant on the hills, and on one or two of the higher ridges, the whole mass seems from indication at the surface to be ferruginous sand rock. The reedy branches crossed are generally miry-one in the third, fifth, tenth, fifteenth and the twentieth mile respectively. A large reed brake on the south side of the path in the eighteenth mile. The next sixteen miles are through a similar country-two miles over a wide ridge, with small pines-then flat for one mile, then rolling to the end-one bad branch in the fourth mile-one in the seventh, two in the tenth -one in the thirteenth and one in the fourteenth. A cross path in the twenty-ninth mile. Entered a trail in the thirty-fourth mile which gave out at a branch at the thirty-sixth-good pine land at the first path.

⁶² The bearing of S. 81 1/2 W. given is obviously in error. It should be N.W. Actually it would appear that the first 20 miles traversed were in Florida, more or less parallel to the boundary. In the second stretch of 18 miles they crossed the boundary to a point in Alabama somewhere in the vicinity of Florala where the Red Ground trail was intersected. Most portions of the preceding routes had been along Indian trails, it would appear that the greater part of the traverse between the Choctawhatchee and the point where they intersected the Red Ground trail was through the untracked woods. This probably explains the uncertainty of the guides and the general's exasperation (⁵⁴). (See Searcy's Map of Florida, 1829). The Red Ground Trail is shown on Roman's Map of 1775 (Lib. Cong.) as the "Road to the Upper Creek Nation", the southern terminus was at the head of Escambia Bay, east of the mouth of the Escambia river.

To Pensacola Bay, S. 50 W. 53 miles-Eleven miles to yellow water ⁶³ along a high pine ridge dividing two of its tributary creeks. Near the creek the land improves with a growth of pine, oak and small hickory.

Yellow Water rises about thirty miles north of the boundary, which it crosses thirty-five miles east of the Conecah. Its course thence, is S. W. to the head of Yellow Water bay, into which it empties, after being swelled to a considerable size by the accession of many large and rapid creeks of the finest water. Yellow Water is twenty-five yards at the crossing place-has a bluff on the east side and a swamp a quarter of a mile wide on the west-the current is rapid and deep-the banks and bottoms sandy. Two and a half miles to a small creek with steep banks and very miry on the west side-a miry branch in the first mile. The country is then rolling, the path running on a ridge for five miles to a creek twelve feet wide with open high banks and sandy bottom. Thence four miles along another ridge to a creek thirty feet wide ^{64a} -without swamp-with sandy bottom and banks, and a glady flat on the western side. Two miles a small miry branch-quarter, of a mile a large branch with open but miry banks, three-quarters of a mile a large branch of the same character ; six and a half miles to a large creek ^{64b} with high steep hills on the east side and a palmetto flat on the west,-one mile and a quarter a branch of ten feet wide and sandy bottom.

(P. 334.) Five and a quarter miles a large creek ^{64c} sixty feet wide, open on the east side and with a narrow thicket on the west-a good ford was found

⁶³ They probably re-entered Florida somewhere near Svea station on a branch of the L. and N. RR. The Yellow river was probably crossed in the vicinity of the village of Oak Grove.

^{64a} Head-waters of Blackwater river.

^{64b} Sweetwater creek in the vicinity of Fentress.

^{64c} Coldwater river.

a quarter of a mile below the path. Two and a half miles another creek with low open banks and sandy bottom-the bottom uneven and somewhat obstructed at the ford by logs-five and three-quarter miles to a creek ^{64d} twenty feet wide with high open banks and sandy bottom and a high hill with red sandstone on the east side and a flat with some palmetto on the west.

All these streams are tributaries ⁶⁵ of Yellow Water and are very similar in character and appearance. Their currents are rapid-beautifully clear and run in wide channels of the whitest sand. The banks mostly open and low with commonly a hill on one side and a glady flat stretching to a small distance on the other.

From the crossing place of the. main stream the course of the path is nearly parallel with it to the bay. Four and a half miles from the last creek to the bay ⁶⁶ over a flat district with a few miry spots. Near the Bay, there is some second rate land and a hammock one-fourth of a mile wide. Settlements are scattered along the shore from this point to the mouth of Yellow Water Bay and among them are some handsome and productive plantations of second rate land. The soil on the hills among these creeks is alternately yellow, white and reddish sand and clay. The hills are based on a reddish sand-rock which in many places is seen on the surface in a semi-indurated state. West of Yellow Water this concrete has an argillaceous mixture, which renders it friable and when found pulverized on the surface mixed with a little vegetable mould would probably

^{64d} Pond creek.

⁶⁵ Their course must have been far enough west of the Blackwater river so that the presence of this stream between their position and the Yellow river was unsuspected, and the head waters of the Blackwater were believed to be tributaries of the Yellow.

⁶⁶ Escambia bay in the vicinity of Floridatown.

be productive. The timber is altogether pine except in the swamps and thickets.

To Escambia River, ⁶⁷ N. 501/2 W. 133/4 miles-Three miles of this distance over the edge of the high ground, the remaining ten through the glady flats intervening between the hills and the river swamp. Crossed twelve branches-all with miry banks-but having generally hard sandy bottoms-one in the seventh mile has a very close thicket on the north side-one also very intricate in the twelfth. Here the path terminated at a Bayou entering the Escambia one mile and a half below-forty yards wide with a swampy island between it and the main stream of one mile and a half in width. The Escambia at this point is eighty yards wide with steep banks and a low pine bluff on the west side. The swamp of the island is covered for two-thirds of the way from the Bayou with water to a depth of from two to five feet and obstructed by undergrowth and cypress knees -soil stiff white clay.

The Escambia is properly but a smaller branch of a much larger stream called the *Conecah* with which it unites not far below the boundary. The *Conecah* rises near sixty miles above the line and interlocks with some stream running nearly north into the *Alibama*. There is excellent land near its head waters, but for some distance above the line and to its entrance into the bay its upland is of poor pine sand hills with bottoms of second rate soil but subject to inundation. It (p. 335) enters the Bay by two mouths of which the western one is the larger and its small delta is cut up by bayous running through numerous sedge islands. The shores of the Bay near the mouth are overhung with high red sand-stone bluff-the river is easily navigable to

⁶⁷ The Escambia river appears to have been crossed at a point to the east of the station of Cantonment on the L. and N. R.R.

Fort Crawford-six or eight miles above the boundary and in common stages of water small boats can ascend much higher.⁶⁸

To Pensacola.

Sixteen miles to a spring on the west side of the road through a rolling country for eleven miles, when it becomes gradually flatter till towards the end when it again becomes a little uneven-the spring is at the head of one of the thickety hollows so common in this country. From the bluff on Escambia the route is along a ridge four miles to the road from Fort Montgomery then on the main ridge between Perdido and Escambia to the end.⁶⁹ From the spring five miles to Pensacola through a level but high sand and pine district.

To the Barancas⁷⁰ 14 Miles.

Through a high sandy country with scrubby pines and low oak bushes for four miles-then *flat* with glades and occasional miry spots to the end. Crossed a Bayou with a bridge at the end of the fourth mile-plantations at the Bayou-old plantation in the sixth mile-a branch with a small bridge in the ninth mile. Struck the Perdido road in the tenth mile-miry branch and bridge in the twelfth mile. In the fourteenth mile there is a swell of ground forming a

⁶⁸ On the 23rd, after crossing the Escambia, a vigorous protest was received from the governor of Pensacola. This was sufficient to indicate the required procedure to the General. Pensacola was entered without resistance on the 24th of May.

⁶⁹ The route was apparently west or southwest for four miles, and then south 17 miles to Pensacola. It is likely that camp on the 23rd was made near the village of Cantonment, a station on the L. and N. R.R. The name is a relic of Jackson's time. The trail southward to Pensacola was familiar to Jackson as he had traversed it in 1814. It is likely that the spring was in the vicinity of Olive station.

⁷⁰ The fort at Barrancas was invested on the evening of the 25th. Preparations for attack were actively pushed. Defensive firing from the fort was active on the 26th and 27th. The fort capitulated on the 28th and the garrison was granted honorable terms of surrender.

low ridge which nearly encircles the Barancas on the land side and at a distance of from six to seven hundred yards from the work. This route to Barancas goes around the head of the Bayous entering the bay below the town. The small branches are miry but may easily be bridged for temporary purposes. There is another and much shorter way by the beach. Crossing the bayous at their mouths, where the sand bars afford shallow fording, the distance by this route is about nine miles. Pensacola stands upon the west side of the bay and about eleven miles from its entrance. It is situated on the sandy flat extending from the foot of the high hills in its rear to the beach and is separated from the higher ground by a thickety marsh in which rise innumerable springs of the purest water. This marsh is crossed in coming from the interior by two causeways of sand with ditches on each side and is accessible by the beach at both the extremities of the town, each of these four passes is defended by a blockhouse now out of repair. The town is commanded by the high ground in its rear on which are the ruins of two forts that formerly defended the approaches along the eminence. The streets are wide and have side pavements of brick-but. the center part is pure sand which in the summer season and after a drought becomes so pulverised as to rise in suffocating clouds with the slightest wind. The Government House stands on the beach near the center of the town and is surrounded by a handsome garden. A large building intended for barracks stands in the square near the Government House-it is now in ruins. There are several block houses in town commanding the principal streets, intended for protection against the Indians. The commerce of Pensacola has hitherto been inconsiderable and was engrossed by the house of Panton Leslie and Company, now Forbes and Company.

Should the Americans retain the Floridas it must greatly increase when the lower part of the Alabama territory is settled and the fine land in that quarter is cultivated. The harbor of Pensacola has a depth (p. 336) of water sufficient for the largest vessels - but such as draw more than twenty feet water get over the bar at the entrance with difficulty. The water at the town is shoal for some distance from the land and would make it necessary to project wharves of considerable length from the shore. For the construction of these wharves, no wood has been found, sufficiently durable, besides the ironwood tree and cabbage palmetto-and these are not to be had west of Apalachicola. The ironwood is now almost all cut from the keys west of Floridas point. But the principal objection to this as well as the other Florida harbors is the number of worms which are so destructive as sometimes to ruin a vessel's bottom completely in a few months. Copper bottoms are indispensable if ship owners would save much labor and expense in frequently heaving down, cleaning and paying.

To Fort Montgomery.

Seventeen miles to the fork of the path from Escambia-along the same route traveled before-thence-Seventeen miles to pine barren creek through sand hills with pine and some scrubby oak. Land tolerable in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth miles-soil reddish clay and sand. Pine Barren is a branch of the Escambia and at the crossing place is thirty feet wide with sandy bottom and low open banks. A high hill on the south side: The road runs on the ridge between the Escambia and Perdido, crossing sometimes the hollows of the one -sometimes of the other-crossed two small branches-one in the first, the other in the tenth mile. The land is flat where the soil improves.

Abundance of quartz pebbles on the hills. Twenty-nine and a half miles to Fort Montgomery-through nearly a level country for fourteen miles-then over gently swelling ridges for four miles when the path ascends a high ridge and continues to the Fort. In the level pine woods there is much second rate land. Crossed a small creek, the main prong of Perdido in the thirteenth mile shallow but miry. Passed a deep spring in the seventeenth mile-a water of Alabama-the flat land before reaching this point is of greyish soil from the large mixture of white clay. Here it changes to a reddish sand without clay mixed with sandstone, gravel and in places large quantities of heavy sand-rock. After mounting the higher part of the ridge the path divides the water of Little River from some other waters of Alabama on the south. Fort Montgomery, now dismantled is situated two and a half miles from the Alabama on a high sand hill-abundantly supplied with water by fine springs issuing from the sides of the hill.

The country is healthy. The Fort is 48 miles from St. Stephens, 60 miles from Mobile and $63\frac{1}{4}$ from Pensacola.

THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS

Talk from the Indian chief Mad Dog.

Tookaubatche 31^o May 1801.

Efau Haujo, Speaker for the Creek Nation, to
Mr. Forbes, Merchant of Pensacola-

Their former trading house Mr. Forbes has sent us a talk and we have heard it. We have heard it and shall do our endeavours to bring it to perfection. We cannot do anything in a hurry. Your house are our old friends it is true, but there is many little people going about picking up the skins. We shall use our endeavours this winter to make good hunts and pay off our debts, but whether the fault is in us, or in our white traders we do not know. Our traders have property enough in negroes, cattle, horses, and it may be that the skins have been given for things which ought to have paid your debt. I do not mean the white traders alone, I include the Indian factors, they have accumulated property and they certainly could pay off some. It is very true, I have taken into consideration in the fall of the year we shall want ammunition altho our deer and game is almost gone. The game is gone ; and it seems a useless promise we make you. When the Acorns fall deer are usually about, but where now are the deer? I hope you will let the traders have powder, bullets, lead and flint for this winter's hunt, every trader knows the numbers of his hunters and have their promise to try if they can find the deer.

We find there is a new course of trade and that some people are not in debt, those who owe you we will endeavour to turn to you, the others who can shew they have paid what they owe, may go to the market of their own choise. We mean in this to include red and white. One thing we wish an increase of the measure of powder, it is now reduced to 10

or 12 loads for a chalk. This is the end of our talk for Mr. Forbes.

Written as interpreted by Timothy Barnard, Alex Cornells and James Durauseau.

(Signed) Benjamin Hawkins,
Principal Agent for Indian Affairs South of Ohio.

[Endorsed :]

Talk from the Mad Dog
on the subject of Indian debts.

NOTE-This document is in continuation of the series of records of Panton, Leslie & Co., and its successor John Forbes & Co., the publication of which has been continuous in the *Quarterly*. These are in the possession of Mrs. John W. Greenslade who has transcribed them.

PHILIP KEYES YONGE

1850-1934

By OCCIE CLUBBS

Numerous members of the old English family of Philip Keyes Yonge were natives of colonial Georgia and Florida, some held office under the crown of England in both states,¹ and it was at Fernandina, in 1818; then nominally Spanish territory, that his father, Chandler Cox Yonge, was born. The latter became a lawyer early and was scarcely twenty when he served as assistant secretary of the first Florida constitutional convention held at St. Joseph.² Five years later he was elected to the Florida state senate.

In 1845 he was appointed by President. Polk United States district attorney for Florida, and reappointments for two other terms followed. Upon the secession of Florida he served in the same office for the Confederate States, and later was quartermaster in the Confederate service with the rank of major and stationed in Tallahassee.

While living near Marianna his son, Philip, was born on May 27, 1850. The family moved to Pensacola in 1859 and both lived there the remainder of their lives. Both attended the University of Georgia, and Philip received the degrees of A.B. (1871), and A.M. and LL.B. (1872). Membership in Phi Beta Kappa attests his scholarship. Returning to Pensacola he entered business instead of the law and after several years, in 1876, began his connection

(1) His great, great grandfather, Henry Yonge, in 1755 was a member of the lower house of the Georgia colonial legislature; surveyor-general of Georgia in 1764; and a member of the King's Council in 1770. His great grandfather, Philip Yonge, was commissioned surveyor-general of Georgia in 1778. What Philip's brother, Henry, was attorney-general of Florida and member Of the King's Council at St. Augustine.

(2) *Proceedings*. . . . (St. Joseph, 1339) p. 118.

(3) *Georgia Alumni Record*, July, 1932, p. 122.

with the manufacture and export of lumber which continued more than fifty years. He was secretary of the Muscogee Lumber Company until 1889, assistant manager of its successor, the Southern States Land and Timber Company, until 1891, manager of the New York office for a year, and manager of its Muscogee mills until the company went into receivership when he was manager for the receivers. When, in 1898, the corporation was reorganized as the Southern States Lumber Company he became vice president and general manager, and was president from 1903 until 1930, when having cut all its timber, which exceeded 400,000 acres, it liquidated its business and he retired from active business life at the age of eighty.

The agricultural value of cut-over pine lands in the Pensacola region was imperfectly known until in 1899 Mr. Yonge established a demonstration farm and ranch and later added a modern dairy. Here for many years, in addition to the lumber business, he was an extensive and successful farmer; and that farm through continuous experiments and with daily visitors greatly influenced the progress of agriculture in the region.⁴

In the midst of the perplexities of a large industrial organization, the most extensive of its kind in that region, he found time to serve his community, and in civic and patriotic capacity he was alderman from 1905 to 1909, was president of the Pensacola Chamber of Commerce in 1908, and chairman of the War Camp Community Service and Agricultural Advisor to the District Exemption Board during the World War.⁵

(4) He compiled and published a pamphlet of 60 pages comprising papers by agricultural experts written for him on the agriculture of the region. See Lib. Cong. card: *The Perùido Country*.

(5) *Who's Who*. 1926.

Imbued with the spirit of progress Mr. Yonge kept pace with the intellectual movements of the time. His single-hearted allegiance to educational opportunity in his city, county, and state met with such success that he is known as an educational leader throughout Florida,⁶ and in this sphere lies his greatest contribution to the well-being of his fellow-men. From 1876 to 1890 he was a member of the Escambia county school board except for one term, and during this period the foundation of public education there was laid. From its inception in 1921 until his death he was chairman of the Board of Trustees of the special tax school district which includes Pensacola, and under that board all of the modern school buildings of the district were built.

In these local contacts, as in those of larger statewide import, there was nothing dogmatic nor self-assertive, for irreproachable courtesy marked his dealings with all. He was precise and cautious, and kept down factious opposition. No educational crisis found him unequal to it and he always piloted to a safe anchorage.

On the consolidation of the State schools in 1905 and the establishment of the University, the Florida State College for Women, the Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, and the School for the Deaf and the Blind, Mr. Yonge was appointed a member of their Board of Control. Except for one term he served continuously until his retirement in 1933 at the age of eighty-three, and for the last twenty years was chairman. Though its meetings were held several hundred miles from his home, he

(6) Dr. John J. Tigert, President of the University of Florida, said (Jacksonville *Times-Union*, Aug. 10, 1934) : "Florida has lost one of her most useful citizens. He was a man **who had** dedicated his life to public service. Taking all the institutions of the State into consideration, he did more for education than any other man **in** Florida."

attended 336 of 340. Concurrently he was chairman of the State Plant Board from its inception.'

The guiding spirit of his work with the presidents of these institutions and all with whom he labored was cooperation, and practical commonsense was the mainspring of his actions.* Recognition for this service came to him in good measure before his death: One of the largest schools in Pensacola bears his name. He was given the Kiwanis cup inscribed, "In appreciation of the most noteworthy public service rendered the city of Pensacola during the year 1931." At the University of Florida he was awarded membership in Phi Kappa Phi, and in the interval between his terms on the Board of Control the University conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws upon him. Its annual for 1933 was dedicated to him.⁹ Upon his retirement the legislature of Florida passed a joint resolution of appreciation of his serv-

(7) There was no emolument to any of these local or state offices, and when the legislature proposed to attach a salary to membership on the Board of Control he threatened to resign. *F. S. C. W. Alumnae Bulletin*, October 1934, p. 7.

(8) In the *Flastacowo*, the Florida State College for Women annual, 1931, which was dedicated to Dr. Yonge, Dr. Edward Conradi, President, wrote: "Ever since the University and the College were established he has woven the ideals of his life into these institutions with such fundamental ability, such a fine sense of honor, a sound and constructive idealism and never failing goodwill that they will be an asset to them and to the State in the years to come."

President J. R. E. Lee of the A. & M. College for Negroes said: "Dr. Yonge labored incessantly to make the school a blessing to all Florida and to inspire the colored people."

(9) "The students of the University of Florida congratulate you, Doctor Yonge, upon your long service. We deem it a privilege to dedicate the Seminole of 1933 to you as a partial expression of the love and appreciation which we bear to one of Florida's noblemen."

ices to education in the State. ¹⁰ His most noteworthy concrete memorial is the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School of the University, which at the time of its completion and dedication to him in 1934 was the outstanding plant for its purpose in the country. ¹¹

In 1876 Mr. Yonge married Lucie C. Davis, who died in 1932. Of nine children, five survived him. He was a life-long member of the Episcopal Church and long a vestryman of Christ Church parish at Pensacola.

(10) *Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 8 (April 20, 1933) :*

Whereas, after a long life, rich in public service, the fullness of years has prompted the Honorable Philip Keyes Yonge, one of the most useful of Florida's sons, to withdraw from active personal participation in the affairs of our State: and

WHEREAS, his ability, loyalty, zeal and idealism, especially in the field of education, have been always actively manifested in the concerns of his city, county, state and nation, and of right entitled him to a peculiar and prominent distinction among our citizens ; and

WHEREAS, for nearly twenty-five years as a member of the Board of Control of institutions of higher learning-eighteen of which he was chairman-he served with a devotion that comes only from self-consecration to a high purpose; and

WHEREAS, his recent resignation causes us to lose from our councils the wisdom that has come, to him from long and varied experience ; now therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Florida, that we extend to this distinguished citizen our congratulations that he has been able to contribute so abundantly to the true greatness of our State and to laying the sure foundation of the system of higher education of our State on such lofty lines as to insure its future growth; and

BE IT RESOLVED FURTHER that we, the representatives of its citizens, express our profound appreciation of this devoted service; wishing for him many more years of the fullest enjoyment of the fruition of a life well spent ; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be inserted in the records of the Journals of the Senate and of the House of Representatives and that a copy be sent to the Honorable Philip Keyes Yonge as evidence of the State's appreciation of his labors, given always with the self-effacing modesty of the patriot.

11. A life-size portrait of Dr. Yonge hangs opposite the entrance. There is one also in the library reading room of the Florida State College for Women. Both were unveiled with ceremony at commencements.

He became a member of the Florida Historical Society on its revival in 1902, was elected vice president in 1924 and was president from November, 1932, through the difficult years of 1933 and 1934, until his death. A result of his deep interest in Florida's history is the collection of Floridiana, the most extensive and valuable in the State, which he and his son Julien C. Yonge brought together when little was being done in Florida towards the preservation of the records of its past.

Dr. Yonge died at his home in Pensacola on August 9, 1934, and was interred in St. Michael's cemetery.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held in the Willow Branch Public Library at Jacksonville, Florida, on Tuesday, November 20, 1934, at 11 A. M.

The meeting was called to order by Vice-President Alston Cockrell. The following members were present :

Carl Bohnenberger	Mrs. George Harmon
William T. Cash	Joseph F. Marron
Alston Cockrell	Annie Millar
T. Frederick Davis	Alexander J. Mitchell
Mrs. T. Frederick Davis	Albert H. Roberts
Margaret C. Fairlie	Bates M. Stovall
Mrs. Fannie L. Gilkies	James W. White
Mrs. Frank P. Hamilton	

President Philip Keyes Yonge having died during the year, Vice President Alston Cockrell presented the annual report customarily made by the president of the Society at the end of the year. (post)

Treasurer T. Frederick Davis read his annual report. (post)

It was duly moved and carried the reports of Vice President Cockrell and Treasurer Davis be filed and published.

Librarian Carl Bohnenberger rendered an informal report. He stated many gifts of books and documents were made to the library during the past year. The work of cataloging the books, documents and maps, according to Mr. Bohnenberger, is now three-fourths completed. Numerous historians are using the facilities afforded by the library.

Vice President Cockrell appointed T. Frederick Davis, Mrs. Frank P. Hamilton and Albert H. Rob-

erts, members of a committee to draft and present to the Society resolutions in reference to the death of Senator James P. Taliaferro, Francis M. Williams, and Philip Keyes Yonge.

It was duly moved and carried the Florida Historical Society endorse the survey of state archives recommended by the National Park Service of the Federal Government. This survey is to be sponsored by the National Relief Organizations in the various states. It was further moved and carried the secretary be instructed to notify the director of state relief in Florida as to the adoption of this motion.

The committee which had been appointed to draw resolutions in reference to the deaths of Senator James P. Taliaferro, Francis M. Williams, and Philip Keyes Yonge presented separate resolutions of sorrow and regret in regard to each of these gentlemen. These resolutions were adopted and the members of the organization, out of respect for the departed, arose and stood in silence for thirty seconds. (post)

Miss Margaret C. Fairlie described the history of Florida which she has written for fourth grade children.

Albert H. Roberts in behalf of the Tallahassee Historical Society, asked the cooperation of the members of the Florida Historical Society in bringing about appropriate observance on July 9, 1935, of the 100th anniversary of the birth of William D. Bloxham, Governor of Florida. Governor Bloxham was the only native of Leon County to be Governor of Florida. He was the State's chief executive during the years 1881-1885, and 1897-1901.

It was duly moved and carried a nominating committee be appointed by Vice President Cockrell to recommend officers to serve the organization during the next year. In furtherance of the motion Mr.

Cockrell appointed James W. White, Alexander J. Mitchell, and Joseph F. Marron as members of this committee.

A motion was made and carried that the minutes of the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, 1933, be approved as printed in the January, 1934, issue of ***The Florida Historical Society Quarterly***.

The nominating committee reported the following nominations :

For president Alston Cockrell
1st vice president Julien C. Yonge
2nd vice president Alfred J. Hanna
Secretary Bates M. Stovall
Treasurer T. Frederick Davis
Librarian Carl Bohnenberger
Assistant librarian Annie Millar

For directors : Peter O. Knight, C. Seton Fleming, Joseph F. Marron, Mrs. Roy V. Ott, Mrs. Garrett Porter, Albert H. Roberts, Alexander J. Mitchell, James A. Robertson.

Directors ex-officio are: The president, the 1st vice president, the 2nd vice president, the secretary, and the treasurer.

A motion was thereupon duly adopted that the secretary cast a unanimous ballot for the officers as named by the nominating committee. In furtherance of this motion, the secretary cast the ballot.

Pursuant to a motion duly made and carried, the president declared the meeting adjourned.

BATES M. STOVALL,
Acting secretary.

**ANNUAL REPORT OF THE VICE PRESIDENT AND ACTING
PRESIDENT OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

To the members of the Florida Historical Society:

It is customary for the President of the Society to make a report at the end of the year. Our President having died during the year, it has become my duty to make this report.

It is with sorrow that I announce the passing of Philip K. Yonge at his home in Pensacola on August 9th. Though his advanced age had induced him to give up most of his public activities, he retained the presidency of the Society until the last, evincing the unflagging interest which he had maintained in it for a quarter of a century. His long and able service in behalf of this State and its institutions is well known. His interest in and leadership of the Society was on a par with his work in behalf of the state institutions of higher learning. My hope is that the members of the Society will, in some measure at least, render service to the Society as he did. May his memory be an inspiration to us.

Our Secretary also has passed away during the year. Mr. Francis M. Williams died at his home in Jacksonville on March 8th. He had been a member of the Society twenty-six years, ten of which he held the office of Secretary. He was intensely interested in the work of the Society and often contributed more than his annual dues in furtherance of its work. He was always present at the annual meetings and his records and minutes are a remarkably complete and valuable history of the Society's activities. In the death of Mr. Williams we have suffered a distinct loss.

Notwithstanding the widespread despondency of the past year, the Society is in better financial shape now than for some years. There is at least a respectable clear cash balance in the treasury. Our net

membership has decreased remarkably little during the past year, and an encouraging feature is the increasing promptness by our members in remitting dues. This has enabled us to carry on the work and publish on time the publications of the Society.

In this particular I wish to mention specifically the Contributing Members, a voluntary membership contributing annually ten dollars to the work of the Society, which has been of great assistance in carrying it on, namely: Judge Nathan P. Bryan, Mr. Washington E. Connor, Col. Peter O. Knight; Dr. Edward M. L'Engle, Mrs. Roy V. Ott, Mr. C. B. Reynolds, Mr. E. H. Reynolds, Mrs. Henry L. Richmond, Mrs. Raymond Robins, and our late Secretary, Mr. Francis M. Williams.

The Society wishes to express its appreciation to Mr. Joseph F. Marron and Mr. Carl Bohnenberger of the Jacksonville Public Library for courtesies extended during the year. We should be and are grateful to Mr. Julien C. Yonge for his able publication of the Society's *Quarterly* magazine of Florida history. Our *Quarterly* goes all over the United States and to foreign countries and is consulted by reputable historians everywhere in their research work on Florida. It is considered a most valuable historical publication, and there is scarcely an important work on Florida published anywhere that does not mention the *Quarterly* as a source authority.

An outstanding contribution to the records of the Society during the year comprised a collection of papers and photostats of original material and maps bearing upon Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida, donated by Mr. C. B. Reynolds of Mountain Lakes, N. J. It is hoped that others will be as generous as Mr. Reynolds. These records are carefully preserved in a fireproof location. Those having valuable historical records on Florida which they do not

desire to donate outright to the Society may, if they wish, lend them to us for safe-keeping, giving us the privilege of their use for publication in the **Quarterly**. Valuable records of general interest should be preserved against possible loss by duplication in print.

And finally, let me suggest, that as our revenue comes only from the small membership dues and our activities are guided entirely thereby, each member of the Society constitute himself a committee of one to enlist the interest of one of his friends in our work. Each new member adds a page and a half to the **Quarterly**, as all revenue is devoted to its publication.

ALSTON COCKRELL, Vice President.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the year November 20, 1933, to Nov. 19, 1934.

Receipts

Nov. 20, 1933, (last report) Cash balance on hand	\$ 9.74
Nov. 19, 1934, Total dues paid during year	574.00
Nov. 19, 1934, Total from sale of publications.....	17.60
	<hr/>
Total receipts	\$601.34

Disbursements

Feb. 23, 1934, Rose Printing Co., for January <i>Quarterly</i>	\$ 80.75
May 19, 1934, Rose Printing Co., for April <i>Quarterly</i>	94.88
July 31, 1934, Rose Printing Co., for July <i>Quarterly</i>	89.88
Nov. 9, 1934, Rose Printing Co., for October <i>Quarterly</i>	79.59
Copyrights, 4 issues of <i>Quarterly</i>	8.00
Stamps, postage, t o t a l	25.46
Stationery and printing, supplies, etc.	8.75
Telegram64
Floral	9.43
Government tax on checks16
	<hr/>
Total disbursements	\$397.54

November 19, 1934, Cash balance on hand..... \$203.80
 Bills payable : NONE.

T. FREDERICK DAVIS,
Treasurer.

RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF JAMES P.
TALIAFERRO

WHEREAS Senator James P. Taliaferro, departed this life during the past year, on, to wit October 6, 1934,

And

WHEREAS Senator James P. Taliaferro was one of the incorporators of the Florida Historical Society in 1905, and later became a life member of the Society,

And

WHEREAS his interest in the Society was pronounced and his helpfulness great,

Therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, we, the members of the Florida Historical Society, in meeting duly assembled do greatly regret and deplore the passing of Senator James P. Taliaferro and mourn his death, and we hereby extend our deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

T. F. DAVIS,
ELIZABETH FLEMING HAMILTON,
ALBERT H. ROBERTS.

RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF FRANCIS
M. WILLIAMS

WHEREAS our secretary, Francis M. Williams, departed this life during the past year, on, to wit March 8, 1934,

And

WHEREAS Francis M. Williams for the last twenty-six years of his life had been a member of our Society and for the last ten years had been its secretary,

And

WHEREAS the said Francis M. Williams administered the duties of his office with efficiency and was greatly beloved by our members,

Therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, we, the members of the Florida Historical Society, in meeting duly assembled do greatly regret and deplore the passing of Francis M. Williams and mourn his death and we hereby extend our deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

T. F. DAVIS,

ELIZABETH FLEMING HAMILTON,

ALBERT H. ROBERTS.

RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF PHILIP
KEYES YONGE

WHEREAS Philip Keyes Yonge, president of our Society, departed this life, August 9, 1934,

And

WHEREAS Philip Keyes Yonge was long a member of our Society, had been its vice president, and the two years immediately preceding his death was president of our organization,

And

WHEREAS the said Philip Keyes Yonge long and efficiently served our Society and was greatly respected and beloved by its members,

Therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, we, the members of the Florida Historical Society, in meeting duly assembled do mourn and deplore the death of Philip Keyes Yonge, greatly regret his passing and do hereby extend and express our deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

T. F. DAVIS,
ELIZABETH FLEMING HAMILTON,
ALBERT H. ROBERTS.

NOTES

The Jacksonville Historical Society has issued its **Annual 1933-1934**, a volume of eighty pages, comprising eleven of the many papers read at its meetings during the past few years. These are: H. H. Buckman, **The Geological Background of Florida History**; Herbert Lamson, **Ponce de Leon**; Harold Colee, **The Huguenots in Florida**; J. W. Spratt, **The French Occupation of Florida**; Nancy Bryan Reese, **Menendez, the Man**; Carita Doggett Corse, **St. John's Town**; Frances A. Ewell, **The Story of Middleburg**; Raymond D. Knight, **Fernandina**; Leona Trout, **Adventuring with Audubon in Florida**; Edward Jelks, **Dr. Henry Perrine**; Edward Jelks, **Dr. John Gorrie, the Inventor of the First Artificial Ice Machine**. There is also a **Foreword** with titles and authors of other papers read before the body; and a list of sites of historical interest in and near Jacksonville upon which markers have been placed by the Society.

One of these papers listed had already been published, **East Florida-in the American Revolution**, by Burton Barrs. This, a brochure of forty-two pages, is a succinct yet inclusive account of that subject from authoritative sources. Included are portraits of General Prevost, Governor Tonym, General Charles Lee, General and Governor Moultrie, General Robert Howe, and Charles Pinckney. There is also a double-page map of the scene of operations, and a bibliography.