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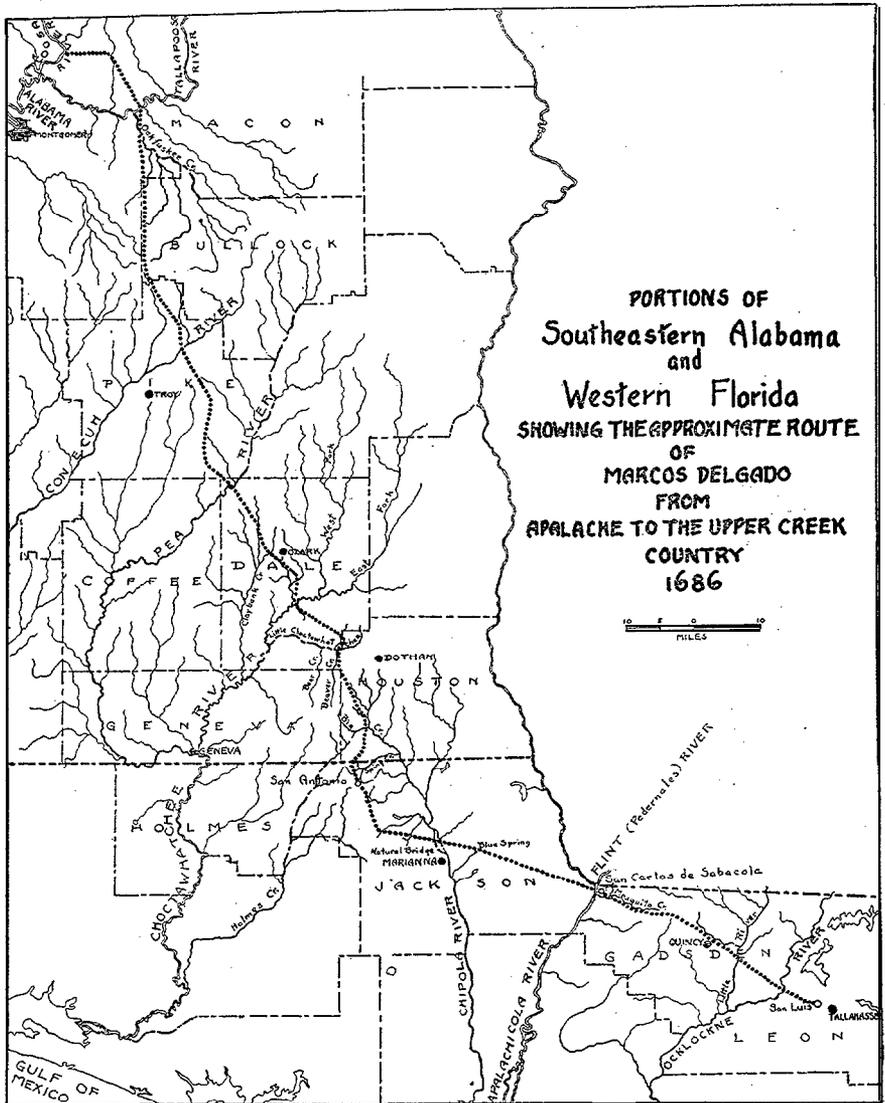
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District Organizations
A Letter-Book of Gov. Milton

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THE EXPEDITION OF MARCOS DELGADO
FROM APALACHE TO THE UPPER
CREEK COUNTRY IN 1686

Based on Original Documents, with Introduction,
Translations, and Notes by
MARK F. **BOYD**

By the time the Franciscan fathers began their conversion of the Indians in Apalache in 1633, Spain as a world power had long been in decline. Other European governments recognized the growing impotency, and several, including England and France, had begun to seize territory within the limits claimed by Spain across the Atlantic. After the early aggressions in the West Indies, the Spanish authorities in dread of further encroachments that might seriously threaten the security of their hold on New Spain, became, concerned over the extension of French interests in the interior of the continent and were alarmed when news of La Salle's attempt to found a colony on the Gulf reached their attention *.

This enterprise, undertaken in 1684, was intended to establish a colony on the lower Mississippi river, but through inadequate geographical knowledge the party missed the river and landed on the Texas coast at Metagorda bay. A series of disasters sapped the resources of the colony, the vessels were lost and attempts were made to reach New France overland, in one of which La Salle was killed. Those remaining in the settlement were killed or scattered by hostile Indians in 1687.

The Spanish authorities in Mexico first learned of this colony late in 1685 through the interrogation of a captured pirate who had left the La Salle

expedition in Santo Domingo, but knew that its destination was a large river discharging into the Gulf. The news created consternation both in Mexico and Spain. Characteristic of the decline of Spanish prowess was the fact that the geography of the north Gulf coast between Pensacola bay and the Panuco river was personally unknown to the current generation of Spaniards. However on inspection of old maps there was found represented a large river discharging into a bay, denominated the river and bay of Espirito Santo which were assumed to be the objectives of La Salle's expedition. In the course of the next few years, by order of the viceroy, there were several reconnoitering expeditions sent out from various points both by sea and by land with the object of locating and evicting the French. Despite their aimless despatch, the ruins of the abandoned settlement on Matagorda bay were finally discovered in 1689 by an overland expedition from Mexico.

This episode, although of great significance in the history of the Mississippi valley, would have little interest from a Florida standpoint, were it not for the circumstance that one of the expeditions started from Apalache at the order of Governor Cabrera in Saint Augustine. Although unsuccessful in attaining its objective, or of even reaching the *Espirito Santo*, the documents in the Spanish archives which describe this undertaking are of interest to dwellers in West Florida and Alabama from the light they throw on the Spanish establishments in Apalache and the description of the country, seen in what was perhaps the first penetration into Central Alabama by white men since the time of De Soto and De Luna.

Governor Cabrera selected as head of the expedition one Marcos Delgado, presumably of the mili-

tary establishment. Delgado's instructions ostensibly made him the bearer of a letter to be delivered to the viceroy in Mexico, although from other documents it is clear that his actual objective was the Espirito Santo. He was cautioned not to disclose the true nature of his quest to his companions unless they were in danger of becoming captives of the French. In the event of this contingency all written material except the letter to the viceroy was to be burnt. If in the face of such a risk some of his companions should still desire to attempt to reach Mexico, they were to be given the letter, available equipment and verbal instructions. Delgado was instructed to make a minute report on the country traversed and the people encountered. He was told to proceed to Apalache where he would select from the garrison twelve soldiers with their firearms, and twenty Indians armed with guns and twenty with bows and arrows, all of the latter to be under a local Indian chief named Pastrana. With this force and one additional soldier, he left Apalache on August 28, 1686, just 250 years ago. In a letter written by Teniente Matheos to Cabrera a few days before Delgado's departure, we are told of some of the preparations and plans, as well as of the disappointment of Matheos himself in not being selected to head this detail. According to Matheos, Delgado spent several days at his cattle ranch prior to his departure, actually leaving from Yscambi. Delgado originally planned to make the journey via Pensacola. Shortly before his departure several Indians from Pensacola appeared at San Luis. When informed of Delgado's intentions the Indians endeavored to dissuade him from proceeding by this route, alleging a shortage of food. After much argument the Indians appeared to acquiesce, and left San Luis with a promise to meet

Delgado further on the route and provide him with several canoes at a point on a river from which Pensacola could be reached in four days.

Matheos wrote to Cabrera late in the following month to the effect that nothing had been heard from Delgado since he left Sabacola, at which place Delgado was suffering from fever, nor had any of the Sabacola Indians who were serving as porters returned. Matheos also reported that at this place Delgado had not been able to get reliable news of the canoes, which he expected the Pensacola Indians to provide, and that for this reason the party went by land proceeding via Tavasa, as Delgado interpreted his instructions to give him latitude to select his route in accordance with circumstances. The Tavasa mentioned was a Creek town near the present site of Montgomery, Alabama.

The report written by Delgado, gives a reasonably minute account of the outward journey. For nearly all the route he gives courses and distances, but these data are unsatisfactory for plotting his course, as the latter are probably estimated and the former are difficult to evaluate. The description permits recognition of many of the landmarks, particularly streams, and by a process of fitting, it is likely that his course may be closely approximated.

On leaving San Luis they pursued in general a northwesterly course until reaching a point a few miles west of Marianna. Their immediate objective appears to have been the Indian village of Sabacola at the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochie. He describes crossing the Ocklochnee, called "the water", Little River, called the "river of sticks", and an unnamed stream evidently Mosquito creek outside of the village of Chattahoochie. After crossing the Apalachicola river they continued

northwest on the road to the unidentified village of Calistoble. He mentions a large spring, evidently Blue Spring, and a stream apparently the Chipola river. A short distance west of this river he records the extremely interesting observation that here they began to encounter buffaloes, which he states are a kind of animal resembling cows. This is the only record of these interesting animals ever having been observed within the limits of the present state of Florida. A short distance beyond this point the general direction of their march was abruptly changed to more nearly north, which general course was pursued until their arrival in central Alabama. Although accompanied, and presumably guided by Indians, they do not appear to have followed any trails or touched at any Indian villages after this change in course. Delgado speaks of the difficulties in making passages through the cane brakes and swamps bordering the streams, in the labor of which they wore out their axes and machetes. From his account the passage of the lesser Choctawhatchie, the Choctawhatchie, Pea and Conecuh rivers, as well as many lesser streams can be identified. In the vicinity of the first named stream they observed many buffaloes and bears. During the last few days of their journey they suffered greatly from thirst, drouth conditions prevailed and they went for three days without water. After fifteen days of travel they reached the margins of the Tallapoosa river in the Creek country which he calls Tiquipache and were well received by the Indians. Conferences were held and presents of beads and bells distributed. Delgado explained that he was travelling in haste on royal business and asked to be sold provisions. The Indians professed to be without any corn owing to lack of rain throughout the entire year. Here he

learned of hostilities between the Creeks and Mobile Indians, evidently disconcerting news, as it would appear that Delgado desired to pass from the Creek country through the territory of the Mobile Indians on his way to Espirito Santo. Messages were sent by couriers to the Mobiles asking for permission to traverse their lands. Strenuous efforts to secure provisions resulted in the acquirement of only a small supply through gift and barter. Although he with half of his force were attacked by fevers, Delgado used these provisions to travel from village to village in Tiquipache, making friends with the Indians while awaiting word from the Mobiles. His messengers returned after some weeks accompanied by several Mobile chiefs, who came somewhat apprehensively but were reassured on seeing the Spaniards. A conference was held at which gifts were distributed and Delgado exacted promises of peace from the representatives of the warring tribes. He then took up with the Mobiles his plans to pass through their country. They assured him the journey was impossible as they could not furnish provisions as their own crops had failed, and that the Choctaws would undoubtedly be hostile. This information and the exhaustion of the presents appears to have convinced Delgado that it was impracticable to proceed further, and he expressed this opinion to the Governor in a letter written on October 15. Arrangements were made with the Mobiles to pass the viceroy's letter to chiefs of friendly tribes beyond with the hope that it might reach its destination. Inquiry among the Mobiles failed to elicit news of any European settlement in the territory of the Mobiles or adjacent tribes. Delgado appears to have remained in the Creek country at least two weeks further as his final report is dated the

30th of October. No account of his return journey is available.

The episode of La Salle's attempt at colonization is fully and ably discussed in W. E. Dunn's "Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702" to which the reader is referred *. Mr. Dunn secured for the Library of the University of Texas transcripts of the original documents which are here presented in translation and which he utilized in the preparation of the above monograph. I am indebted to Dr. C. E. Castaneda of the Spanish-American section of the library of the University of Texas for the transcripts of this material. There are presented herewith Governor Cabrera's instructions to Delgado (a), letters from the teniente (Matheos) of Apalache to the governor (b, d), letters of Delgado to the governor as well as his report of the outward journey (c, e, f).

(a) GOVERNOR CABRERA'S ORDERS TO MARCOS DELGADO
Route and Orders to Be Observed by Marcos Delgado Sent to Discover the Bay of Espirito Santo.

(Sevilla, Mexico, 61-6-20)

The order and route that Marcos Delgado, soldier from this presidio of Apalache has to observe until he arrives in the presence of his Excellency the Marquez de la Laguna, Conde de Paredes, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain to be as follows :-

Immediately on arriving at the province of Apalache he will receive from its lieutenant twelve soldiers, those which the said Marcos Delgado will per-

*Reference-Dunn, William Edward, "Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States 1678-1702: The Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola." *University of Texas Bulletin No. 1705, 1917.*

sonally select, armed with their muskets or carabines and also twenty Indians with firearms and twenty with bows and arrows with the chief Pastrana and all at the orders of the said Marcos Delgado who carries passport for the provinces which are subject and give homage to his Majesty and to those which are not to ask and recommend to those chiefs and principal men to allow them to proceed unless they offend in some manner, as they travel on business of the Royal Service and the said Marcos Delgado and those which accompany him go solely to execute the orders which they carry to proceed to the city of Mexico to carry the packet to the said senor viceroy and in no manner to do injury to the goods or persons of any Indians of those provinces otherwise to pay for the supplies and aid which they give for his journey and give them presents of some of the goods which the said Marcos Delgado carries, giving them to the chiefs and principal men that appear to be servants of and esteem the friendship of the Spaniards in name of your Majesty.

And in this manner he is ordered to go with great attention and care reconnoitering the provinces and territories where he is travelling, rivers, lakes, shores, bays and peninsulas of the sea, recording the courses with the compass in those parts which he explores and if he can take soundings of the said bays at high and low tide as also the plants, animals and as more of this as possible to ascertain the width and the depth of the fords and crossings of the rivers that he makes; the kind and employment of people discuss and that of the fish and domestic animals (mansio), in the lands the strata, their color and arrangement of their minerals and whether there are some veins of metals as well as the forms of the villages and houses and the ar-

rangement in them of the Indians, the rites and political organization by which they are governed, treat of the goods and merchandise which they use without in this making known to your companions except in all possible secrecy and in case there should arise the risk of becoming prisoner of the earth or of the French that are found settled in the provinces adjoining New Spain or in the intervening areas. In this case will give all attention to this admonition; ordered to burn it and consume it until there appears to be no more paper except the letter addressed to his excellency the viceroy. In case this occurs and some of your companions desire to continue the journey to Mexico, you will equip them and will give them the letter for the said senor viceroy and that which is here given to be observed, according to the condition of the season and of the events that may happen in the service of his divine majesty and may he give them the outcome which we desire. Saint Augustine June 28, 1686, Don Juan Marquez Cabrera.

(b) PORTION OF LETTER FROM TENIENTE ANT^o
MATHEOS TO GOVERNOR CABRERA

(Sevilla, Mexico 61-6-20)

I received your letter of the fourth instant last Saturday, which is counted the 17th of the present month. As much of the news of Marcos Delgado to the present date by which I am touched, has been the furnishing of 24 measures of provisions and two horses (reces) for the infantry. There came from this garrison ten soldiers and three that came from Saint Augustine and Timucua. Thus all that are with the said Marcos Delgado are thirteen (soldiers) and forty Indians selected from among all of the province and the chief Pastrana that in my opinion go with much good will. And it is certain

that I had always understood that you could gratify me with this detail, that with this idea I departed from you much pleased to assume in this province a responsibility insufferable for some such as I, but since you wish for another to go, nothing else would do. Marcos Delgado left today for his cattle ranch (1) (hato) and told me that, on Wednesday the twenty-eighth of this month he will sleep at Yscambi (2) and that immediately on his departure I am to inform you of the circumstances as you have instructed me.

Day before yesterday arrived here ten Indians from Pensacola (3) who came to barter for powder and balls for the arquebus which I gave them, and coming to treat of the journey which the Spaniards and Indians have to make by their village and one principal man who came among them placed so many difficulties that I was arguing with him for more than four hours in the presence of Marcos Delgado and he would only reply to me that in his place they did not have sufficient to feed so many people and that on seeing them those of his village would flee to the woods, and seeing this the said Marcos told me to leave him alone, that he was resolved not to admit him to his village and that thus there was no need to tire, that he would go by Tavasa (4) or elsewhere, and for me to be informed by the said principal man of the road from his village to the Chata (3). I got up and seized four deerskins that they had presented to me, and I said to him, one of two (things), that the Spaniards should go to his village or that we have to lose his friendship and unless he would be my friend he could take the four deerskins, and that the Mobiles (6) his enemies would give me canoes to go there, which I would take from Apalache, and I would have no need of him and further he should

learn that the beads and bells go only to chiefs. He knew not where to turn nor how to mollify me. I gave him a hatchet and some beads and he left to spend the night at Escambe and from there to the chacatos (5) there to await Marcos Delgado and for to send four men to bring canoes to go to Pensacola. The route there is from here to the chacatos (5) and from there to a lagoon or river (7) where they embark and in four days arrive at Pensacola and from there if they do not wish to go to Mobile which is three days further travel, they go to the Estanani (8) which by land is as much more as to Pensacola, that is situated to the other side of Mobila. I have told Marcos Delgado that he should not go to Mobila neither to any other place which is not necessary for the journey between the Estanani and the Chata (9) (since), according to what the Indians say there are six days of travel and it is not very near the sea. The Estanani and Pensacolas are enemies of the Chata (9) and according to the Indians it must be a very large province who I judge have little information of it from the slight intercourse and wars which they have with one another. Here in this place of San Luis we have found one Christian Indian, a native Chata (9) But he the Chisca (10) captured so small in his country, he gives information about nothing though he understands the language for which reason he goes with Marcos Delgado as interpreter if he succeeds to enter in the Chata country I judge that the journey will be successful * * *

San Luis, Aug. 21, 1686. Your excellency's humble and obedient servant

Antonia Matheos

(c) LETTER OF MARCOS DELGADO TO GOVERNOR CABRERA

Letter of Marcos Delgado, Leader of the People
Who Went to Discover the Bay of Espirito
Santo

Sevilla, Mexico 61-6-20

Senor Governor and Captain General:

On the second of September we left the village of San Carlos (11) following the route to the province of Tabasa (4) cutting through trackless woods. Thanks to our Lord we arrived after 15 days at the first village (12) of the Province of Tabasa, where we were well received by the chief of the village and gave him a gift of beads and bells explaining to him the speed with which I came and giving him to understand the kindness, goodwill and love with which you treat them. Word was sent out the same night and the next day there came six chiefs from different places. These were seated and to them I gave a discourse in your name, giving to each one a present of beads and bells, and giving them to understand that these gifts were not given by me but by you, and to be certain, they were delivered into their own hands and not sent. And they replied to me that they would be much pleased to find themselves in your presence. I replied to them that they lived in comfort and in happiness and that I did not come to offer them any injury, nor cause them any loss, and if they wished, because of my gifts, to help me with some supplies, that my intention was to pass beyond and that I travelled with much speed in urgent service of the king. And they replied to me that they were without any corn with which to make dry bread that in the entire year it had not rained in this province and having seen the lack of water in the road over which we passed since we were two days without securing

water. And to them I said that since they lacked that with which to supply us we left them with God. I took the route to a village six leagues distant that is called Culasa (13) where we were well received and on the following day there came four chiefs from different places and said to me that the day before we arrived there came ten Indians, that four came from the woods in flight saying that those of Movila had killed two of their companions and that one of them was a Christian called Clemente, a native of the Chacatos. I consoled them as they were weeping and they said to me they would not be consoled because they could not revenge the deaths of their relatives. And a chief asked me what purpose brought us which gave us to understand that it was with him that we had to speak with regard to the reason for haste. And I replied to him that we came in haste in the service of the king. And he replied to me saying that he would aid me in everything that he could, although he had not given obedience nor was friend of the Spanish as were those of the province of the Apalachicolas, yet had much proof of how well the Spanish treated them and for this reason he was much pleased to see us. I and the three chiefs who were in my company and the others who arrived later. And I told him that since he was such a great chief it would be necessary for him to comply with the orders of my governor to speak with the chiefs of Movila that they do not annoy me. And he replied that it seemed unlikely they would cease their annoyances since they had killed one Christian but that it would be well to send them a message advising them and that on his part he would speak with them as well. And on this date I have succeeded to reduce four villages to obedience and friendship to the king. They are Micolasa (14), Yaimamu (15), the village of Pagna

(16) and Cusachet (17). And they have assented and promised to come and trade and have friendship as they have said. And I with half of the people, infantry as well as Apalachians fell ill with a fever. And though I was attacked twice by fever I am always very zealous to go forward to comply if possible with your order thus far, but it cannot be from here as due to the great drouth of this year corn is very scarce and I have not found sufficient supplies. I intend to procure such by means of presents from the province of Tiquipache (18) awaiting in the meantime the return of the messengers I have sent to the province of Movila. The large axes brought were broken cutting undergrowth in the road, for it was necessary to open the entire road with axes and machetes with much labor and all that could serve were well employed. But if it is desired to overcome the fear in which they are it is necessary to send Spaniards or Apalachines. I have nothing further to offer you at present only that God give us strength to succeed on our errand and that you send me what is convenient. And may our Lord guard you and give you long life to serve both Majesties.

Miculasa. Sept. 19, 1686. I kiss your hand,
Your humble servant
Marcos Delgado

(d) PORTION OF LETTER FROM TIENIENTE MATHEOS
TO GOVERNOR CABRERA

Report from the Teniente of Apalache on the Departure of Marcos Delgado

(Sevilla, Mexico 61-6-20)

Senor Gov. and Cappn. Genl.-Senor:

I received your letter of the 3rd of the present month. The departure of Marcos Delgado was re-

ported to you in a letter of the present month which was carried by Pedro de la Mesa. It is now four weeks since Marcos left the Pueblo of Savacola (11) and I have not had further news from him nor has anyone of the Indians of that place which accompanied him to carry provisions, returned. I advise you by this (knowing) the great care and consideration which you await news of what happens to the said Marcos and so that you will not suppose that such omission is my fault, I remit this. And that you know as well that the said Marcos Delgado was suffering from fevers when he left Savacola as he wrote me. By what ever route the journey could have been made, that by Tavasa is the most tedious and inconvenient, because in Savacola they could not get good news of the canoes which they expected the Panzacolas to deliver and for this reason they went by land. Because if he went for Pensacola he would spend much time seeking canoes, and it is my understanding he was not obliged to go embarked, as he has told me your order was to go by the best road and was obliged not to go by Pensacola. Since from Sabacola to Tavasa there is not more than five days of travel, from there to the chatta (9) require (abra) six days and unless he wishes to go where I have said which is to the province of chicasa (19) which is distant from Tavasa a little more than 40 leagues according to the Indians of Tavasa, from where I think according to some reports of the Indians, he can receive information of the said settlement if it exists, otherwise they can guide him to the river and bay of Espirito Santo. Awaiting news of this journey for with all promptitude to give it to you,

San Luis, Sept. 29, 1689, I kiss Your Excellency's Hands

Antonio Matheos

(e) LETTER OF MARCOS DELGADO TO GOVERNOR CABRERA

Letter of Marcos Delgado Leader of the People
Who Went to the Discovery of the Bay of
Espirito Santo,

(Sevilla, Mexico, 61-6-20)

Senor Governor and Captain General.-

I wrote your excellency on arrival at this province how I despatched couriers to the province of Mobila and how I found these provinces very deficient in provisions, and that in the interim until the return of these couriers I would go to the province of Tiquipache (18) (tiqui Pache) in search of provisions with which to prosecute my journey. I could not find more than thirty measures of corn and these were given me by the chiefs in the name of God and by request and by barter. With these supplies I took the road for lands and villages which had not given obedience nor seen either Spaniards or Christians in their life in which manner was God served until being ready to leave for Mobile, there returned the couriers with the chiefs of the Mobiles, and the chief of Thome (20) and the chief of Ysachi (21) and that of Ygsusta (21), as well as that of Canuca (21) and that of Guassa (21). As soon as they saw the Spaniards they rejoiced much and to me they said that it appeared that they had come forth from a very dark night, for they came very gloomy and melancholy fearing treachery that might be plotted to kill them as at other times had attempted those of this province because they are their mortal enemies and that at all times they kill them as *troublesome* (*alarbe*) people, which is true. And I told them they should calm themselves and be of good heart, that no one would injure them and if they should wish to injure them I would risk my life for them. To me

they replied that to them it appeared that in company of the Spaniards they had no cause for fear. And they said to me that now since God had brought us to these lands that they wished to make friends with those of these provinces, and that they did not wish to make war with anyone but to live in a brotherly manner and all in good will. I held a council of the chiefs of the one province with those of the other and I gave them to understand the evil which they do to be at war and the injury they do to daily kill one another. On part of your excellency I gave them a message giving them to understand the good will, love and affection with which you esteem them and that you desire and treat them thus whether Christian or heathen. And that thus you ask and implore them to be at peace and in tranquility. All responded courteously to me expressing very high esteem for your message and saying that God had brought us for their consolation and from their hearts they thanked him, and that what he would ask of us we could not refuse. They arose and embraced, and the chiefs of Mobile and the chiefs of this province which I note in an enclosure, clasped hands in friendship. Speaking with the chiefs of Mobile about the continuation of my journey, they told me that it was an impossible thing because in Mobile they could not assist with any provisions whatsoever, because the drouth had been so severe that although they had cultivated the ground they had secured no crop and that all had dried and that for many days they had sustained themselves on shell fish. They said that once friendship was established with the Spaniards it would be enduring, and that they gave themselves to be very loyal vassals of the King of Spain, and their province of Thome as well. And they told me that the province of the Chata (Choctaw) could not

be crossed in ten days, that they thought it unlikely that the Chata (9) desired friendship with the Spaniards and that on the first rumors that we travelled for their territory, a large number of warriors would set out to form ambuscades in the woods. On viewing the great scarcity of provisions, with more than one half of the party ill with fevers; the legs of the men cut by the briars of the woods; the impossibility to proceed further; the exhaustion of the presents which were only sufficient for the chiefs of Mobila, which was a good stroke for them, and entertained them well in your name; if it had not been for the supplies of powder and ball which your excellency sent us I do not know what might have happened to us for by the Grace of God the guns have sustained us, killing deer and other animals. For these reasons I negotiated with the chief of Mobila for him to forward the letter to the senor Viceroy and he replied that he would send it with ten warriors (?) (tar-Cayas) of his, circling the province of the chata to a province where is a chief his friend, who is of a warlike people, and from there he will trust in that his friend will send the letter forward where he can. In all of these provinces of Mobila and beyond they have never heard rumors of a settlement of Spaniards, neither of English nor of any other nation. Only that on one occasion a large vessel anchored in the river of the bay of Espirito Santo that came from the north, and they went about sounding and exploring the said river of the bay of Espirito Santo, and there went forth those of the chata and they killed more than one-half of the people, and the survivors withdrew to the mouth of said river which they say has an island in its mouth, and there they were isolated for a long time until there arrived a vessel from the high seas which dis-

charged a piece, and they responded with one, and which carried them away. This happened many years ago and they know nothing further. Your excellency has a clear path to the province of Mobila, and eleven chiefs, the six of Mobila and the five that are settled and settling after fleeing from the English to the north, the number of whose people is uncertain. These eleven chiefs have given submission to the king of Spain and have become friends with the Spaniards and Christians. And the best course that can be followed is for us to return from here, God knows when we will arrive among Christians, that he has done as he has been supplicated. I have nothing further to offer except (the hope) that God protect your excellency and give you life to protect and assist these provinces, and permit me to see myself in the presence of your excellency. The river of Concepcion (22) 15 of October, 1686. I kiss your hand your excellency's humble soldier,

Marcos Delgado

f DELGADO'S REPORT

Accompanying a letter from Don Juan Marquez for his Majesty, dated January 5, 1687, upon the return of the leader and soldiers sent to discover the bay of Espirito Santo.

(Sevilla,
Mexico 61-6-20)

Route followed by Marcos Delgado designated by the Senor Captain and Sargento Mor, Don Juan Marquee Cabrera, Governor and Captain General of the provinces of Saint Augustine of Florida sent to endeavor to discover and observe the provinces and territories lying between Apalache and the port and bay of Espirito Santo in the Gulf of New Spain

going as leader of 13 soldiers and 40 Indians with firearms in compliance with the orders and instructions which the said governor gave me for the journey from San Luis of Apalache (23), day of the glorious Saint Augustine, August 28, 1686, which is in the following manner.

From San Luis de Apalache traveling to the west-northwest 3 leagues is a river named "the water" (el agua) (24) which has 60 feet of width and 18 feet of depth, and from there going toward the "river of sticks" (25) in the same direction four leagues is a spring near a small stream which carries water in the dry season. Continuing further to the northwest one and one-half leagues is a stream bordered by woods of (cascal). Going four leagues further to the northwest is a river (26) which has 24 feet of width and 24 feet (sic) in depth in the rainy season and in the dry season has water to the knees of the horses. Continuing on this course one league in the Apalachicola river (Rio de aPalache Colo) that has 540 feet of width (where it is joined by the rio de Pedernales (27) which has at its mouth 18 feet of depth and averages 20 inches (5 palmos) and at the landing place of a village (11) of christian chacatos is 12 feet without being in flood. Departing from the village of the chacatos to the northwest on the road to Calistoble (28) there is encountered at 5 leagues a spring (29) of clear water which forms a river that has 48 feet of width. At the spring it is 36 feet in depth and the river below is from one yard to one yard to one yard and one-half in depth and is bordered by thickets of large cane about six inches thick (une heme de grueso). Travelling to the northwest 2 leagues there is a clayey place which has a small spring rising from a round rocky hole. Continuing to the northwest 4 leagues there is a

clayey swamp and in its center a stream (30) which has 36 feet of width and a depth of 6 feet and the swamp itself has half a league of breadth. It is thick and it was necessary to cut the path. Continuing on the same course 2 leagues there is encountered a plain of open pine woods that on its western side is bordered by a small spring. Continuing to the northwest 2 leagues there is a miry clay spot that in the wet season will not permit the passage of horses. There also we began to encounter buffaloes (Cibolas) which are a kind of animal resembling cows. Marching one league to the northwest next we changed our route (31) to the north one quarter northwest for three leagues through a wood of walnut trees. We then arrived at a swamp a quarter league in breadth having a stream within, and continuing one league to the northwest we arrived at a site (chicasa) called San Antonio (32) which had been a village of the chacata nation, which has three springs of water within a short distance of each other. Travelling to the northwest quarter north for a half league, we turned to the northwest and marched 2 leagues and then turned north (33) for 3 leagues to a cane brake with a stream in the middle. We next turned northwest for one-half league and came to a very thick cane brake a quarter league through with a stream of water in the center. We then travelled northwest one-half league and changed course to the north quarter northwest for one league. We then travelled to the northwest quarter north for 2 leagues and then continued on the former course for one league, all over rolling country. We then marched to the north along the margin of a thick wood of chestnut, holly and laurel trees which in the center has a river (34) of 36 feet width and 12 feet of depth. At the crossing the woods are a quarter of

a league in width and in it are many buffaloes and bears. We crossed and went for a ways along the edge of the woods to the east and next-turned to the northwest-until we came to a thick (quijjal) of small ————— (quijigos) and taking to the northwest we came to a forest in which were some high bluffs only to descend to a narrow and deep ravine with a bottom of stone flags, that is 24 feet broad and as deep as two pikestaffs (2 picos). Beyond this ravine, the distance of a gun shot we came to a river (35) which has 140 feet of breadth and 12 feet of depth, with a difficult ascent and descent. The ravine and river are in the same swamp and the crossing is a good league across through a forest of thick trees chiefly chestnuts. We went along the west side for one-half league to the northwest and continued to the north 2 leagues further, passing over country until we came to a swamp with a small stream through which we opened a path with hatchets. We continued to the north one long league and next marched to the northwest until a small ravine was reached and then to the west northwest for 2 leagues until we reached a stream which has much ————— (*Ytamo BI*) and continued on the same course one-half league until we arrived at a woods. We then marched to the northwest quarter north for two leagues arriving at a great swamp a quarter league broad with a considerable stream on the far side. It was necessary to open a path with axes. At the exit there is (*ytamo blanco*). Travelling to the north one league we then turned northwest for 2 leagues and continued to the northwest one league further through pine covered hills. We then went one league further to a river (36) which has 84 feet of breadth and 18 feet of depth, the bottom covered with flat stones. The adjacent woods are open.

We continued two and one-half leagues to the northwest and then went north for two leagues, the entire way being through a forest of sassafras, holly and chestnut trees so thick that two men could not encircle them. We then went north northeast three leagues through a difficult wood, turning then to the north northwest for three leagues over rolling ground until we arrived at a difficult cane brake. Our route then changed to the northwest for one league over rolling ground until we came to a thick swamp of large trees which had a river (37) on the opposite side which had 54 feet of width and - feet of depth. The swamp was a quarter league broad with many dangerous places. On leaving the swamp we travelled one quarter league to the north and then resumed the former course two leagues through pine woods. We then turned north quarter northwest for three leagues over rough hilly ground. Then for more than seven leagues we travelled to the north over rough ground without having encountered a drop of water in three days because of which the people were half smothered until we arrived at a small spring. It was necessary to remove water for the horses in hats. On leaving we went north for two leagues until we crossed two small thick swamps. We then went north a quarter northwest for one and one-half leagues over good and level ground to a stream (38) where we turned to the north until we arrived at the first place in the province of Tiquipache (18) which is on the margin of a river (39) of same province that is 380 feet in width and 36 feet deep. Going from this place to the northwest four leagues is another place called Ogchay (40) of the chacata nation and going from here to the west three leagues is another place called Quita (41) which is on the banks of another river. This

is the river (42) which goes to Mobila and has 530 feet of breadth and 42 feet of depth. On leaving here there is another place at one league distance called Qusate (43) of an unknown nation which came a great distance from the north, fleeing from the English and the Chichumeco (10) people which are the greatest conquerors (politica) among all the nations of Florida. This village has more than 500 warriors and is on the very bank of the river which goes to Mobila. Going to the west northwest one league further is a place called Pagna also a nation which fled from the interior to avoid the chata with which they had much war. They have more than 100 warriors. Three leagues further to the north northeast is another village called Qulasa (44) of the province of Pagna nation that also came fleeing from the chata nation. It has more than 200 warriors. Going on the same course one league further is a place called Aymamu (15) of the same nation which also fled from the chata because of the many wars. They have about 30 warriors. Going from this village to the northwest bend, about 3 good leagues, is a place called Tubani (45) of the Qusate nation which came from the north because of persecution from the English and Chichumecos and another nation called chalaque (46), which obliged them to flee from their lands in search of a place to settle, finally arriving at the margins of the river of Mobila. They have more than 200 warriors. For some time they have desired to travel and verify the news which they have had of the friendliness of the Christians. But they had not come because of some rumors heard from some which went to the province of Apalachicola (aPalache Cole) and settled some villages but abandoned them and returned to their lands because of what happened in the province of Apalach-

icola with the English and because they lacked light to see with the Spaniards and Christians. For although they had promised to give obedience in the province of Apalachicola they returned saying the friendship of the Spaniards and Christians was not good, the presents they received were returned, that they would not return to the province of Apalache, that the presents of the English were better, that in trading they gave more powder, balls and muskets. And of them it was asked how could such be, if they actually had fled their former lands because of the English and Chichumecas and if they had truly wished to secure the friendship of the English they would not have fled, but if they wished to receive light from the Spaniards, they could remain. Thus I spoke and all were joyful to see the Spaniards. All politely assembled and to them I spoke in your behalf giving them to understand the affection, love and benevolence with which you would treat them as well as the Christians. That they would be quiet and peaceful and that the friendship of the Christians was not like that of the English. To this they replied courteously sending you their thanks for the discourse made them and for having opened the road to their lands and provinces, that now they have a way to come to the province of Apalache to receive their presents and enjoy friendship with the Spaniards and Christians. That this was a thing that for a long time they had much desired, particularly the counsel and message from YOU. Finding the province of Mobila at war with the province of Cortaje and Tavasa, and having together all of the chiefs and principal men of the provinces, I spoke to them a long discourse upon their strife particularly the report brought by the Christian Indian from Mobila of the killing of the Chisca Indians who were

brothers coming to see us. Continuing the discourse I said that you asked that they should be at peace one with the other and should not kill as animals for they are rational men and creatures of God, and other similar things. To this replied the great chief of Mobila that they would petition you to take them from the darkness of the night and instructed by our coming with the clarity of day. And thus we took your counsel. And arising this and the other chiefs embraced me, and they grasped my hands with their little fingers as a sign of friendship which they make. Seeing this action, with the news which they had of the Christians for 12 or 13 years from the provinces of Apalache and chacatos and I advised them how pleased you would be if they sent to you, which they promised to do immediately. They wished to bring or send 46 Christians some married to heathen women who through the Grace of God came to their lands on which they remain and offered to send you others which are roaming the woods. Leaving them well satisfied certain they will send your message to the province of the chata (9) that is contiguous with the gulf of the bay of Espirito Santo in compliance with my orders although they are at war with them. May God grant that they receive well the message as I trust in his divine Majesty in order that the work may bear fruit from the toil through which we have passed to overcome the greater difficulties so that today communication will be easy by opening roads through land near the sea as the chief of Mobila was ordered to do by you, and as you asked me, it is to this place that I have explored and done. I remain content and ready for that which you may be pleased to order as soon as I have the pleasure to see myself in your presence. Dated in the village of Tuave (47) province of Cosate, Oct. 30, 1686. Marcos Delgado.

NOTES

In the preparation of these notes the writer wishes to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Swanton's "Early History of The Creek Indians", Bull. 73, Bur. Am. Ethnology.

(1) This would imply that Delgado was not a newcomer to Apalache. Although referred to as a soldier of the presidio of Saint Augustine, it does not appear that he possessed any military rank.

(2) *Yscambi*. A pueblo of Christian Indians. On the map entitled "Mapa de la Isla de la Florida" 1683, from the Ministry of War, Madrid, which is in the Library of Congress, a Pueblo de Escambe, evidently the same place, is located a relatively short distance north of San Luis. Delgado's actual start was evidently not made from San Luis as would be inferred from his report (q.v.)

(3) The Pensacola Indians were probably ethnically related to the Choctaw and lived in the vicinity of the bay which bears their name.

(4) Tavasa=Tabasa=Tawasa. A village of a tribe of the same name, belonging to the Alabama group of the Muskohegan stock.

(5) Chata-Chatot, and in some places in these documents, Chacatos and Chacatas as well. An Apalachicola river tribe which according to Swanton was not identified with the Creek confederacy. The Chatot proper are not to be confused with the Choctaw, although from the geographical area referred to, the words Chacatos and Chacatas as herein used would appear at times to actually apply to the Choctaw.

(6) Movila=Mobila, a tribe of the Choctaw group living adjacent to Mobile Bay.

(7) Probably via the Choctawhatchie river and bay and Santa Rosa sound.

(8) Unidentified.

(9) Evidently the Choctaw.

(10) Swanton identifies these with the Yuchi, as he also does the Chichumecas. Their language did not indicate an affiliation with any of the other ethnic groups of the southeast. When first known they appear to have lived in the vicinity of the southern Appalachian mountains, from which a large part moved into the low countries in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One group settled near the Choctawhatchie river in west. Florida.

(11) San Carlos de Sabacala, or Savacola, an Indian pueblo on the banks of the Apalachicola river near the site of the present village of Chhattahoochee, Fla.

(12) Unidentified.

(13) Culasa=Qulasa, a village on the Coosa river.

(14) Micolasa=Micolusa=Mook-lau-sau=Muk-lasa. A Creek town on the Tallapoosa.

(15) Yaimamu=Aymamu. Unidentified. It may be a rendering of Alibamu=Aybamo.

(16) Pagna=Pakana. A village on the Coosa river.

(17) Unidentified.

(18) Delgado refers to the upper Creek country as the provinces of Tabasa and Tiquipache. As previously noted the former name designates the territory of the Alabama Indians. The latter name which has come down to recent times as Tuckabahchee, refers to Indians of one of the Muskogee groups. Swanton think they may have had a Shawnee origin.

(19) Chicasa=Chickasaw.

(20) Thome=Thomez=Tohome. One of the Mobile tribes.

(21) Unidentified but probably towns of the Mobile tribes.

(22) Evidently the Alabama river. By whom this name was given is not clear, as we have no documents from Delgado dated later than Oct. 30, this letter dated Oct. 15, and the Feast of the Conception is Dec. 8th. So the name evidently cannot commemorate the date of Delgado's arrival on its margin.

(23) San Luis de Apalache, a pueblo surrounding the mission of the same name. The place also appears to have been the military headquarters of the province of Apalache. Present identification of the site is based upon the accounts of Williams, who was lead to it by an Indian on his visit to central north Florida to select the location for the seat of government. At that time extensive ruins within a fortification were observable; The site is about one mile west of the present limits of Tallahassee.

(24) El agua=Ocklochnee river

(25) Rio de Palos=Little river

(26) Mosquito creek near the village of Chatahoochee.

(27) Rio de Pedernales=Flint river

(28) Unidentified

(29) Blue Spring, Jackson County, Fla.

(30) Chipola river, evidently above the so-called natural bridge. To about this point it would appear that they have been traveling on established trails, as no prior mention is made of difficulties in passing streams.

(31) Up to this point their general course since leaving San Luis had been approximately west northwest. Subsequently and until reaching Tiquipache it was nearly north northwest.

(32) Still in Jackson Co., Fla. This location

would appear to be midway between the present villages of Campbellton and Graceville.

(33) Delgado's leagues, if they have any significance probably indicate the hours of time spent on a given course. Without a knowledge of the deviation of the compass at this time, opinion cannot be expressed as to the accuracy of the bearings of his courses. In general the bearings he gives as northwest appear to be too northerly. Our fitting of his course is based more on his record of stream crossings than on the recorded bearings.

His course at this point was bringing him into the swampy area at the headwaters of Holmes creek and the Chipola river in Houston, Co., Ala. Passage through this area with no more than the two stream crossings he mentions would indicate that in this area his course was actually northeast.

(34) The lesser Choctawhatchie river near the west line of Houston Co., Ala.

(35) The Choctawhatchie river

(36) The Pea river

(37) The Conecuh river

(38) Oakfuskee creek, tributary of the Tallapoosa river.

(39) The Tallapoosa river. He apparently crossed near this point.

(40) The Ogchay=Okchai. Village of affiliated Indians. The significance of chacata is not clear.

(41) A village on the margin of the Coosa river.

(42) The Coosa river.

(43) Qusate=Cosate=Koasati. A tribe affiliated with the Alabama tribe.

(44) Unidentified

(45) Unidentified

(46) Chalaque=Cherokee

(47) Evidently a Koasati village

THE ST. JOSEPH CONVENTION The Making of Florida's First Constitution

By F. W. HOSKINS

At the time of its cession to the United States in 1821 Florida's white population was probably about five thousand. There were only two towns, or settlements, of any importance in the territory, and they were near four hundred miles apart. Considering that, with one exception, Florida was the largest territory or State east of the Mississippi river, it can be imagined what an undeveloped country it must have been; remember too that the interior of the peninsula was yet unexplored and its geography unknown.

But with its entrance into the Union as a territory settlers from the more northern States began to come in and in less than two decades a capital city had been established, new towns built, at least two of which were larger than either of the first two, and two short railroads were in operation. In spite of the Seminole War the population had increased until it was now between thirty-five and forty thousand.

Meanwhile the subject of statehood had been occupying the attention of the people. At length the matter reached the Legislative Council and at the session of 1837 this act was passed:-

No. 46, "An Act to take the Sense of the People of this Territory on the Policy and Propriety of becoming a State."

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, That, at the next election for Delegates to Congress for this Territory, it shall be the duty of the judge or inspectors of the election aforesaid, at every place or precinct where any such election may be held, to put the question to every voter who may present himself to vote, whether said voter wishes a State or Territorial government; and the judge aforesaid, if he shall answer, shall, before any ballot is put into the box, write on the back of every ballot the answer of the voter presenting the same, State or Territory, as his answer may be, after which the ballot shall be put into the box; and

the judge of any such election shall, when they count over the votes, specify and set forth in their certificate of the election held by them to the Governor, how many votes were given for the State, and how many for a Territory; and the Governor shall in his proclamation of the election, declare: how many votes were for State and how many were for a Territory.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Sheriff of every county in this Territory to ascertain by the first day of June next, the number of inhabitants, male and female, white, black and colored, which may be in the several counties, and the sheriff of every county aforesaid, shall, immediately thereafter, transmit in triplicate to the Treasurer of the Territory, a certified copy of the number of persons found in the several counties in the manner before mentioned; and the Treasurer shall report to the next Legislative Council in the first week of the session, the number of inhabitants in the Territory, male and female, white, black and colored, according to the certificates of the sheriff of the several counties in the territory; and the Legislative Council shall order such compensation to the sheriff of the several counties for performing the services hereby prescribed to be performed by them, as the Council may deem reasonable and just, not exceeding three-quarters of one cent per head: and if the sheriff of any county shall fail to perform the duties herein prescribed for them to perform, any such sheriff, and his securities shall forfeit, and pay the sum of One-Thousand-dollars for the use of the Territory, to be recovered at the first term of any court of competent jurisdiction, and said sheriff shall be permitted to employ in the execution of the duties hereinbefore prescribed for them, their deputies legally sworn according to the laws of the Territory.

Approved, Feb. 12, 1837.

Public opinion was divided. Sentiment was against statehood in the eastern and western sections of the territory, while the more settled and advanced section of middle Florida was much in favor of it. The "sense of the people of the Territory" was favorable to statehood, so the Council of 1838 passed the following act which was approved on February 2:-

No. 16. *An Act to call a Convention for the purpose of organizing a State Government.*

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida.* That an election shall be held in the several counties of this Territory on the second Monday of October next, under the regulations and restrictions hereinafter imposed, for members of a Convention to devise and adopt the most efficient, speedy and proper

measures for the formation and establishment of an independent State government for the people of Florida, and to form and adopt a Bill of Rights and Constitution for the same, and all needful measures preparatory to the admission of Florida into the National Confederacy.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That the apportionment of members to said Convention shall be as follows: In the middle district, the county of Leon shall be entitled to eight members; the county of Gadsden to four members; the county of Jefferson to four members; the county of Madison to two members; the county of Hamilton to two members. In the eastern district, the county of St. John shall be entitled to four members: the county of Duval to three members; the county of Columbia to three members; the County of Alachua to three members; the county of Nassua to two members; the county of Mosquito to one member, and the county of Hillsborough to one member. In the southern district, the county of Monroe shall be entitled to two members: the county of Dade to one member. In the western district, the county of Jackson shall be entitled to four members: the county of Escambia to four members; the county of Walton to two members; the county of Washington to two members; the county of Franklin to two members, and the county of Calhoun to two members.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the judges or clerks of the county court of the several counties to advertise said election at least thirty days before the second Monday in October next, and to appoint inspectors thereof, who shall be sworn to conduct said election in the manner and form as prescribed for members of the Legislative Council, not contrary to the provisions of this Act; and the inspectors so appointed shall seal up and transmit the returns of said election within ten days thereafter to the Governor of the Territory at Tallahassee to be laid before the Convention, and that they shall within thirty days, file with the clerks of their respective counties a copy thereof.

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted, That the Governor of the Territory, shall announce by proclamation the names of the persons elected to said Convention, and in case the returns from any county shall not be completed by that day, as soon thereafter as practicable; and in case of a tie, a new election is to be ordered by the judge, or clerk of the county court, giving five days notice thereof under qualified inspectors appointed for said special election.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That said Convention shall be held on the first Monday of December next at the city of St. Joseph.

Sec. 6. Be it further enacted, That two-thirds of said Convention shall be necessary to constitute a quorum, and that said Convention shall determine upon the returns and qualifications of its members and shall have and exercise all the rights, privileges, and immunities incident to such bodies; and may adopt such rules and regulations for its government as a majority thereof may direct, and provided if two-thirds of said Convention do not assemble on the day appointed

therefore, a less number is authorized to adjourn from day to day.

Sec. 7. Be it further enacted That in case of the death, resignation, or non-attendance of any delegate chosen from any district of the Territory, that the delegation present from such district thus partially represented, shall be entitled to elect from their own number a proxy to vote in the place of such absent number.

Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, That all white, male inhabitants, citizens of the United States, above the age of twenty-one years who have resided in the Territory of Florida for the space of six months immediately proceeding the day of election, shall be entitled to vote for delegate to said Convention, and all white, male inhabitants, citizens of the United States, above the age of twenty-one years, who have resided in the Territory of Florida for twelve months immediately proceeding the day of election, shall be eligible as delegates to said body.

Sec. 9. Be it further enacted, That, on the adoption of a Constitution for the State of Florida the Convention shall transmit an authenticated copy thereof to the President of the United States, to the presiding officers of both houses of Congress, and to the Delegate from Florida, and adopt such other measures as will seem to the people of Florida the right and privilege of a sovereign State.

Sec. 10. Be it further enacted, That the Convention shall receive a compensation, the same rate as there are allowed to members of the Legislative Council, and that the expenses of the Convention shall be paid out of the Territorial treasury, if no appropriation be made by Congress for that purpose.

Sec. 11. Be it further enacted, That, if, at the time of giving notice of said election, or holding the same, it shall be inconvenient, on account of Indian hostilities, or other cause, to hold an election in any county, the county judge, or clerk, as the ease may be, shall order said election to be held at the most convenient place in an adjoining county, and all persons who have been residents of such county for the space of three months at one time, or who are, at the time of election, proprietors of legal or equitable titles to lands in said county, shall have the right to vote at said election.

Approved, Feb. 2, 1838.

This first constitutional convention which met at St. Joseph, December 3, 1838, was, except for the session, the most important and the most interesting event in the early history of Florida. This interest comes from the nature of the convention, the times in which it was held, and because of the town which was chosen for the place of meeting-

for the rise and fall of old St. Joseph have all the elements of a moving tragedy.¹

When it became evident that a convention would be called interest centered in where it would be held. This aroused much public discussion and agitated the press and the Legislative Council-involving as it did various political and city-building questions. The editor of the *Watchman* of Tallahassee, where the Council was sitting, said:

The proceedings of our Territorial Legislative Council have, for a few days, been of an interesting character. The discussion upon the Bill² providing for the call of a convention, has been, by both sides, carried on with interest and ability. The members from East Florida, generally, oppose upon various grounds, the measure, and manifest in their opposition, no small portion of talent and ingenuity. The debate upon the Bill, participated in by members from all parts, was quite able, and animating. Where it will meet is not yet decided on. Some have moved for it to meet at Pensacola, some at St. Joseph, some at Tallahassee, some at the Mineral Springs³, and one motion was to meet at the battleground of the 31st of December, on the banks of the Withlacoochee⁴. But it will probably meet somewhere.

The lot finally fell to St. Joseph, and there were, likely, several reasons for it. One writer of the period⁵, after vainly trying to tell why, said

But it is useless to say more on the subject. The selection of St. Joseph resulted from a log-rolling compromise between the East and the West. Says Fizzy to Peter, "scratch my back and I'll tickle your elbow". The proposition suited the fancy of both parties. So Peter scratched the Banks, and Fizzy tickled the Town.

Fizzy was Richard Fitzpatrick, who represented Dade county in the convention, and who was identified with the interests supporting the banks, and Peter was Peter W. Gautier, Jr., publisher of the

¹ What is known of the short life of the town is told by Dr. J. O. Knauss in *St. Joseph, An Episode of the Economic and Political History of Florida* in the *QUARTERLY*, V. 177, VI. 3 (April and July 1927).

² Act No. 16 (1838) above.

³ On the Suwannee river.

⁴ Indian battle-ground, near the Great Wahoo swamp.

⁵ *Apalachicola Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1838.

St. Joseph Times, and a prominent citizen of St. Joseph, which was the "Town" referred to.

Another writer voiced his complaint, saying ⁶

Tis true, Col. Wyatt's stupidity and want of forecast, was the principal cause of the convention being held at St. Joseph, a meager, isolated town, situated at one of the most inaccessible parts of the territory, wholly, too, without accommodations for such an object, and distant from the capital of the territory some 150 or 200 miles, at which are all the public records, archives, etc., of the territory to the evident great inconvenience and expense of the people-and for what purpose? Solely to bolster up the bantling of John Gamble and Ben Chaires, by giving it, as was supposed, a greater notoriety. If such legislation is tolerated by the people, our boasted talk of equal rights and equal justice, is a mere figure of speech, and the sooner we get rid of them, the better.

The selection of St. Joseph as the meeting-place for the convention did not suit everyone and rumors were afloat that an attempt would be made by certain delegates to adjourn the Convention to Tallahassee. These rumors aroused Gautier, of the *Times* to say

We learn that it is contemplated by a very lean minority to attempt the removal of the Convention to Tallahassee. The movement could only originate in the most narrow and selfish-views, and we are gratified to hear that many who were opposed to our town, will yet regard this attempt as illiberal and insulting to the whole West. The object of the Convention is to form a Constitution, and, if that be a good one, it matters little in what latitude or longitude, it may be drawn up.

The fear of such an attempt seems to have been justified, for on December 31st, Mr. Brown, of Leon, presented the following resolution:

Resolved-That the Convention when it adjourns on Tuesday, the first of January, will adjourn to meet again in Tallahassee on Tuesday, the 15th of January".

This resolution, however, was not adopted.

St. Joseph was only three or four years old, and destitute of every convenience necessary to care for such a gathering. But, being assured of its

⁶ *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 21, 1838.

coming, they promptly began to prepare for it. Several new hotels and boarding houses were built, and a large building was erected for the use of the Convention. Of these arrangements, the local paper⁷ said

Convention Hall, a building well situated to the purpose for which it is intended, is nearly completed, and will be ready for occupancy at the appointed time. Ample arrangements will be made in the town for the accommodation of members and strangers during the sitting of the Convention.

Among these new hotels were the Byron, Pickwick, Fontaine, Mansion House, Shakespeare, and German Ocean House.

All summer these people worked, and they did well. Nor was transportation forgotten, and they provided for it by land and water. One boat, the New Castle, running on the Gulf between St. Marks and New Orleans advertised

Florida Convention-The members of the Convention are respectfully informed that; the New Castle steamboat will be ready to convey them to St. Joseph, December 1st, from St. Marks, touching at Pensacola coming out. Her accommodations are superior, and her table and bar are not to be surpassed.

Another boat, running on the Apalachicola river published this advertisement

Notice-For the accommodation of person desirous of visiting St. Joseph, at the meeting of the Constitutional Convention, on Monday, the 3rd of December, the steamboat Commerce will remain at Chattahoochee during the Thursday next preceding, till 7 o'clock P. M. Friday next. She will stop at Iola on her passage down, arrive at Apalachicola at 1 o'clock A. M., Saturday, and proceed to St. Joseph by Lake Wimico, and Bayou Columbus so as to meet the railroad cars on the same evening, or on Sunday morning, as the passengers may desire. Passage and fare to St. Joseph, 8 dollars.

A stage line had been established to run from Apalachicola to St. Joseph making two trips a week. Mr. Sims, the enterprising proprietor, had

⁷ *The St. Joseph Times.*

already arrived with the necessary teams, coaches, etc. The stage would leave Apalachicola on the arrival of the mail boat from up the river, on Thursdays and Saturdays, Sundays and Tuesdays. The fare through was three dollars.

After the convention hall was completed, and before the opening of the Convention, its interior walls were hung with portraits of famous statesmen of the Union, that of George Washington being placed above the chair of the presiding officer, and those of living statesmen on the remaining walls. Arrangements were also made to accommodate representatives of the press of the Territory. A resolution introduced early in the Convention provided that editors of the different newspaper establishments, elsewhere as well as those of the Territory, should be provided with seats in the house and facilities for reporting the proceedings of the convention. Several papers of the Territory took advantage of this arrangement, the local paper, *The St. Joseph Times*, using two reporters.

THE

St. Joseph had been well advertised throughout the Territory. A majority of the delegates had arrived and many visitors were there. The hall had been finished and furnished for the occasion and the hotels were full as the day drew near for the opening of the Convention. On the morning of the 3rd. of December, Mr. Bartlett, editor of the *Apalachicola Gazette*, and a delegate to the convention, writing to his paper, described the scene as follows

The city of the Saints presented quite a hustling appearance this morning. Most of the members of the constitutional convention have come in and may be seen at different corners of the streets, on the piazzas of the boarding houses, or perhaps at the Pickwick, Shakespeare, or Byron, earnestly and solemnly engaged in electioneering for the important offices of president, clerk, or doorkeeper, of the con-

vention. Great importance is attached to these posts of honor, and the fate of the future State, the lustre of the new star, mainly depends upon the judicious choosing of the different occupants. For President of the convention, I have heard of but two candidates announced-Gov. Duval, of Tallahassee, and Judge Reid, of St. Augustine. It would be premature, at this time, to decide in whose favor the majority of the convention will decide. As usual in such cases, the friends of both parties are sanguine. At 12 m. the members assembled in the new building, erected for the use of the convention by that enterprising citizen of this city, Col. E. J. Wood, and proceeded to the organization of their body by calling Col. Morton, of Escambia, to the chair, and appointing Col. Fitzpatrick secretary.

After the temporary organization was complete the roll was called. This roll was made from the proclamation of Acting Governor John P. Duval which was as follows:

Proclamation, by John P. Duval, Secretary and Acting Governor of the Territory of

In pursuance of an Act of the Governor and Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, entitled "An Act to call a Convention, for the purpose of organizing a State Government," passed 30th. January, 1838, and approved 2nd of February, 1838, I, John P. Duval, Secretary and Acting Governor of the Territory of Florida, hereby proclaim and make known that the following are the names of the persons elected to the Convention to be held on the first Monday of December, 1838, at St. Joseph, as provided by the said Act, viz:

MIDDLE DISTRICT

County of Leon

George T. Ward
Samuel Parkhill
James D. Westcott Jr.
Leslie A. Thompson

John Taylor
Thomas Brown
Leigh Read
William Wyatt

County of Gadsden

Banks Meacham
John W. Malone

Samuel B. Stephens
John M. G. Hunter

County of Jefferson

Abraham Bellamy
John M. Partridge

Joseph M. McCants
Edward Carrington Cabell

County of Madison

John C. McGehee

Richard J. Mays

County of Hamilton

Joseph B. Watts

William B. Hooker

EASTERN DISTRICT

County of St. John

Robert Raymond Reid
David Levy

Joseph S. Sanchez
Edwin T. Jenckes

County of Duval

A. W. Crichton

Samuel T. Carey

	Oliver Wood	
	County of Columbia	
George E. McClellan		Wilson Brooks
	John F. Webb	
	County of Alachua	
Isaac Garrison		E. Bird
	E. K. White	
	County of Nassau	
William Haddock		James G. Cooper
	County of Mosquito	
	William H. Williams	
	County of Hillsborough	
	No Returns	
	SOUTHERN DISTRICT	
	County of Monroe	
William Marvin		Joseph B. Brown
	County of Dade	
	Richard Fitzpatrick	
	WESTERN DISTRICT	
	County of Jackson	
Thomas Baltzell		Richard H. Long
Alfred L. Woodward		Samuel C. Bellamy
	County of Escambia	
Jackson Morton		Thomas M. Blount
Benjamin D. Wright		Walker Anderson
	County of Walton	
John L. McKinnon		Daniel G. McLean
	County of Washington	
Stephen J. Roche		E. Robbins
	County of Franklin	
A. G. Semmes		Cosam Emir Bartlett
	County of Calhoun	
William P. Duval		Richard C. Allen

The Counties of Jackson, Calhoun, Franklin, and Washington now being in the Apalachicola Judicial District.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 3rd day of December 1838, and of the Independence of the United States, the 63rd year.

JOHN P. DUVAL.

It will be seen, from the above proclamation, that only fifty-five delegates are accounted for, as Hillsborough county is reported with no returns. The act providing for the election of these delegates called for fifty-six. Later, on December 17, William Bunce appeared as a delegate from Hillsborough county, and was seated, thus accounting for the full number of fifty-six delegates, as provided for by the law.

At the initial roll-call all were present except Wyatt, McGehee, Mays, Cooper, Brown, Blount, Anderson, Wright, and Semmes.

Mr. Bartlett, again reporting to his paper, said: "The list of members was then read over, and it appeared that 46 members answered to their names. This being more than two-thirds; the chairman declared the convention ready to go into business."

The roll followed (*Apalachicola Gazette*, December 8) which is identical with the list in the proclamation, except for one or two initials.

On the following day, during the voting for president, a vote was cast by proxy, for a Mr. Cooley, representing Hillsborough county, which caused trouble later on. According to the journal of the convention, December 17, however, Mr. Bunce, member from Hillsborough county, appeared, was sworn, and took his seat. Mr. Bunce remained throughout the remainder of the session and signed the constitution before adjournment.

On motion of Mr. Marvin, of Monroe, it was resolved

That a committee of one member from each Judicial District, be appointed to examine the returns for delegates to this Convention.

The Committee made the following report:

The committee appointed to examine into the returns of the election of members to this convention, and report who are elected, respectfully report:- That they have performed the duty assigned them, and that they find the returns of election of members, in many cases, deficient and imperfect. But, from the returns before them, and other evidences of the election, they report that the following persons are duly elected from the following Counties: [Here follows the list according to the governor's proclamation.] In examining the returns, the committee have been assisted in their labors by the proclamation of the Governor, made in pursuance of the Act of the Legislative Council, authorizing the election of members of this convention, and which is herewith respectfully submitted.

(Continued the next issue of the QUARTERLY)

THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS

City of Washington 24 Feb 1808

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure some time since to inform you that the Choctaw Treaty was ratified. I have now to inform you that the appropriation for carrying it into effect is made, & that I have had a conversation with the Secretary of War to day, in which he has told me that it was not his intention to pass the Fifty Thousand, Five Hundred Dollars to the Indians.

I recollected that you once had some apprehensions on that point & pressed them on him; but he seemed himself aware that such a proceeding would be improper.

As Mr. Dinsmore is not in the Nation, Instructions, I believe will be sent to Capt. Gaines to call Some of the principal chiefs together to give notice to the Agents of your House to attend (& probably to the other Traders if there are any such) & then to give to you Drafts on the Treasury for the amount authorized by the chiefs & not exceeding the \$48,000

This plan will I hope ensure to you your money, if you think otherwise & will forward to me your objections I will with great pleasure state them to the Secy. of War and do what else I can to serve you, for I am very sensible of the obligations imposed upon me by the polite attentions of yourself & friends when I was at Mobile & Pensacola.

I beg to be presented among my friends at Orleans & am with great regard & esteem

Your mo: obt Servt.

John Graham

Wm. Simpson Esq
New Orleans-

THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF
PENSACOLA, 1818 *

Description and conditions of the public buildings in the town of Pensacola, delivered to Lieut. A. L. Sands of the U. S. Corps of Artillery, agreeably to the articles of capitulation, entered into at the Barrancas on the 28th day of May, 1818, between his excellency the Governor of the Province of West Florida, and Major Gen. Andrew Jackson of the U. S. Army - Viz:

One Brick Guard house, with prisons 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, by 19 feet wide; with a wooden shed in the rear, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, by 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide the whole in bad order.

One Church two stories high, 85 feet long, 34 feet wide, & 18 feet high, with Brick floor and foundation, the whole out of repair.

ON AND AROUND THE PUBLIC SQUARE

Four Block houses, 31 feet square, two stories high, with brick floors & foundations. One in good order, the rest out of repair.

Four One story store houses, 35 feet square, with brick floor and foundations, and double chimnais [sic], the whole in bad order.

One framed building in bad order, 15 feet long by 12 feet wide.

One framed building not worth repair, 64 feet long by 27 feet wide, with a double chimney.

One framed building not worth repair, 31 feet long by 21 feet wide, with a chimney.

One Range of three story Barracks, 156 feet long by 40 feet wide. The first story of Brick, the

*This document is to be found in the Papers of Andrew Jackson, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, under date of May 28, 1818.

upper stories roof and Galleries not worth repair, with four double chimnais.

IN THE GOVERNORS ENCLOSURE

- One three story framed house, in good order, 41 feet long by 18 feet wide, the first story of Brick with Gallarys 8 feet wide & 1 chimney.
- One-one story framed house, in toleearable order, 58 feet long, by 36 feet wide with a double chimney.
- One framed stable, in bad order, 37 feet long by 14 1/2 feet wide
- One framed Kitcheon and Fowl house in good order, 30 feet long by 10 feet wide, with 1 chimney.

HOSPITALS

- One-one story framed building in good order, 48 feet long by 31 feet wide with two chimnais.
- One-one story framed building in bad order, in the Hospital yard, 35 feet long by 14 feet wide, with a bark roof.
- One-one story framed building, in toleearable order in the Hospital yard, 42 feet long by 15 1/2 feet wide with one chimney.
- One new Kitcheon, in the yard, 17 feet long by 12 feet wide, with 1 chimney.
- One Beak [bake] house, in bad order, 60 feet long by 32 feet wide, with two Ovens 12 feet long in good order and two chimnais.
- One framed Kitcheon, in bad order, 20 feet long by 14 feet wide, with one chimney.

AT THE EAST END OF THE TOWN

- One Block house, two stories high, in good order 22 feet square.
- One Guard shed of plank, 18 feet long by 12 feet wide.

One four gun Battery of Cypress pickets, filled with sand in bad order, with plank plat forms.

AT THE HEAD OF PALIFOX STREET

One Block house two stories high, in good order 22 feet square.

One Kitcheon, in good order, 12 feet long by 10 feet wide, with Bark roof and One chimney.

AT THE FOOT OF PALIFOX STREET

One Block house, two stories high, in good order, 22 feet [square]

One four gun Battery of Cypress pickets filled with sand in good order, with plank platform.

AT THE WEST END OF THE TOWN

One Block house two storys high, in good order, 22 feet square.

One four gun Battery of Cypress pickets filled with sand, in good order, with plank plat form.

Five Centry boxes, and one flag staff.

Delivered by

(signed) Jose Triulto (?)

Received by- (Duplicates)

(signed) A. L. Sands Lt. Arty.

Agent for the U. S.

True Copy from the Original

Hy Wilson Adj. 4 Inf.

THE RIGHT REVEREND NATHANIEL THOMAS,
D.D., LL.D. 1867-1937

During the past year interest in the Society and its work has broadened in the Miami-Palm Beach district as it has nowhere else, and Bishop Thomas was the mainspring of that movement.

Long before coming to Florida nine years ago, he had become interested in local and State history, so our own past appealed to him and he began bringing together a library of Floridiana which at his death was surpassed by few in the State.

Bishop Thomas was born at Fairbault, Minnesota, on June 20, 1867, a son of Bishop Elisha S. Thomas. He died in Palm Beach at midnight of March 31.

Receiving his A. B. degree at the University of Minnesota, he studied in England and at the Philadelphia Divinity School where he became a Doctor of Divinity in 1909. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by Colorado College.

While rector of St. Paul's Church in Leavenworth, Kansas, he served as chaplain of the United States penitentiary. In 1909 he became bishop of Wyoming and served until 1927. There he built numerous church edifices, established two hospitals, schools for boys and for girls, and an Indian village which was outstanding in scientific planning. While living in Wyoming he gathered an extensive library relating to the history of that State. In 1896 he married Edith Ellsworth Prince of Quincy, Illinois, who survives him.

He became a member of The Florida Historical Society soon after coming to the State, and at the annual meeting of 1935 was elected a director. Until then the Society had few members in South Florida, but Bishop Thomas undertook to remedy this lack by securing numerous new members and

devising a plan of regional organization. He invited the Society to hold its annual meeting in Palm Beach at the parish house of Bethesda-by-the-Sea, of which he was rector, and through his efforts the meeting of January 26 last was one of the most successful ever held. The Society is now well established in the district. We are grateful to Bishop Thomas.

* * *

A DISTRICT MEETING IN MIAMI

Not long before his last illness Bishop Thomas addressed a meeting of the members in Miami on the purposes of the Society and his plan for regional organization. Officers selected then for the district were: John G. McKay, president; Bishop Thomas, vice president; Thomas P. Caldwell, secretary; Bryan C. Hanks, treasurer. It was decided to establish a depository for Floridiana in the district, and to select an archivist in each locality for the collection and preservation of all records and other historical material. That district, which heretofore was backwards in historical interest, thus took the lead in organizing this regional work.

* * *

PALM BEACH COUNTY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

A county association has been organized in Palm Beach county, and at its first meeting the following officers were elected: C. E. Chillingworth, president; George A. Waterman, 1st vice president; John H. Brelsford, 2nd vice president; A. S. Bussey, secretary; Ralph W. Reynolds, treasurer; Jerome D. Gedney, counsellor.

* * *

Mr. Robert P. Wilson, consulting engineer of Jacksonville, has recently found a Spanish metal military stirrup in Nassau county on the property

of Bishop Thomas. He has presented this unusually interesting piece to the Society as an addition to its collection of historical relics in the name of our late coworker and director.

* * *

A LETTER-BOOK OF GOVERNOR MILTON

The historical collection of The Florida Historical Society has received its most notable gift—a letter-book of Governor John Milton extending through the latter part of 1861 and the greater part of 1862! Together with this is a series of letters to the governor from Secretary Mallory written late in 1861. These were presented to the Society by former United States Senator William H. Milton, a grandson of the governor, and one of our oldest members, to whom the Society is very grateful. These are all of the governor's papers that survived a fire which destroyed the Milton home some years ago. It goes without the saying that many of the letters will be published in the Quarterly.

* * *

The gift of these Milton and Mallory letters, and the papers of Governor Call purchased recently by the Society, is a foundation for a manuscript collection of Florida history which cannot be equalled. And the gift recalls attention to the importance of bringing together all such material for its preservation and use in the writing of Florida's history. Much of this manuscript matter throughout the State, which could not be replaced, is still in constant danger of being lost through ignorance of its value or by fire, as was the remainder of Governor Milton's papers. It would be a public and a patriotic service, the appreciation of which would grow with the years, for any owner of this valuable historical material to give its custody now to the So-

ciety or to some other safe and public Florida depository.

* * *

The roll of the Society is longer than ever before, due to the well-directed and continuous efforts of the Membership Committee, with the noteworthy assistance of Hon. D. B. McKay of Tampa. Mr. McKay, one of our directors, has brought in with us more than thirty new members from that district, making it one of the strongest districts in the State.

The complete roll will appear in the next issue of the Quarterly.

Few seek admission into the Society-largely because the public generally is unaware of our organization and its work. There is a limit to those whom the Committee is able to reach. Beyond that, prospects must be found and interested by the body of individual members.

The recent increase of interest and membership has broadened the plans of the Society, but these plans can be carried out successfully only through a much larger organization. The Committee has set a goal of one thousand before the annual meeting in January next. Will you not do your part and speak to one or two who you think may feel an interest in Florida's past. The chairman of the Committee, Mr. Watt Marchman, (Rollins College, Winter Park) or the editor, will be glad to send you copies of the Quarterly to help you.

