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EVENTS AT PROSPECT BLUFF ON THE
APALACHICOLA RIVER, 1808-1818

An Introduction to Twelve Letters of Edmund
Doyle, Trader

By MARK F. BOYD

One of the most important branches of commerce during the American colonial period was the Indian trade. Search of opportunities for barter was a powerful motive in French and British exploration, and the trader was the principal Caucasian emissary with whom the primitive Indian came in contact. After the settlement of South Carolina, Charleston became an important center of the southern trade, a position later shared with Savannah. From these points English traders penetrated to the country of the Cherokees and Creeks and later to that of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, where they successfully competed with the French and Spanish. After the treaty of Paris in 1763 eliminated the latter competition, the English so skillfully cultivated the friendship of the Indian tribes through their trading operations that practically all of these became British partisans in the later revolutionary struggle. The bitter animosity which this stand of the Indians aroused among the Americans greatly contributed to the final downfall of the tribes after the winning of American independence.

*This paper was read in part before the Tallahassee Historical Society on April 15 last.

**The frontspiece map is reproduced from a copy in the archives of the Quartermaster General, U. S. Army, at Fort Myers, Va. It was submitted to headquarters by Capt. Burch to show the general route of his road through this region. (See, *The First American Road in Florida*, *Quarterly* XIV, 73, 139) and also the route of General Jackson. The writing is Burch's. The map is undated, but it was probably drawn about the time of the cession of Florida to the United States. It is of unusual value because of the sites located, as well as the Indian trails and the boundary of the Forbes Purchase, and especially for Burch's addition of Jackson's route.

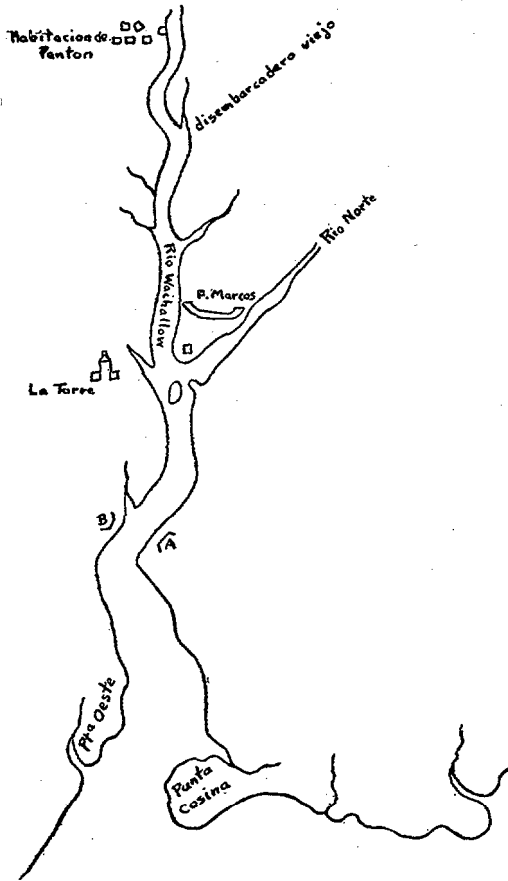
Indian traders in the south endeavored to carry on their operations during the Revolutionary War although under great handicaps. Military operations obstructed the flow of goods through Charleston and Savannah, and many traders, remaining loyal, were obliged to flee. Trading opportunities were still further restricted when Pensacola was captured by the Spaniards in 1781. Before the close of the war the British Indian trade was limited to that carried on through East Florida.

Among the loyal traders who transferred their headquarters to St. Augustine, was the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, the principal partners in which were William Panton, John Leslie and Thomas Forbes, all related by ties of blood and business. Panton had already, or soon after, secured the close friendship of a rising young half-breed chieftain of the Upper Creeks, named Alexander McGillivray, through whom the influence and opportunities of the firm were later greatly extended ⁵².

The Creek Indians lived in central west Georgia and central Alabama and geographically formed two groups known as the upper and lower. The former lived on or adjacent to the Alabama river and its tributaries, the Coosa and the Tallapoosa. The latter lived eastward, on the banks of the Chattahoochie or in the interior of Georgia. In addition there was a third ill-defined group known as the Seminoles, who lived in the west part of East Florida. It is likely that to all groups the interruption of their trade was annoying, and that the first two groups found the long journey to St. Augustine fatiguing. These circumstances probably prompted the appearance before the British authorities at St. Augustine, of an Indian delegation who petitioned that Panton, Leslie and Com-

pany might be licensed to establish a trading post on the Apalachicola river, a situation readily accessible from the lower Creek towns. At this meeting William Panton agreed, if licensed, to settle a store on this river between the fork of the Flint and its mouth. The petition was granted, and the license issued on Jan. 15, 1783¹. By the time the province was delivered to the Spanish authorities in 1784, the new post was in operation, but for reasons now unknown the Apalachicola river site was abandoned for one on the west side of the Wakulla river, about four miles above its confluence with the St. Marks, which was placed in charge of Charles McLatchey, a partner of the firm. (see map on next page)

The Spanish authorities early recognized the threat the young United States offered to their continued possession of Florida and appreciated the inadequacy of their own resources to defend it. Under these circumstances, it appeared that the cultivation of the friendship of the Creek Indians, even though located in American territory, would afford an effective check to American expansion along the disputed southern frontier. From long experience they fully appreciated that Indian good-will required an abundant supply of goods for trade and presents. The Creeks from sympathy and choice preferred British goods, while supplies of equal quality could not be cheaply supplied through Spanish sources. Thus, first as an expediency and later as a policy, the Spanish government allowed Panton, Leslie and Company, a British firm, to continue operations, and finally through connivance of local officials permitted them to have a virtual monopoly of the Indian trade in East and West Florida, a remarkable departure from the conventional Spanish policy⁵⁹.



Showing the location of the trading house on the Wakulla river. The sharp bend of the river to the west marks the crossing of the lower bridge. The trading house site is about one-half mile above, where high ground comes down to the river margin.

Rio de San Marcos de Apalache formado de los Wachallow y Norte. A: Trincheras que formio el enemigo despues del 19 de Abril de 1800. B: Otra id. que se formio antes del 6 de Maio del dicho An. Arch. Nac. de Cuba. Autos Contra Guillermo A. Bowles, 1800. 5 pieza, Leg. 5, Sig. 1.

At its most flourishing period in the last decade of the 18th century, numerous posts were maintained on the North American mainland with virtual headquarters at Nassau on New Providence in the Bahamas.

At the first conference the newly arrived Spanish officials held with the Indians at Pensacola in 1784, the Greek chief, McGillivray² did not succeed in securing permission for Panton to open a new store in Pensacola, but the continuance of the old post in Apalachee was permitted⁵⁹. Later, as the result of negotiation, the Indians granted to the Spaniards permission to reoccupy the old fort at St. Marks, a license that was not exercised until 1787. The reoccupation of this military post appears to have been prompted by a desire to protect the adjacent trading house and to prevent illicit trade.

Panton's severe losses as a loyalist during the Revolution made him bitter to the United States, and he was probably keenly alive to the opportunities afforded by the political situation. In 1785 the firm opened a store at Pensacola for the upper Creeks and in the subsequent decade rapidly expanded their operations to include the Choctaws and Chickasaws, both living in territory claimed by Spain. The large profits then enjoyed by the firm through their practical monopoly soon became apparent to other British merchants.

A group of these located on New Providence island in the Bahamas, selected William Augustus Bowles³ as their agent to engage in this trade. Bowles had some pretensions to authority among the Creeks, and was openly hostile to McGillivray. He resolved to flaunt the feeble Spanish authority by engaging in contraband trade, and embarked on a policy of ruthless hostility to Panton, Leslie

and Company. In 1788, after an unsuccessful attempt at an armed capture of the firm's store on the St. Johns river, Bowles lead a party across the peninsula to attack the store at St. Marks, but found the fort and store too strong. Continuing to follow the same policy of aggressively hostile competition, Bowles made another attack on the St. Marks store in 1792, and succeeded in capturing and robbing it. Later, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, Bowles experienced a prolonged foreign captivity, from which he finally escaped and made his way back to his Indian allies in Apalachee. Here in 1800 he succeeded in assembling a large force of Indians, descended on St. Marks, again seized and plundered the store and further, probably to his own surprise, captured the fort as well. In a few weeks, however, his force was dislodged by a Spanish expedition. He continued active among the Creeks until 1803 when he was kidnapped in the Creek nation, delivered to the Spaniards and died a prisoner. After this last disaster to the store at St. Marks, Panton, Leslie and Co., abandoned this post and withdrew from Apalachee.

William Panton appears to have been the last survivor of the original members of the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company. Sometime after his death in 1801 the co-partnership was reorganized (about 1805) under the name of John Forbes and Company and continued the operations of the former firm. The original partnership, probably as a result of the previous experience of its principal members, had not been friendly to the United States. After the reorganization there is ample indication that the guiding partners appreciated the trend of events and adopted a more conciliatory attitude. John and James Innerarity, fre-

quently mentioned later in these pages, were relatives of Panton, and junior partners in the Forbes enterprise ⁵².

Meanwhile the treaty of 1795 between the United States and Spain settled on the 31st parallel as the southern boundary between the former and West Florida, which placed the source of nearly all the rich trade outside of the company's bases, and further recognized that each country had the right to regulate the Indian trade within its own territory. When the United States later established trading posts of its own in the Creek country, at which goods were sold at cost, the situation of the company became precarious.

Even before the second raid of Bowles, the company had been seeking indemnification of the losses incurred in the first, which were estimated at nearly \$12,000.00. Governor Gayoso de Lemos ⁴ expressed the opinion that the most likely solution would be the purchase of certain lands from the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States for resale, to which the Spanish authorities, would offer no objection. Negotiations were opened with the Indians, who were favorably inclined, but the lands then offered were not considered suitable. Meanwhile the second raid, with estimated losses of \$16,000.00 had occurred. The total claims of the company, including bad debts and interest on the thefts, amounted by this time to over \$60,000.00.

Further discussions of the matter soon brought a proposal to cede lands upon the Apalachicola within the Spanish limits ¹⁰. Here the matter dragged along for several years, as certain Indian elements were definitely hostile to the idea, and agreement could not be reached as to the size of the cession. The preliminary discussions finally

reached such a stage that Governor Folch authorized James Innerarity early in 1804 to negotiate a cession within Spanish territory.

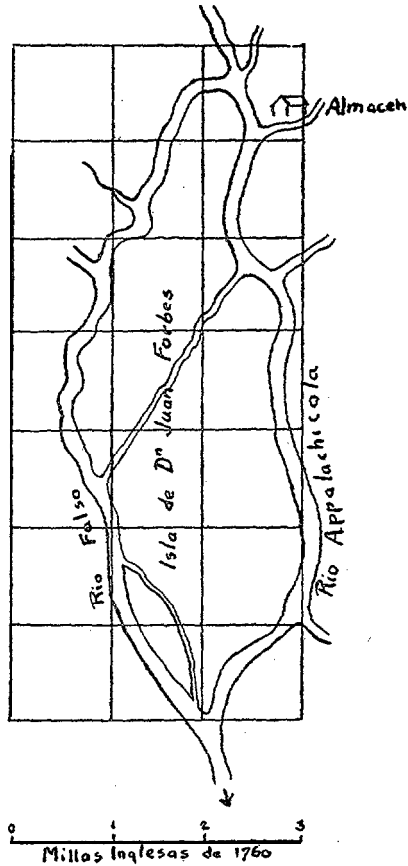
With the support of the Indian known as Tom Perryman, a conference was held at Cheeskatalofa (in Henry Co., Ala., on the west side of the Chattahoochee river) on May 25, 1804 at which twenty-two chiefs agreed to the cession and described the bounds, which act was confirmed on June 20 by the testimony of their representatives before Gov. Folch in Pensacola. Some Indians, headed by Semathly of the Mickosuckees and John Kennaird, a half breed living on the Wakulla river who had been trading at that place since the withdrawal of Panton, Leslie and Company, objected to the bounds, which they argued were excessively generous. Furthermore many Indians were disturbed by the opinion of Benjamin Hawkins, the American agent to the Creeks, that the company intended to settle the lands with low-class Americans⁵. So much dissatisfaction existed that James Innerarity returned to Apalachee where at Achackweithle (Prospect Bluff) on the Apalachicola river, the matter was reopened and he negotiated another cession in the same locality which was signed by thirty-three chiefs on August 22, 1804. Innerarity was forced to agree to a grant with reduced limits⁵. In ceding the land the Indians insisted it was conditioned on the establishment of a store on the Apalachicola river, and on an agreement or tariff on prices in trade⁶. Seeing that no progress could be made without acquiescence, Innerarity agreed to these conditions, with a tariff that provided against further losses. Immediately at the close of the conference, he set out in the company of some Indians to mark the bounds. The Indians furnished confirmation of their act to Governor Folch in Pen-

sacola on Dec. 3, 1804, but the decree placing the company in formal possession was not issued until 1806.

This area, the first Indian grant to the company, was a principality in size. It extended over a vast stretch of country comprising all of the present counties of Franklin and Liberty, as well as a large part of Gadsden, Leon and Wakulla. It did not contain any fixed settlement of consequence in 1804 but was used as a winter hunting and fishing ground⁷. At the time of the cession the only occupied sites were the dwellings of Hannahchela on Little river and of John and William Kennaird on Wakulla river⁸. (see frontspiece map)

The company took immediate steps to comply with the conditions relating to trade, as Peter Alba, a former clerk of the company, says⁹ that in 1804. James Innerarity, with a passport from Governor Folch, arrived at Prospect Bluff with a clerk and five negroes and established a store. Edmund Doyle states⁸ that when he arrived at Prospect Bluff in 1808 (sic) the company had a storehouse, dwelling, skin house, negro houses, granary and other necessary buildings. There were then 30 acres of cleared land at the post and at another place the company had a cowpen and 1200 head of cattle. Land was under cultivation at both places. (see map on next page)

We thus have our first introduction to Edmund Doyle, who figures largely in the events which occurred at Prospect Bluff during the next decade. He is accompanied through these years by a lesser figure, William Hambly. Doyle from his letters would appear to have first come to the post on a temporary assignment as auditor, but remained as bookkeeper and became trader. Hambly was already attached to the post on the arrival of Doyle



Plat accompanying patent for Forbes Island, showing the location of the trading house.

From "Expediente Seguido por Juan Innerarity", etc. 1811. Arch. Nac. de Cuba, Leg. 11, Sig. 6.

in the capacity of interpreter, a circumstance suggesting that he may have been a half breed, and later became an independent trader.

In the immediate years that follow Doyle appears to have lead a lonely life, trading with the Indians that appeared, sending cattle to Pensacola either for the company or on his own speculation, and endeavoring to keep above the devious currents of Indian intrigue and uphold the prestige of the house among its fickle patrons. The post soon became a losing venture ⁶ and it is likely that had it not been for the stipulations of the cession and the interest the firm members and the heirs of former partners possessed in the tract as a land speculation ²⁴, the company would have withdrawn from the river. Doyle's complaints indicate the stocks of trade goods were allowed to decline and were never adequately replenished. The intrigue soon became thicker, the local Indians were openly hostile, and Prospect Bluff felt the reverberations of thunder over distant fields. Despite these circumstances, an additional cession, largely adjoining the old grant on the north, was negotiated in 1811, to pay for bad debts of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles.

For many years after the close of the Revolutionary War, the British government did not view the results of that struggle as decisive. Space does not permit a discussion of this subject, but it does appear that British agents either openly or covertly did much to promote unrest and hostility among the Indians on the American frontiers. Outside of this sphere the drastic measures taken by those governments opposing the ambitions of Napoleon, of which the British was the chief, caused grave damage to American foreign commerce which resulted in much internal repercussion in the

United States. These and other grievances resulted in an ill-advised declaration of war in 1812. Although Spain was nominally neutral in the conflict she actually was a passive ally of Great Britain. At this time Spain was the theater of the Peninsular War and British troops were the support of the legitimate Spanish monarchy whose feeble civil authority was scarcely felt in the New World. Under these circumstances the subsequent British operations in Florida were not surprising.

The earliest outside interference with the southeastern (the old southwest) Indians can probably be attributed to Bowles. Although a private adventurer, he endeavored to secure the intervention of the British government in Creek affairs when he escorted a party of these Indians to London in 1790. Although his efforts to secure official support were unsuccessful, the Indians were much impressed by the attention they received and the presents bestowed on them. Elsewhere, the unrest of the northwestern Indians was intensified by encouragement received from British sources in Canada. Its most important expression was the attempt of Tecumseh, a Shawnee, to unite all of the western Indians in a common front against the American advance. In the interest of this movement, Tecumseh visited the southeastern tribes in 1811. He found the Choctaws unresponsive, but a certain element among the upper Creeks, alarmed by the American encroachment in Georgia, accepted his ideas. These converts, known as Red Sticks, began an intratribal war against those who would not support the movement, and on the outbreak of the War of 1812 became increasingly hostile to the Americans. In the summer of 1813 a large party of these visited Pensacola and secured a considerable quantity of ammunition from the authorities

there and openly declared their intention to make war on the Americans. According to Hambly⁴⁰ these Indians visited Pensacola in compliance with an invitation sent to Thomas Perryman and other chiefs from the Governor. On the return trip they were attacked while in camp by a small force of Mississippi militia under Col. Collier at Burnt Corn creek on July 27. Although the Creeks were at first routed, they rallied while the militia were plundering the camp, and finally disgracefully drove them off. Encouraged by this success, the insurgent Indians resolved to attack the American settlers on the lower Alabama river. A party of nearly 500 alarmed settlers had gathered for protection at a private blockhouse known as Fort Mims, which was surprised and captured by a large party of Indians on August 30th. Most of the occupants were slaughtered without putting up a resistance worthy of the name. The Creek War was now fairly begun, to culminate in the battle of the Horse Shoe Bend on the Tallapoosa river on March 27, 1814, where the hostile Creeks were decisively defeated by United States troops under General Andrew Jackson and forced to sue for peace, as a crushing condition of which they ceded large areas in central Alabama and southern Georgia. Many of the prominent Red Stick leaders escaped and fled to Florida. Among these were the Prophet Frances or Hillis Hadjo and Peter McQueen¹¹.

Up to this time it does not appear that the Indians caused Doyle any unusual amount of annoyance at Prospect Bluff. However in 1812-13, the general unrest began to affect his neighbors, who became troublesome through killing the company's cattle. In an endeavor to prevent these losses, Doyle was obliged to employ rangers to patrol the cession⁸.

So far land operations of the War of 1812 had been carried on in a desultory fashion in the north. But the Peninsular War was now at an end, large bodies of troops were released and the British resolved on a decisive campaign in America. Rumors of the expected arrival of British troops in Florida were communicated to the Secretary of War by Benjamin Hawkins as early as the fall of 1812¹⁴. However, anticipating the likelihood of British aggression in the southwest, President Madison, with congressional authorization, ordered the seizure of the western portion of West Florida. In compliance with these instructions, General Wilkinson occupied Mobile on April 15, 1813, and erected Fort Bowyer at Mobile Point¹².

The first actual British move in the southern campaign occurred in the summer of 1814. On June 17th an American who had left Pensacola on June 8th informed Brig. Gen. Thos. Flounroy from Bay St. Louis that, just before his departure, an unnamed schooner, tender to the British frigate Orpheus, Capt. Pigot, arrived in Pensacola and reported that they had recently touched at Apalachicola and had landed 5000 stand of arms and ammunition in proportion. On departure of the schooner the Orpheus was still at that place, and was landing 300 odd troops on St. Georges island, together with a colonel and nine commissioned officers, and that they further intended to erect a fortification which they had already commenced. He further said that Mr. Innerarity of the house of John Forbes and Co., had been advised by their agent at that place (Doyle) that a store was being erected within about a mile of his factory for the reception of said arms and ammunition¹⁵. These troops likely included detachments from the Royal Marines and from one of the West India regiments.

About the same time Benjamin Hawkins was advising the Secretary of War of these same activities. He was informed by several Indians who were present that the Orpheus frigate and a sloop of war disembarked fifty men on an island at the mouth of the Apalachicola river and left saying they would return in twenty-five days. Four 100 pound kegs of cartridges as well as arms were reported as distributed to several Indians ¹⁶. In a later communication on the 3rd of July Hawkins relates that recent information would indicate that the supplies landed were very limited and probably only what the vessels could spare from their own equipment, which would appear misleading in the light of the other reports ¹⁷. Hawkins was not obliged to depend altogether on chance Indian gossip for news of this development, but actually apprehended a British emissary. He reported ¹⁸ to the Secretary of War on July 13th that he had examined an intelligent runner from the store of John Forbes and Co., east of the Apalachicola, who stated that three British officers had sent him to Coweta and Cussetah to invite the chiefs down to receive arms and ammunition, ostensibly to kill game, and various individual Indians were reported to have already received supplies. He further mentioned that a chief had been sent to invite the surviving hostile Indians from Konocau (Conecuh) to Apalache and had reported they were coming, but so exhausted by famine that many must perish on the way ¹⁸. In a further report dated Aug. 16, Hawkins says that while the British have undoubtedly furnished a considerable supply of ammunition for war, they have deceived the Indians by landing and reembarking men from their armed vessels. They are training the Indians and some negroes for purposes hostile to us. According to

him the Indian training was to fire a swivel, sound the war whoop, fire three or four rounds of small arms, sound (carry) the war whoop to every village who repeated it and are ready to march on the shortest notice. He also reported that some Indians had recently done mischief along the Georgia frontiers¹⁹.

The British plans for the campaign now swiftly developed. In August there arrived in Pensacola two British war vessels, the *Hermes*, Capt. Percy, and the *Caron*, Capt. Spencer, with troops on board under the command of Col. Edward Nicholls of the Artillery. The expedition sailed from Bermuda and en route stopped at Havana where the Captain General denied the permission sought to land at Pensacola. They nevertheless sailed for this destination and on arrival disembarked the troops without opposition from the Spanish Governor, who on the contrary accorded the fullest co-operation. Refugee Creek Indians soon flocked to Pensacola, who were organized into companies and drilled in military maneuvers by Captain George Woodbine. Space does not permit a sketch of even the main features of this campaign which culminated in an overwhelming American victory at New Orleans, although paradoxically the main actions were fought after the treaty of peace was signed. Mention must be made of the participation of Nicholls, Woodbine and the Indians in the unsuccessful joint land and naval attack on Fort Bowyer on Sept. 15th, and of Jackson's swift descent on Pensacola, his seizure of that place and its fortifications on Nov. 7th and 8th and the precipitate exodus of Nicholls, Woodbine and their men who withdrew to the Apalachicola²¹, taking with them a large number of negroes belonging to Spanish citizens whom they had seduced from their

owners in Pensacola and East Florida. The main English forces, which had been encamped on Dauphine island and Mobile point since their defeat, left the coast toward the end of March. It may also be mentioned that Bolecks, or Bowlegs, later chief of the town on the Suwannee river, is reported to have been, with several of his warriors, with the British at New Orleans⁴².

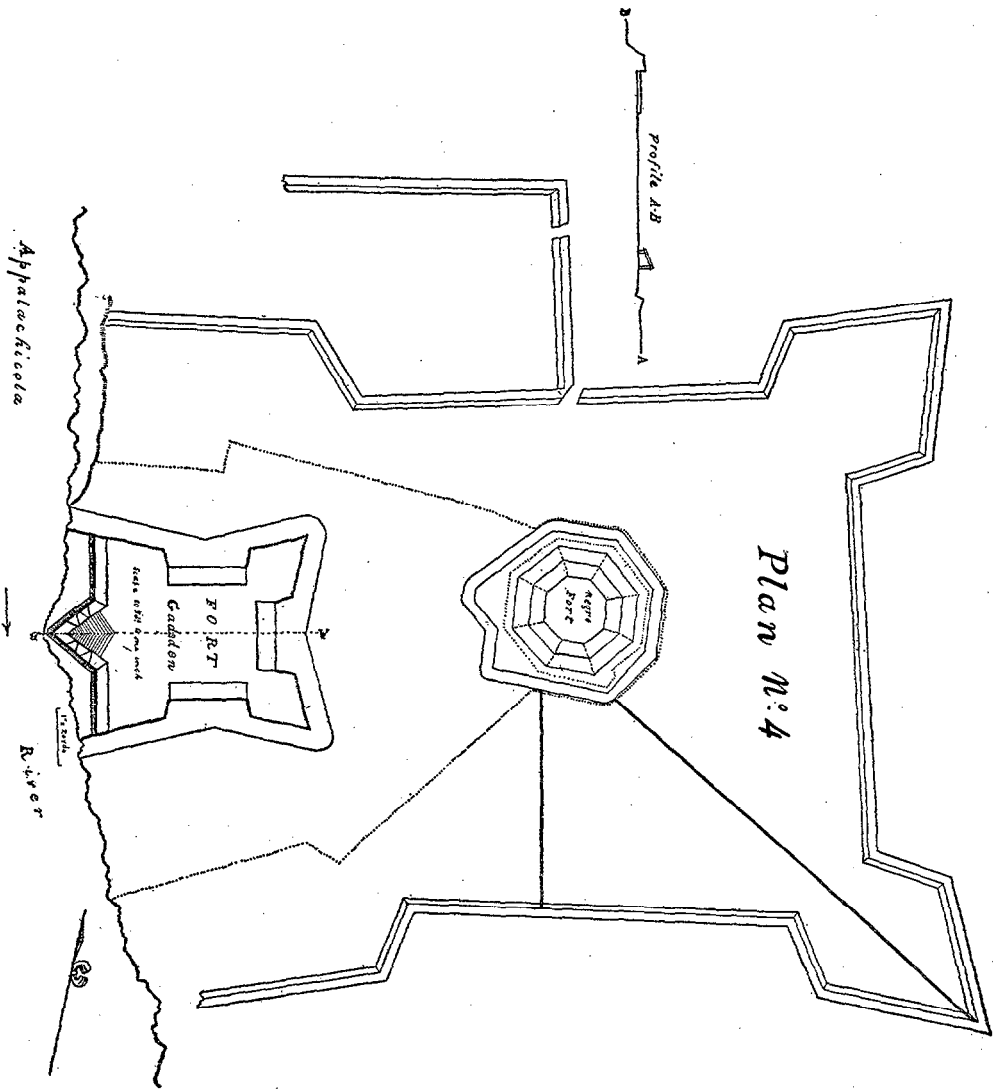
It is likely that the "store" to which Doyle is previously said¹⁵ to have referred, was actually the fortification we shall now notice. This was, according to Governor Mauricio de Zuniga²² to be found on the eastern bank of the Apalachicola river, at about fifteen miles from the sea, and was built by the orders of Col. Nicholls, who by arrangement with Vice Admiral Malcolm, proceeded to furnish it with artillery and munitions. More precisely, it stood on the east bank of the Apalachicola river, north of where the mouth of Fort Gadsden creek discharges into the river, in the east half of the southwest quarter of section 23, T. 6 S., R. 8 W., nearly on the south line of the section. This structure was supplemented by an outwork near the junction of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, at about the site of the present village of Chattahoochie. According to Williams⁴⁵ this was about two miles below the fork, and one mile south of the site of the old Spanish fort. According to Zuniga, this outwork appeared to exist no longer at the time of his letter to Jackson in 1816. The former is briefly described and delineated by Capt. Gadsden who visited the place in 1818 and laid out the work on the same site which was later known as Fort Gadsden. It was situated on the lowest bluff to which a land communication can be obtained. Apparently it consisted of an octagonal central earth work located about five hun-

dred feet from the river bank, evidently the principal magazine; and was surrounded by an extensive rectangular enclosure covering about seven acres with bastions on the eastern corners having parapets fifteen feet high and eighteen feet thick ¹³.

Hawkins transmitted to Nicholls at this place on March 19th, orders from Admirals Cochrane and Cockburn to leave the Floridas with the British troops under his command ²⁵. Just when the troops left we do not know, but Nicholls remained behind, despatching saucy letters to Hawkins as late as May 19th, in which the Indians are referred to as in alliance with them, and protesting against alleged American encroachments ²⁶. Nicholls interpreted, and so instructed the Indians, that the ninth article of the treaty of Ghent, which stipulated a return to the status of 1811, nullified the land cession of the treaty negotiated by General Jackson. When he finally left, early in the summer of 1815, he took with him to London the prophet Francis and several other Indians ³¹.

A great protest was raised by Pensacola slave owners (including the partners in Forbes and Company) against the action of Nicholls and Woodbine in enticing their negroes to accompany them to Apalachicola. Among these were said to be many negroes from the United States (Louisiana, Mobile, Creek Nation) and the total was estimated as high as 300. Admiral Cochrane disapproved of this action, and sent Capt. Spencer to Pensacola and Apalache for the purpose of securing their return. He made the trip in the company of Capt. Pintado, Spanish commissioner. These gentlemen were not cordially received by the British officers at Apalachicola, and their attempts to persuade the negroes to return voluntarily were met by threats on their lives. Many were later removed in dif-

PLAN OF FORT GADSDEN, 1818.



Drawing by Captain J. Gadsden accompanying his report to General Jackson on the defenses of the Floridas (see *Quarterly* XV. p. 242) from files of Intelligence Division, Engineer's Corps, War Department, Washington. Shows plan of the fort on the site of the so-called Negro Fort destroyed in 1816, as well as outline of a larger entrenchment. The Negro Fort and the entrenchments were constructed by Colonel Nichols of the British Army in 1814.

ferent British vessels and taken to Nova Scotia, Bermuda and Trinidad ²⁷. Although Spencer's mission was unsuccessful in securing the return of the negroes, it probably did deter Nicholls and Woodbine from removing the remainder from Prospect Bluff ²⁴.

Meanwhile reports were coming to the Americans that the British, on evacuation of the fort, delivered munitions to the Indians and negroes. A sergeant of marines, who deserted from the British forces at Apalachicola, was apprehended at Mobile in May. He stated that after the news of peace, Nicholls distributed large supplies of arms and ammunition, including artillery, to the Indians and negroes, for the purpose of enabling the Indians to make war on the United States and secure the retrocession of their lands ²⁸. An anonymous informant ²⁷ at Bermuda confirmed this statement with the further news that the fort would not be destroyed. He suggested the adoption of energetic measures for its destruction, as the Spanish authorities were not in a position to do so.

With the advent of the British, Doyle's troubles intensified. Hambly continued to exercise his profession of interpreter and accepted a commission as first lieutenant in the marines. Doyle was persuaded by Woodbine to relinquish charge of the Forbes store in order to become storekeeper at the fort ⁶⁰. Although Forbes and Company's interests suffered from this apparent desertion, as they could not send out a successor, it is altogether likely that Doyle had very little latitude in making this decision. He was solicited to supply beef to the Indians on promises of payment of which he was skeptical ¹⁹. Disregarding Doyle's reluctance, the Indians nevertheless rushed in and killed off the greater part of the cattle ⁸. Despite Doyle's ad-

herence to Woodbine, he seems to have incurred the enmity of both English and Indians, who charged him with being an American spy. He finally became thoroughly disgusted with Woodbine, and was convinced that he intended to utilize the tricked negroes for personal ends.

These events were a severe blow to the trading post. Innerarity reports²⁴ that the store was broken up with considerable loss over and above the cattle eaten by the plunderers and the negroes stolen from them. He deplors the loss of the company's influence over the Indians, and stated that Prospect Bluff and the lands are in possession of the negroes. Furthermore the negroes were in possession of several small well-armed vessels and were credited with acts of piracy.

Not the least of the damage was done to the prestige of the company through malicious rumors circulated by Woodbine, the most infamous of which was a tale that British presents to the Indians transmitted through the house had been diverted and withheld from the intended recipients.

It would appear that a small Indian force was early despatched by Hawkins to capture the stores and negroes. Little information is available about this but subsequent events indicate that it was unsuccessful. Hawkins advised²⁰ that Major McIntosh marched on the 23rd of Sept. on this expedition with one hundred ninety-six warriors, twenty rounds of ammunition and twenty days provisions. With expected reinforcements he anticipated there would be in all from three hundred to four hundred men, sufficient in his opinion to accomplish this purpose.

The American authorities immediately realized that the continuation of the fort and its horde of armed negroes and Indians was intolerable. On

instruction from the Secretary of War General Jackson in the spring of 1816 despatched Captain Amelung with a letter dated April 23rd, to the Governor at Pensacola advising him of the existence of the fort and of the character of its occupants, and demanding that the Spanish authorities disperse these "banditti" and return stolen property to American owners, or on their failure it would be done by the United States. In reply Governor Zuniga²² disclaimed responsibility for the presence of the fort, stated that the Spanish negroes at any rate, were regarded as rebels, but that he would be unable to act against them until authorized by the Captain General. Amelung on his return reported to Jackson that in addition to the runaway negroes, there were about twenty Choctaws and some Seminoles at the fort. A great number of the negroes were however reported to have left because of scarcity of provisions and to have gone to Savannah (alias St. Joseph's) (Suwannee) river in East Florida²⁹.

Even before the despatch of his letter by Amelung it would appear that Jackson had resolved on the destruction of the negro fort, as on April 8 orders to that effect were sent to General Gaines^{32 61}.

In the spring of the same year, Hawkins organized another Indian party to go down the river, headed by the chief Little Prince, ostensibly to visit the Seminole chiefs near the Apalachicola, but actually to adopt measures for an attack on the fort. On learning of new American posts to be established on the river the Indians, in expression of their disapproval, desisted from the execution of the project³⁰. Another Indian expedition organized some weeks later, again under Major McIntosh, formed a junction with Col. Clinch's forces¹³ and participated in the capture of the negro fort.

Shortly after the receipt of Jackson's orders, Gaines instructed Lieutenant Colonel Clinch, then commanding the posts on the Chattahoochee river, to establish a new post near the junction of the two rivers, as a result of which a post first known as Camp Crawford and later as Fort Scott, was established on the Flint river (early in June, 1816). Gaines also advised Clinch that he had ordered supplies to be sent to this new post from New Orleans^{33 61}. At the same time Gaines wrote also to Commodore Patterson, in command at the New Orleans Naval Station, requesting him to detail one or two small gunboats to convoy the supply boats up the Apalachicola river, prepared to destroy the negro fort should it offer opposition³⁴. Clinch was also instructed to co-operate with the naval party.

Thus under Jackson's initiative events were developing rapidly toward a climax long before June 15 when, on the receipt of Amelung's report, he wrote to the Secretary of War advising the destruction of the fort, proposed the detail of troops and a naval force for that purpose, and stated that he awaited orders⁴⁸.

On June 19, Commodore Patterson directed that gunboats 149 and 154 meet the schooner transports *Semilante* and *General Pike* carrying the supplies for Camp Crawford at Pass Christian, and convoy them to their destination, with orders to co-operate with the military force in the event opposition should be encountered from the negro fort³⁵. The expedition, under the command of sailing master J. Loomis, arrived off the mouth of the Apalachicola river on July 10th. Here Loomis found despatches from Clinch awaiting him, by the hand of chief Lafarka, which requested him to tarry at this point until Clinch could arrive with his party, and to detain all vessels attempting to descend the river.

Clinch left Camp Crawford with one hundred sixteen men in boats on July 17, after learning of Loomis's arrival. On the morning of the 20th he landed in a screened position near the fort and communicated with Loomis. McIntosh's Indians were directed to surround the fort and keep its artillery engaged, in which they succeeded. News of the massacre of Luffborough's party (described below) was received from Loomis on the 23rd, and on that date a deputation of Indian chiefs demanded the surrender of the fort, which was abusively refused. On the 24th a party was sent down to contact Loomis¹³.

Loomis meanwhile was not inactive and, as we shall see, had actually experienced the hostility of the negroes. In the further consideration of the affair we shall largely follow Loomis's account.

For several days nothing occurred to indicate to Loomis the temper of the occupants of the fort. On the 15th a boat was discovered pulling out of the river, whereupon a boat with an officer was despatched to intercept it, which, on approaching the former, was greeted by a round of musketry. This then pulled into the river under ineffectual fire from one of the gunboats.

Becoming short of water Loomis despatched, early on the 17th, two small armed landing parties in search of that necessity, under Midshipman Luffborough and Sailing Master Bassett, respectively. At noon the latter returned with the body of one of the members of the former party, which was discovered near the mouth of the river, shot through the heart. In the afternoon a solitary figure was discovered on a sandbar near the river mouth. A boat was sent to secure him, when it was found to be John Lopez, a seaman, who turned out to be

the only survivor of Luffborough's party. According to his report, they were ambushed from the shore by forty negroes and Indians, while approaching to speak to a negro who had been observed. Three of the party, including Luffborough, were killed on the spot; and one, Edward Daniels, was made a prisoner.

On the 20th a canoe-load of Indians arrived with despatches from Clinch informing Loomis that he with a party of troops and Indians had taken a position about a mile above the fort, and requesting that Loomis join him with the gunboats. He was also informed that Clinch had captured an Indian bearing the scalp of one of the members of Luffborough's party. Two days later heavy cannonading was heard from the direction of the fort. The next day a white man and two Indians arrived with a verbal message from Clinch requesting Loomis to ascend the river to a certain point. Suspicious that this might be a ruse, Loomis retained the white man and one Indian, and sent the other back to Clinch stating that in order to avoid deception he asked for future messages to be sent in writing and transmitted by an officer.

The authenticity of the verbal messages was proven on the 24th, when Lieutenant Wilson with a party of thirteen men came down to assist the transports in getting up the river. The next day Loomis got his vessels under way, and at Dwelling Bluff, about four miles below the fort, encountered Clinch.

These aggressions indicated the necessity for the destruction of the fort and sealed its fate. Loomis and Clinch reconnoitered the area, and selected a site on which to erect a small battery to assist the gunboats. On the next day although Clinch's men had begun to clear the battery site, he concluded

that the distance was too great to do execution, and ordered his men to desist from their operations. On learning this Loomis advised Clinch the gunboats would attempt the passage without his aid.

Early on the morning of the 27th, Loomis's force began warping the gunboats into position, which was reached at 5 a.m. The fort, then flying the English jack and the red or "bloody" flag, opened fire, which was promptly returned from the American vessels. The range having been determined with cold shot, hot shot were prepared. The first one of these fired from gunboat 154 entered the magazine which it blew up, completely destroying the structure.

When the American forces entered a melancholy sight was presented. It was found that its occupants had been about three hundred negroes, men, women and children, and about twenty renegade Choctaws. Of these two hundred seventy were killed outright by the explosion, and of the survivors but three escaped unhurt. Among the prisoners were the two chiefs of the negroes (Garson) and Indians (Choctaws). Upon examination of the prisoners it was learned that Daniels, the seaman captured from the Luffborough party, had been tarred and burnt alive. In consequence of this act, the captive chiefs were executed on the spot- by the friendly Indians.

The fort was found to possess a surprising armament mounted and ready for use. It included 4 twenty-four-pound cannons, 4 six-pound cannons, beside a field piece and howitzer. In addition there were found 2,500 stands of muskets with accoutrements, 500 carbines and 500 swords. The Americans were informed that it also contained 300 quarter-basks of rifle powder and 162 barrels of cannon

powder, besides other stores and clothing; the whole appraised at not less than \$200,000 in value. Nicholls' project had not failed for lack of supplies.

In an unguarded moment before the attack, Clinch had promised his Indian allies all of the captured property, except the cannon and shot. Loomis reluctantly assented to this engagement, but from the inventories of the property recovered by Loomis and Clinch it would not appear that any great amount of arms and munitions were delivered to the Indians, except perhaps a large supply of powder from one magazine which escaped.

The surviving negroes which were captured largely belonged to the Spaniards and Indians. The former's property was delivered into the custody of Hambly. The American negroes had not congregated at the fort but were cultivating plantations along the river bank. On hearing of the approach of the army most of them fled to the Seminoles. Those captured were taken to Camp Crawford¹³.

Having found the river too shallow to permit the heavily laden transports to ascend, the whole cargo of the *General Pike* was transferred to flat-boats, and part of that of the *Semilante* removed, which permitted the latter to ascend the river to Camp Crawford. Clinch received reports that a large body of Indians were gathering to intercept his return passage up the river, but these dispersed without being seen. On the 3rd of August, Loomis set fire to the remains of the fort and village and returned to New Orleans^{36, 37, 38}. On his way out of the river, Loomis encountered an armed schooner of the Spanish government, whose commander sent him a demand for the surrender of the captured artillery and ammunition, which demand Loomis

evaded by promising to transmit it to the United States government.

It would appear that while the American forces were engaged in this activity, a Spanish expedition with the same objective set out from Pensacola in two vessels under Don Benigno Garcia Calderon, on board one of which was our friend Doyle. They arrived one or two days after the American gunboats had blown up the fort. Although Doyle wanted to go up to the fort, Don Benigno would not allow him, and kept the schooners anchored in the bay. In discussing this expedition, James Innerarity³⁹ deplores Benigno's failure to go up the river, as he could have brought away the wounded, and perhaps have secured several of the runaways, some of whom were evidently returned to Pensacola with the vessels. After Benigno's demand to Loomis for the munitions was refused, all the vessels returned along the coast in company.

The successful outcome of the expedition greatly elated Commodore Patterson who commendably reported it to the Secretary of the Navy. It would appear that these events took official Washington by surprise, and that international complications were feared as a consequence³². It led to a presidential order prohibiting further attacks on Indians below the line.

According to James Innerarity³⁹ the effect of this action was to produce immediate submission of the Indians, an opinion probably shared by the Americans, as the troops were withdrawn from Camp Crawford. He was evidently planning re-establishment of the store, and in this connection mentions Pine Bluffs, an unidentified locality, as under consideration. In the meantime Hambly, in the absence of Doyle, was requesting a supply of goods for the use of the American fort. The pay

rolls of the American forces appear to have greatly stimulated trade along the river, but Forbes and Company, now had brisk competition from some smuggling interlopers. Doyle writes early in 1817 that scanty stocks in the Forbes store prevented him from effectively competing with three (other) handsome stores on this river. We do not know to whom they belonged. However by this time Hambly was trading independently, though with goods received from the house of Forbes. Another, mentioned by Doyle is a Mr. Butler who traded at the next camp. Probably the keenest competition came to be felt from the Americans, who, complains Doyle later in the same year, "sell cheaper than we have at any period."

With the departure of Nicholls, efforts of British agents to tamper with and incite to hostility the Indians in Spanish Florida did not cease. Chief among these was A. Arbuthnot who, in 1817 or earlier, opened a store on Ocklockoney bay and was regarded by Doyle as a competitor. He soon was in close association with the disaffected Indians to whom he claimed to be a British emissary, and professed to be their authorized champion in communications addressed to the American and Spanish authorities. Color to the former claim is given by his correspondence with Nicholls and the Governor of the Bahamas⁴². Arbuthnot later opened another store on the Wakulla river at the site of the old Panton, Leslie establishment, where he received smuggled cargoes from the Bahamas with the apparent complicity of the commandant at St. Marks. He reiterated to the Indians the tale first told them by Nicholls, namely that the United States was withholding from them ceded lands which it relinquished by the Treaty of Ghent. Hambly later testified at Arbuthnot's trial, that

Indian raids from Florida into Georgia were renewed within fifteen or twenty days of the latter's first arrival at Ocklockoney, which he understood was by Arbuthnot's instigation.

Arbuthnot represented that, according to the Indians, Hambly guided the American army down the river to the fort, and had been instrumental in its destruction. He also charged both Hambly and Doyle with having been American spies, even while receiving British pay⁴¹.

Evidently trusting that the destruction of the negro fort would be an adequate lesson to the hostile Indians, the American authorities evacuated Camp Crawford or Fort Scott, in the fall of 1816, leaving the buildings in the care of one of the Perrymans. He was soon visited by hostiles, who removed everything portable, and threatened him with violence if he did not leave. Perryman took the hint and removed to Fort Gaines⁵³. Hostile Indians reengaged in thieving raids on the Georgia frontier and were reported congregating at Fowltown, a village east of Fort Scott. The influence that Doyle and Hambly were previously able to exert in restraining the Indians was now completely destroyed by the agitation of Arbuthnot, and the former lived in daily fear of their lives. The reports of theft were soon supplemented by news of the murder of isolated settlers in Georgia and Alabama. Doyle repeatedly asked Innerarity to be released from his engagement, and Hambly planned to withdraw, but through the arguments of the chief Big Warrior who promised him protection, he decided to remain.

Some time in the month of July 1817 a force under Major Twiggs was sent to reoccupy the site of Fort Scott. By direction of General Gaines, Twiggs sent a message to the Indians at Fowltown

and Mickasukie demanding the surrender of those responsible for the murders. In a conference at Mickasukie the Indians refused the demand and set up a counter claim for the lives of three Indians. The chief of Fowltown warned Twiggs not to cut wood on the east side of the Flint and several hundred Indians were reported gathered at Mickasukie preparing to attack if the Americans crossed the river. Under these circumstances the garrison at Fort Scott was increased, and Gaines arrived there in November. He despatched Twiggs with two hundred fifty men to Fowltown on November 20 to bring in the chief. On arrival the troops were fired upon and the Indians were routed with small losses. Evidence that the Indians had been in communication with the British was discovered. A few days later, Lieutenant Colonel Arbuckle with a large reconnoitering force was sent into the same vicinity and had a skirmish with the Indians near the same town.

It will be recalled that the prophet Francis (Hillis Hadjo) had gone to England with Nicholls on the departure of the latter from Apalachicola. Here he received distinguished consideration, and on his departure received many presents from the king's stores. He returned via New Providence where, according to Arbuthnot, Woodbine assumed his custody and plundered him of most of his gifts. By June of 1817 Francis was back in Apalachee and called a meeting of the Indians at Tallahassee to hear a talk purporting to be from the Prince Regent. Previously he had personally threatened the lives of Doyle and Hambly. The return of the American troops to the forks diminished Francis's outspokenness, and caused Arbuthnot to flee from Ocklockoney bay. When it became apparent that immediate operations across the border were un-

likely their courage was restored and they became increasingly insolent.

The purpose of the earlier operations of Nicholls now became evident. It will be recalled that one of Nicholls's most zealous lieutenants was Captain George Woodbine, who had been largely responsible for enticing the negroes to congregate at Prospect Bluff. Spain's hold upon her American empire was slipping and either Nicholls or Woodbine had conceived the idea of capturing Florida from the feeble hand of Spain, whose weakness they had fully discovered in the recent war. Woodbine planned to raise a force of men from the recently disbanded colonial troops, the negroes and the Indians, which was to assemble at Tampa Bay, whence this force would march across the peninsula, seize St. Augustine and thus make himself master of the whole province ³⁸ ⁴³. His purpose is not clear but it has been surmised that he hoped after its conquest to sell Florida either to the United States or England. As the plan worked up to a climax, Woodbine sent Robert Ambrister, an ex-companion in arms, to Florida to perfect the final details. Just what relation Arbuthnot bore to Ambrister is not perfectly clear. There is some reason to believe that both may have worked for the same principal or principals, and at any rate Ambrister made free with Arbuthnot's equipment and supplies. Space does not permit further discussion of Ambrister's activities, but with his appearance on the scene the Indians became very aggressive.

In November 1817 Major Muhlenburg was ascending the Apalachicola with three vessels laden with stores brought from Fort Montgomery and Mobile for the posts. Lieutenant R. W. Scott of the 7th Infantry had been sent down the river with

forty men to contact Muhlenburg and assist him in ascending the river. Contact was made, but Muhlenburg, instead of keeping the whole detail, retained only twenty and sent the balance back to Fort Scott as an escort to about twenty sick soldiers and seven women, wives of soldiers. On his way up the river Scott was warned by Hambly that Indians with hostile intentions were assembling about the forks, which stimulated Scott to request reinforcements on the 28th. Nevertheless the lieutenant proceeded. On the 30th about a mile below the forks, at a place where the current obliged the boat to keep very close to the shore, several volleys were discharged into the boat from the shore, at the first of which Lieut. Scott and most of his able men fell. Of the entire party only six men escaped with their lives⁵⁸. It was for having led this attacking party that Homathlemico was later hanged. On receiving Scott's letter, Gen. Gaines despatched two armed boats with forty men to his aid, but they were too late and continued on down the river to Muhlenburg. About two weeks later when Muhlenburg was near the Ocheese bluff with his vessels, they were attacked from both sides of the river by Indians, who kept up such a continuous fire that further warping of the vessels was impossible. Firing was kept up for two days. In this brush Muhlenburg lost two men and had thirteen wounded. He was detained by these hostilities for about two weeks and did not arrive at Fort Scott until about the middle of January⁴⁴.

When appraised of these events, the War Department granted Gaines discretionary authority to cross the line for the purpose of punishing depredations committed by the Indians from that quarter, but not in any case to molest a Spanish post.

The gravity of the aggressions could not be overlooked and, in December 1817, General Jackson was called to the field on the southern frontier. His long experience had convinced him that trouble on the southern frontier might be expected as long as Florida remained foreign territory. On arriving at Fort Scott and superceding Gaines, Jackson resolved on immediate operations under the orders Gaines had previously received. Thus began the first Seminole War. A day or so after Hambly warned Scott of the impending ambushade, he and Doyle were captured (Dec. 13th) at his plantation by Indians led by Chenubby, a Fowltown chief, and taken to Ocheese bluff where they were detained while the Indians attacked Muhlenburg's command. Information of the attack reached Arbuckle at Fort Scott on the 20th. He reported to Gaines that the chief, William Perryman, who with a party had gone down to protect Doyle and Hambly, had been killed and his men forced to join the opposite party. Doyle and Hambly were erroneously reported killed and all their property stolen⁵⁵. They were actually taken to Mickasukie and later to Suwannee Old Town, where Kenhagee (King Hadjo, Cappichimico) chief of the Mickasukies, informed them they were taken on Arbuthnot's orders and brought to Suwannee for trial by him. Shortly after their arrival Arbuthnot arrived from New Providence. In one account⁴⁰ Hambly says they were tried by Arbuthnot, who condemned them to torture. In another⁵⁴ he says they were to be given up to the caprices of five or six renegade Choctaws, in satisfaction for those lost in the negro fort. Owing to the friendly interference of a Mr. Cook, clerk to Arbuthnot, and Nero, a negro chief, the sentence was not put into execution. After this they were reconducted to Mickasukie. Kenhagee then went

to Fort St. Marks to ascertain if the commandant would hold them as prisoners subject to Kenhagee's order, which was agreed upon. They were brought down to the fort on February 12, 1818 and kept there under confinement. Soon after their arrival, a friendly Indian conveyed a message on their behalf to friends (evidently the Inneraritys) in Pensacola, who despatched a small vessel to St. Marks. In this they escaped on the night of March 28 and were proceeding to Pensacola when, in Apalachicola bay, they met Captain McKeever on his way to St. Marks with supplies for Jackson. They joined him on the 30th⁴⁰. McKeever arrived off St. Marks on the 1st of April before Jackson, with the British colors at his masthead. On the next day he was visited by the second officer in command at the fort, to whom he gave the impression that he was Woodbine's agent, arriving with succor for the Indians. The Spanish officer expressed much elation, and disclosed that Francis the prophet was in the neighborhood, as well as Arbuthnot, and that he would advise the former of the arrival of this aid. On receipt of this information Francis, considering them English, came on board the next morning⁴⁶ accompanied by Homathlemico, on which occasion both were detained by McKeever. After Jackson's seizure of Fort St. Marks, they were delivered to him and promptly hanged⁴⁷. Arbuthnot, though warned of Jackson's approach⁵⁷, was likewise captured at the fort, and Ambrister later at Old Town. Both were court martialled at St. Marks, convicted of inciting the Indians to hostilities and executed before Jackson began his return march.

In keeping up with Doyle's movements we have been obliged to pass momentarily over other important events that occurred meanwhile. Jackson left Nashville for the Florida frontier on January

22, 1818 where on March 9 he arrived with a considerable body of Tennessee and Georgia militia. With the reinforcements he brought, he found he had available at Fort Scott including the 4th and 7th regiments of infantry, a force of about 2000 men with provisions for not over three days.

Learning that two expected sloops loaded with provisions were off the mouth of the Apalachicola river, Jackson determined to proceed on his campaign and to meet them with his force. The tenth was spent in crossing the Flint river to the south bank. On the 13th contact was made with a provision laden keel boat ascending the river at Alum Bluff, called at the time from this circumstance Provision Bluff. The march was resumed down the east bank of the river and continued down as far as the site of the negro fort on Prospect bluff which was reached on the 16th.

Jackson was so impressed by the eligibility of the site that he directed Lieutenant Gadsden of the Engineers Corps to design and construct a suitable fortification to serve as a provision base. Pleased with the talents and zeal the lieutenant exercised, Jackson named the fortification Fort Gadsden.

This structure was situated directly on the river bank, within the confines of the old negro fort. Its outline and character is clearly shown on the plat submitted by Captain Gadsden (Map 4.)

The army remained at Fort Gadsden awaiting a naval convoy until the 26th when the march to Mickasukie was begun. The naval force conveying provisions under Colonel Gibson and Captain McKeever had arrived off the river in the bay on the 23rd. On the departure of the army the flotilla was ordered to St. Marks, and en route picked up Doyle and Hambly.

On Jackson's return to St. Marks on April 26, after the destruction of Bowlegs's (Boleck's) town on the Suwannee, he professed to consider the campaign at an end and planned an immediate return to Nashville. However on arrival at Fort Gadsden on the 2nd of May, Hambly, who in the meantime appears to have made a very favorable impression on the general, called to his attention information he had just received that hostile Indians were congregated at Pensacola. This caused an immediate revision of Jackson's plans, and resulted in his march to Pensacola, and his seizure of that town and its forts ⁴⁹ ⁵⁶. In his seizure of the Spanish posts at St. Marks and Pensacola, Jackson appears to have exercised his own convictions and judgment, and in doing so exceeded the orders received from the War Department.

On departing from Fort Gadsden he left behind a strong garrison of regulars.

It would appear that Jackson and the members of his staff believed that after this campaign, ²³ possession of Florida would not be relinquished by the United States. Negotiations towards its cession were actually then under way, whose course was materially retarded by the offense these actions gave to Spain.

In August, Calhoun, Secretary of War, advised General Gaines that the President had determined to restore St. Marks and Pensacola to any properly authorized Spanish officer with an adequate force to prevent seizure by hostile Indians. He was instructed that on evacuating these posts he was to make arrangements calculated to hold the Indians in check and protect the frontier. On the east of the Apalachicola he was authorized in his judgment to station troops on either side of the line, as he thought proper. His instructions further read:

“Fort Gadsden, besides of admitting great facility for supplies, appears to be a very commanding position, and ought not to be evacuated. Should you think so, you will retain it, and garrison it with a sufficient force”⁵⁰. It would appear that an American garrison was maintained in Fort Gadsden until the cession of Florida to the United States, as Jackson writing from Pensacola to the Secretary of War on July 30, 1821 says: “On the 22nd I addressed a letter to Major Fanning, the officer commanding at Fort Gadsden, giving the necessary orders for the taking possession and occupation of St. Marks, to which I must refer you, as more fully explanatory of the arrangements made with a view to that operation”.⁵¹

The continuous disorder that had prevailed on the Apalachicola since 1814, the loss of trade at that point, and the problematical attitude of the American government to the title of the grant and its possession by foreigners in the likely event of the seizure of Florida by, or cession to, the United States, appear to have led John Forbes, the surviving partner of Panton, Leslie and Company, and the executor of all the deceased partners, to regard the grant as a liability to be liquidated in the simplest manner. Accordingly it was deeded in May 1819 to Colin Mitchell, a merchant of Havana, for a consideration of \$111,676., less certain small parcels already sold and a 1/15 interest belonging to John and James Innerarity, who also later sold their share to Mitchell. Further transactions probably looking to clearing of the title resulted in a final deed to Mitchell on September 9, 1820. The title was not recognized by the American commissioners. sent to examine the validity of Spanish titles after the cession, and was thrown into the courts for settlement in 1828. The final award was

in favor of the plaintiff and a United States patent covering the grant was issued in 1842.

Of the final fate of Hambly we do not know. Doyle however moved to a plantation in the Lafayette grant on the outskirts of Tallahassee and died in 1831.

Before Florida was transferred to the United States a townsite including the fort was laid out at Prospect Bluff to be called Colinton¹³. The venture was apparently a failure from the outset, as it was not noticed by Williams in his *View of West Florida*. The later successful establishment of a town at West Point in 1829 called Apalachicola, forestalled any further development at Prospect Bluff.

Today Prospect Bluff is deserted, forgotten and unmarked, reached by a dim trail impassable in rainy weather. When steamboat traffic flourished on the Apalachicola river, its river face near the fort site was known as Fort Gadsden landing, now only intermittently used for the shipment of logs. The outlines of the earthworks of Fort Gadsden are perfectly preserved, though overgrown with brush and trees. A low mound to the eastward marks the magazine of the negro fort, in the surface soil of which the finding of an occasional leaden ball recalls the fruition of Nicholls's intrigues. The site of Fort Scott is inaccessible by any road. No traces of earthworks are visible but in the now cutover second growth forest which has appeared on its site, there stands a lonely granite block supporting an erect cannon, probably an eighteen pounder, which bears on its base the following inscription: "Erected by the United States on the site of Fort Scott in memory of the officers and soldiers of the 4th and 7th Regiments, U. S. Infantry, who died during the Indian campaigns 1817 to 1821 and are buried near the fort".

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THE ST. JOSEPH CONVENTION
The Making of Florida's First Constitution
(Continued from the July number)

By F. W. HOSKINS

(Next year marks the one-hundredth anniversary of the convention which framed Florida's first constitution. The legislature at its last session provided for the celebration of that centennial at the site of old St. Joseph, where on December 3, 1838 there gathered a body of Floridians which has never been equalled in prominence and ability. In the last issue of the Quarterly the known facts were told of the decision to hold the convention, the election of delegates, the preparations made for the meeting, and the first day's proceedings. The account will be continued through the next several numbers. It is condensed from an unpublished narrative by Mr. Hoskins. - Ed.)*

On the second day (Tuesday, December 4, 1838) after the convention had come to order, the journal states:

On motion of Mr. Bellamy, of Jackson, it was resolved-That this Convention proceed to elect, viva voce, a President to preside over the deliberations of the Convention, and that a majority of the votes of all the members be necessary to a choice.

Speaking to his resolution, Mr. Bellamy said:

. Many of us, Sir, who are here are not politicians; we do not look to politics as an object from whence to derive a support for our families; we take no delight in party strife, or political turmoil, but have come here with another view, and are influenced by no other motives than to discharge the trust committed to us by our constituents, and to lay the foundations of government, which we heartily hope is to advance the future prosperity and happiness of the good people of Florida. One day of the sitting of the Convention has already passed, and nothing has been done. Another will pass away and we shall find ourselves

*See, Knauss, *St. Joseph, As Episode of the Political and Economic History of Florida*. FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, V. p. 191.

where we first began, and if we progress in this manner, we shall find ourselves here in the month of March. I do, therefore, insist that we proceed immediately to the organization of this body, and do therefore move that we go now into the election of a President.

The nominating speeches follow, as reported in the *St. Joseph Times* and the *Floridian*, of Tallahassee, of December 15:

Gen. Parkhill, of Leon, nominated his Excellency, William P. Duval, for President. He alluded to the past services of the gentleman he nominated in various official stations in Florida, as Judge, as Governor for upward of 12 years, and as a citizen, his course had been such as to commend him to the grateful feelings of every Floridian. He was one of the earliest who had emigrated to Florida, and had encountered as many privations as any other citizen. He trusted he would be elected without opposition.

Gen. Brown, of Leon, agreed with Gen. Parkhill as to the claims of Gen. Duval, upon the people of Florida:

The oldest, and the youngest citizen of Florida, when they heard his name, called to mind his eminent services and moral worth. The station for which he was now proposed, was a post of honor, which it was proper should be conferred upon one of the oldest residents and public servants of Florida, who had done his duty faithfully, and was well known to the people, and in whom they had the fullest confidence. Gov. Duval was this individual. The station was a sort of Past Master's degree, given for long, well-trying, and honest service. He hoped there would be no opposition to the nomination.

Gen. Read, of Leon, nominated the Hon. Raymond Reid, of St. Augustine:

He observed he did not regard it in good taste to eulogize the personal merits and qualifications, or to descant upon the public services of that gentleman. He believed, however, he would bring to the Chair dignity, talents, and impartiality. He was also a decided friend to the organization of a State government. He alluded to the situation of East Florida, and the supposed disinclination, heretofore, of the majority of the citizens of that section to the immediate formation of a State, and he urged that the election of Judge Reid was due the East, and would be of a salutary effect there. Besides, he stated that his own political sentiments more nearly accorded with those of the gentleman he nominated than with those of the gentleman first named, and this had influence with him.

Mr. Westcott, of Leon, declared his preference for Judge Reid:

Upon the score of qualifications, he decided for himself. He repudiated the notion that any individual had a claim, or pre-emption right, for any services, however prominent, to any station. He would not recognize any such claims. It savored too much of the asserted right of legitimate succession, for him. He believed the Eastern section of Florida, however, had claims upon the liberality of the other sections. The gentleman nominated from East Florida was their choice, and as he was eminently qualified for the post, he shall give him his vote.

Hereupon Mr. Bellamy moved that the Convention proceed immediately to the election. The vote was then taken, viva voce, and on the first ballot

Robert Raymond Reid received twenty-seven votes, and William P. Duval received twenty-six votes, whereupon Mr. Baltzell, of Jackson, introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That Robert Raymond Reid is duly elected President of this Convention.

Messrs. Westcott, Read and Thompson, of Leon, were appointed a committee to notify Mr. Reid of his election, who, upon taking the chair, addressed the Convention as follows:

Fellow citizens,-The honor you have just conferred upon me, awakens all my sensibilities and demands a warmer expression of gratitude than I have the power to convey. To have been selected to preside over an assembly representing the sovereignty of the people, and convened for the purpose of framing the Constitution of a new State, is a distinction for which I stand indebted to no merit of my own, but to your generosity and kindness toward East Florida, one of whose representatives I am. East Florida has suffered, almost to extremity, and she is still suffering from the horrors and barbarities of Indian warfare; she is not well prepared for the measures which, in obedience to the view of the people, we have assembled here to consummate. You, fellow citizens, have chosen this occasion for the purpose of manifesting your sympathies and your regard for East Florida, by conferring an honor upon her in the person of her representative. For the district to which I belong-for my humble self - I offer you sincere and grateful thanks.

The duties which, at your bidding, I am to attempt to perform, fill me, in prospect, with apprehension. Many years have elapsed since I have been conversant with the proceedings

of a deliberative body, and I am not skilled in the law and usages of Parliament. A reliance upon your constant indulgence, and the hope of your continual favor, constitute my only relief from the painful conviction of inability and inexperience.

It is not, perhaps, improper, that I should allude, for a moment, to the labor which lies before us, and which we are required to perform; and yet, you know and appreciate them perfectly well. We stand here, fellow citizens, upon an eminence, and the eyes of men are upon us. I am sure you will bring to your deliberations candor, calmness, and an enlightened intelligence. I trust this place will be considered too holy for the introduction of party, or partisan politics, and I indulge the hope that the result of your labors-the Constitution of the State of Florida, will remain to late posterity, a monument of your wisdom and patriotism.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of a secretary, and a sergeant-at-arms. Joshua Knowles, of Tallahassee, received thirty-three votes, and J. S. Robinson twenty-two votes for, secretary, and Knowles was declared elected. Alexander Stewart, of St. Joseph, was elected sergeant-at-arms.

The vote for president of the Convention, as reported in the *Floridian*, of Tallahassee, and the *Times*, of St. Joseph, was as follows:

FOR ROBERT RAYMOND REID

St. Johns County-Joseph Sanchez, David Levy, Edwin T. Jenckes;

Columbia County-John F. Webb, Wilson Brooks, George E. McClellen;

Duval County-A. W. Crichton, Oliver Wood, Samuel T. Garey;

Alachua County-Isaac Garrison, E. K. White, E. Bird;

Nassau County-William Haddock, James G. Cooper;

Mosquito County-William H. Williams;

Madison County-John G. McGehee, Richard J. Mays;

Hamilton County-Joseph B. Watts, William B. Hooker;

Jefferson County-Abraham Bellamy, John N. Partridge;

Leon-James D. Westcott, Jr., Leigh Read, L. A. Thompson:
Monroe County-William Marvin;
Hillsborough County-Mr. Cooley;
Franklin County-Cosam E. Bartlett;

-27 votes.

FOR WM. P. DUVAL

Jefferson County-E. Carrington Cabell, Joseph M. McCants;
Gadsden County-Banks Meachem, John W. Malone, Samuel
Stephens, John M. G. Hunter;
Leon County-Geo. T. Ward, John Taylor, Samuel Parkhill,
Thomas Brown, William Wyatt;
Dade County-Richard Fitzpatrick;
Jackson County-Thomas Baltzell, Richard H. Long, Alfred
L. Woodward, Samuel C. Bellamy;
Escambia County-Jackson Morton, Thos. M. Blount, Benjamin
D. Wright, Walker Anderson;
Walton County-John L. McKinnon, Daniel G. McLean;
Washington County-Stephen J. Roche, E. Robbins;
Franklin County-A. G. Semmes;
Calhoun County-Richard C. Allen;

- 26 votes.

The vote from Hillsborough County-Mr. Cooley
-cast by proxy was later questioned as doubtful
because an election in that county was uncertain.
The election was later verified and William Bunce
took his seat as the accredited delegate.

The delegation from the Southern District-
Marvin, from Monroe and Fitzpatrick of Dade, be-
ing equally divided, could not agree on the proxy
vote for the absent member from Monroe, Joseph
B. Brown, so his vote was not cast. The votes of
Duval and Reid do not appear.

The remainder of the first week, following the
election of the president on Tuesday, was consumed
in passing resolutions, appointing committees, and
waiting for reports. A few items from the journal
are worthy of note:

Thursday, December 6th.

The following resolution, offered by Mr.
Baltzell, was read the second time and adopt-
ed: Resolved-That a committee of five be
appointed to bargain for, and provide a suitable
house for the Convention during its present
session.

Messrs. Baltzell, Brown of Leon, Sanchez, Allen, and White, were appointed that committee, and, on motion of Mr. Baltzell, the letter of Rev. Peter W. Gautier, proffering, on behalf of the Stewards and members of the Methodist Church, their house of worship for the use of the Convention, was referred to the committee.

Friday, December 7th.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, and was opened. with prayer by the Rev. Peter W. Gautier.

Mr. Baltzell, from the committee appointed to obtain a room for the use of the Convention, presented the following report and resolution, which were read and adopted: "The committee appointed to provide and bargain for a suitable house for the Convention in which to hold its sittings, have had the same under consideration, and report that they have agreed with a committee of the citizens of St. Joseph for the use of the building now occupied by the Convention for such time as it may be needed by them at the price of One Thousand Dollars. They, therefore, propose the following resolution: Resolved-That the sum of One Thousand Dollars be allowed the committee of the citizens of St. Joseph, for the use of the building now in the occupancy of the Convention, for such time as may be required for their session".

Eleven days later the following statement appeared in the journal:

December 18.

The President read a letter from several citizens of St. Joseph requesting the use of Convention Hall, on Wednesday evening next, which was granted.

This would indicate that the Convention was using the hall in accordance with arrangements made previously.

On two occasions other clergymen are mentioned as opening the Convention with prayer—the Rev. D. L. White, and the Rev. Mr. Warner.

The Rev. Peter W. Gautier was a Methodist preacher living in St. Joseph at this time. He did not have a charge but served as a local preacher. The Methodist pastor in charge of the church in St. Joseph this year was Rev. W. W. Bell, but as he had left for the Annual Conference, Mr. Gautier officiated in his place. The Rev. D. L. White was also a Methodist preacher, of the Georgia Conference, and was living at Iola at this time.

Several resolutions were offered early by various members for drafting parts of a constitution, with a resolution for the appointment of a committee to devise the proper mode of bringing a constitution before the house. On the third day, the latter resolution was adopted, and the others laid over. The committee on this resolution reported next day, as follows:

The committee appointed to enquire, and report what method will be most expedient, to bring before the Convention the several articles of a constitution for the State of Florida, reports the following resolution: Resolved—That the following committees be appointed to draft for the Convention, separate articles of a Constitution for the State of Florida, and that each of said committees, respectively, be instructed to make a report by Monday next.

Whereupon the President appointed the following standing committees:

On the Preamble, Declaration and Bill of Rights.

On the Executive Department.

On the Legislative Department.

On the Judicial Department.

On the Right of Suffrage and Qualifications
of Officers.

On Civil Offices, Officers, and Impeachments.

On the Militia.

On Taxation and Revenue.

On the Census and Apportionment of Reve-
nue.

On Education.

On Public Domain, and Property, and In-
ternal Improvement.

On Banking and Corporations.

On Boundaries.

On Amendments and Revisions of the Con-
stitution.

On General Provisions including Domestic
Slavery.

On the Seat of Government.

On Relations with the General Government
and Admission into the National Confederacy.

To Draft Regulations and Ordinances [for
the] Establishment of a State Government.

Between the adjournment of the Convention on Friday, the 7th. and the following Monday, some discussion had taken place among the delegates as to who had been elected delegate from Hillsborough County, and there was doubt whether any election had been held. The proclamation of the Governor had stated that no returns had been received. On Monday, when the Convention had been opened, the President arose and tendered his resignation as presiding officer. Quoting from the journal:

Gentlemen :-I am constrained to trespass upon your indulgence for a few moments. It is known to you, that the late election of the President of this body resulted in a majority of one. Since that election, and since the ad-

jourment of the House on Friday last, it has been intimated to me that Mr. Cooley, supposed to have been elected from the County of Hillsborough, and whose vote was given by proxy in my favor, was not chosen a delegate to this Convention, but that another gentleman, (Mr. Bunce) was, in fact elected. I am aware that under the resolution of the House appointing the member from St. Johns (Mr. Jenckes) the proxy for the absent member from Hillsborough, it makes, perhaps, no difference which of the persons mentioned was elected. But doubts have been suggested whether any election was held at all, for the Convention, in the County of Hillsborough, and it is obvious if there was no election there can be no absent member-hence no proxy. Under such circumstances, I experience great embarrassment in continuing to discharge the duties of the Chair. I feel there should be no doubt, or question, as to the title of him who presides over this Assembly, and therefore, thanking you for the support you have given the Chair, during the brief interval it has been occupied by me, I respectfully return the presidency to the hands of the Convention. The Chair, gentlemen, is vacant.

The Chair being vacant, Mr. Brown, of Leon, was called to preside as president pro tern. Mr. Baltzell moved that the Convention proceed to the election of a president, *viva voce*. Mr. Duval nominated the Hon. Robert Raymond Reid for that office, and, on the vote being counted, Mr. Reid was declared unanimously elected. Mr. Ward offered the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved-That the Convention entertains a high sense of the delicacy evinced by the President of this Convention in resigning the Chair by reason of a supposed informality of

the election, and it is hereby declared as the unanimous sense of the House that Robert Raymond Reid was duly elected President of this House, and that the seat has been legally filled by him in conformity thereto.

During the weeks of the session speculation was rife as to the course the Convention would take, and what the Constitution would be like-if indeed, there should be one at all. Many were altogether opposed. Several interests were involved, and the situation became acute during the latter part of the session.

The greatest conflict was between the bank and anti-bank parties. David Levy (Yulee) who was a delegate to the Convention, in his contest for the seat held by Stephen R. Mallory, in the United States Senate in 1851, said to the Senate Committee:

Having been a member of that body, [the Convention at St. Joseph] the claiming Senator [Yulee] is able to say that its organization was the occasion of a very ardent conflict. The question of the bank and anti-bank was the prevailing issue in the Territory, and had reached its fiercest point at that date. The action of the Convention was looked to as determining the fate of the powerful banking institutions, then in full vigor, and influence, in Florida, and deciding, with their fate, the question of ascendancy between the two parties. The advocates of the opposite interests were nearly balanced in the Convention, and it was well understood that upon the result of the choice of President of the Convention, would very much depend, the complexion of its action. Each party nominated its candidate-Gov. Duval (who, although not of the bank party, was considered by that party, conservative, and most available for defeating the un-

compromising anti-bank men) upon the one hand, and the late Governor Reid upon the other.

The culmination of that fight was the adoption of Article XIII on Banks and Other Corporations, Section 13, viz.

The General Assembly shall not pledge the faith and credit of the State to raise funds in aid of any corporation whatsoever.

And especially Section 14, viz.

The General Assembly shall, at its first session, have power to regulate, restrain and control, all associations claiming to exercise corporate privileges in the State, so as to guard, protect and secure the interests of the people of the State, not violating vested rights or impairing the obligation of contracts.

A letter from St. Joseph appeared in the *Pensacola Gazette*, of January 5, a part of which was as follows:

St. Joseph, December 24th, 1838.

The Convention is still in session. Little, or nothing, has yet been done. At the commencement of the session the convention was, unfortunately, divided into eighteen committees. They have all made their reports, and the misfortune is, these reports do not agree, and cannot be easily dovetailed together. You have no conception of the amount of wind which has been used here. The Convention will surely adjourn during this month. We are living here, thus far, pretty well, but I'm afraid we shall stay to eat them out. An express arrived here the night before last, from St. Andrew's Bay, giving information that there were 200 Indians in that neighborhood.

The same paper stated, a little later, that the members were diminishing in numbers so that it was feared they might not accomplish the object for which they were convoked.

Much attention was given to the Convention by the newspapers of the Territory especially the St. Joseph Times and the Tallahassee *Floridian* which published extensive reports of the daily sessions. Many of these have come down to us, and all that have survived are reprinted in Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (Florida State Historical Society, DeLand, 1926) pp. 129-226, and thus made available to all.

(Continued in the next issue of the QUARTERLY)

THE ST. AUGUSTINE HISTORICAL RESTORATION

By ELEANOR BEESON

The St. Augustine Historical Restoration conducted under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington with the cooperation of the City of St. Augustine is dedicated to the purpose of preserving and redeveloping the physical remains of the centuries of history of this region, site of the first permanent white settlement on the Atlantic seaboard, thereby creating a beautiful national shrine where the meaning of the great events embodied in these monuments will be understandable.

The restoration is being undertaken in the interest of the people of the United States in the hope that its achievement will present objectively a great panorama of history which will have meaning for the most casual traveler. The average man has no dynamic interest in history and is seldom aware of its possible connection with him and his daily living. Yet it is only by that broader vision, which takes in and understands the long succession of events through the centuries, that man may come to realize the true significance of the era in which he lives, and through comparison enjoy both the perspective and a better judgment of its values.

Perhaps one of the major advantages of travel lies in this possibility of enrichment through contact with evidences of the past. To the usual traveler the value of this contact with other places and things is one which he does not analyze. He will generally say that he "travels from a need to

This account of the plans and progress of the Restoration was prepared, at the request of the editor, under the direction of Dr. Verne E. Chatelain, Staff Member of Carnegie Institution of Washington and Director of the St. Augustine Restoration program. Miss Beeson is in charge of Public Relations of the Restoration.-(Ed.)

get away and see something different” and that he “returns with a fresher outlook”. This lack of appreciation and understanding is not the fault of the traveler alone. There has been little effort on the part of the historian and others to eliminate confusion from these historical scenes which have escaped to a degree at least the ravages of time and the carelessness of man. For this reason the traveler in America is faced on one side with confusion and on the other with a dearth of historical evidence of a physical nature.

In the United States, despite sharp geographical contrasts, the successive scenes which man has created are of such a sameness as to be almost without meaning. As a nation we have been as wasteful of our historical resources, as we have been of our natural ones, allowing the monuments and other physical remains, distinctive and objective realities of history, representing individualism in localities, to crumble and disappear. In their place, other distinctive monuments have seldom risen to reflect the contrasting characteristics of the people and the geographical environment of separate localities, but rather buildings constructed in the spirit of the industrial era in which we live—the spirit of sameness and standardization. Thus from coast to coast where once was a rapidly shifting kaleidoscope of startling changes, the traveler now is faced with the monotony of regularity in towns and cities: corner drug stores, department and chain stores, movie houses; skyscrapers. Even large cities are merely his home town on a larger, grander scale.

St. Augustine is unique, for here remain seventy-five monuments, evidence of a rich and colorful past standing in an Old World atmosphere which has not been entirely lost in the standardization of modern times. It is therefore the objective of the

restoration program to eliminate all elements of meaningless character and to develop an appropriate setting. To this end anachronistic buildings, poles and wires which hurt the beauty of old things will be removed. The motley assortment of signs will be eliminated. Traffic will be so controlled that both resident and visitor may traverse the narrow ancient streets and experience again that peace and quiet which is so much a part of their original character.

In redeveloping the story of the past the historian usually relies on written records alone, though these sources sometimes are colored by an attitude of prejudice; and, important as they are, they cannot be wholly depended upon as an accurate record of fact.

Here a different approach will be used. Research will be pan-scientific in method: the archeologist, architect, engineer, geologist, astronomer, botanist, the students of cartography, physical and human geography, languages, medicine, agriculture, plant ecology, anthropology, and paleontology, will work together to uncover in the very earth itself, in the flora and fauna, in the presence of certain foods and medicines and in the absence of others, in the prevalence of hurricanes, shifting sand bars, mosquitos and other pests, in the materials of which the buildings were constructed and other uses of rock formations and plant life, in old pictures, maps, drawings, letters, diaries, court records, legal papers, in old newspapers, those elements which have not been fully understood, in many instances entirely undiscovered, and which are as important factors in the course which history has taken as battles won or lost and territories conquered.

When every available shred of evidence in the story of St. Augustine is uncovered, it will then

be possible to fit together the great pattern of this picture which will be both historically and scientifically accurate. Only after this is accomplished will it be possible to give a proper interpretation which will be of value to man today and to the succeeding generations.

As Dr. Chatelain says, "The plan will result in making St. Augustine a great laboratory of history, as well as of the fine arts and democracy, useful not only in understanding more fully how life progresses but effective because of its objective realism, far more than books and classrooms can be, in educating all classes of citizens to what may be termed historical-mindedness."

Centuries ago aboriginal Timucuan tribes encamped on the site that is now St. Augustine as well as on the sand and shell mounds both up and down the coast. It was with these tribes that the first white men had contact and the Indian played an important part in the white man's life until the end of the Seminole wars in the nineteenth century. For the full understanding of this story it is therefore essential to go back and recreate, insofar as is possible, the life of these Timucuan tribes and their successors.

The aborigine left no conscious record of his daily life other than primitive pictographs. There lies however, buried in the ground, other vivid and graphic records of this story. Already in the course of the archeological research at St. Augustine, more than 50,000 objects have been unearthed dating from the present century back a thousand years. Among these are many from the Timucuan and other Indian periods. The story of the men who left these remains is inherent in the objects themselves, as for example a fragile aboriginal

judgment. It is not sufficient merely to reflect the opinion of others. Whatever the subject may be it is essential that the student be led to the materials under discussion. Without such contact the picture is certain to be inexact. Errors of direct observation may be large but under any circumstances they are less than those of a second hand story."

Such an ideal is what the St. Augustine Restoration is offering, in order that the layman as well as the student may be led to the "materials under discussion", and may judge for himself the meaning of the past.

The first major reconstruction project is already under way—an objective presentation of some of the characteristics of the first little settlement within the Old City Gates. This includes the reconstruction of the inner line of defense, north of the city, stretching from Matanzas Bay to the San Sebastian River. The entrance to the city through this line was by the ancient city gates and already the coquina moat bridge has been uncovered and partially restored. The next step will be the digging out of the moat and along this line the redevelopment of the high earthen defense work topped with palisade, planted with Spanish bayonets, and intercepted at intervals by redoubts mounted with guns.

If the visitor to St. Augustine knows nothing of its history, he will nevertheless be stopped by that impressive scene and will need no one to tell him that here is an ancient city once needing protection from attack by land. On his left rises the weathered battlements of Fort Marion, protection from the menace by sea: the story in coquina, earth, iron and wood, of a frontier outpost, primitive settlement of white men, struggling both with the ele-

of cooking food. Furthermore, on the sides of this pot have been imprinted an artistic and intricate design, evidence of the artistic potentialities of these men ; and in its bottom has been pierced a small round hole which obviously indicates "ceremonial killing" or evidence of the religious belief that objects of the' deceased must be "killed" in order to accompany them in after-life.

Bone hair pins, stone gorgets, ceremonial weapons, stone pestles for grinding meal, arrow heads, flint, skeletal remains besmeared with ochreous clay tell of modes of dress, hunting, fishing, preparing food and burial of the dead. The material of which some of these objects are made is not indiginous to Florida, thus suggesting the far-flung trade with other tribes; moreover in the very stratification of the shell and animal bones in the mounds on which he lived may be gained considerable knowledge of the native's preference in food.

So, as the archeological work uncovers more evidence the story will grow and be enriched until finally it may be possible to reconstruct an authentic Indian village on some one of the ancient sites at St. Augustine, where the visitor can easily visualize with the aid of the restored historical scene the communal life of these tribes. Warriors, chiefs, Indian women and maidens can be modelled, so that it will require little imagination to know something of these native people in their original habitat.

Stressing the importance of historical realism Dr. John C. Merriam, President of Carnegie Institution, has said, "Adult education representing maintenance of intellectual and spiritual growth is the best guaranty of continuing interest in life. The soul that ceases to develop is practically dead. Education must include the opportunity for the individual to develop not only his knowledge but his

have gone back through the centuries, experiencing for himself, to a degree at least, that feeling of uncertainty and danger which for three centuries dominated the life of this community and determined its growth. His mind thus attuned to the past, he is ready to enter the city to see its monuments and narrow streets and begin to understand them. What is more, he will begin to judge for himself the meaning of those events and their value to him.

The city gates are today silhouetted against a background of markets, gasoline stations and modern brick buildings which so detract from their beauty that it is easy to pass them by without even noticing them. On the completion of this defense line project, the area behind the city gates and St. George, the first little street of the settlement, will be cleared of inharmonious conditions, leaving only such historic buildings as the old schoolhouse, the old curiosity shop and the Spanish inn. Along old St. George Street will at length be reconstructed the first houses which comprised *this* settlement, together with some of the ancient gardens and patios.

Meanwhile the restoration staff is conducting an intensive research into every available written record, including cartographic and pictorial materials, and a bibliography is being compiled of all such sources both here and abroad, in order that accurate case histories of each existing monument, as well as others to be reconstructed, may be determined. Legend and folk-lore have an important place in the history of a people and it is part of the general program to recognize such folk-lore; customs and traditions that will throw light on the character and temperament of this people as well

as having value of beauty and poetry within themselves. In treating historic buildings and sites reconstruction will of course be based on the evidence of historical fact alone. However, in relating the story of the events associated with these monuments, both fact and legend will have their place although the one will be sharply differentiated from the other. Thus, as historical evidence is accumulated it will be possible to proceed with restoration and reconstruction in other sections of the historic area. Private owners of historic sites and buildings will not be interfered with in their ownership, control, and maintenance of such property so long as they operate in accordance with the general policies and ideals of the restoration program.

The history of a people is not all tragedy and bloodshed. Their gayety, their songs and their laughter are just as much a part of the picture as the sound of cannon and the desperate struggle against hunger and disease and human enemies. The redevelopment of the customs and traditions and legends of the people will therefore take form in the staging of historic pantomimes, pageants and plays in the great amphitheatre to be constructed. Fiestas and street festivals will occur; not annually, as does the colorful "Day in Old Spain" but perhaps once a month so that no matter at what time the visitor plans his trip to St. Augustine, he may arrange it so as to be present at one of these gala events where the spirit of other days is revived.

Long forgotten recipes for old Spanish dishes and drinks will be used again. Linen and lace making, once a home industry here, will be encouraged. Old customs of singing the fromajardis, the Easter serenade, and other colorful customs such as masked balls, the posey dance, etc., will be resumed.

The historical museum might be called the microcosm of this comprehensive story and will be the first point of visit for the tourist. At the entrance there will be a model of the entire restored area. In sequence the visitor will pass through period rooms beginning with *Timucuan* and depicting the successive stages of history in St. Augustine. For each period there will be dioramas of the town and region, as it then existed, as well as models of men and women showing their physical characteristics and their mode of dress. Displays of artifacts, explanatory charts, pictures and drawings will supplement the models and dioramas. In this manner the visitor will pass from century to century of history in a brief time, obtaining a comprehensive idea of the scope of the entire story and the relation of the various periods to one another. He can then go out intelligently to visit the scenes of this great historical panorama.

A UNION CATALOG OF FLORIDIANA

By ALFRED HASBROUCK

Although the history of Florida is more ancient, is as varied, and as interesting as that of any other state in the Union, much of it is now virtually unknown and little is as well known as it ought to be. While we have profited by the scholarly work of several able historians who have sought and found important sources from which to write of Florida's history, many others have learned that both primary and secondary material is exceedingly difficult to locate. Also there are general readers, our winter visitors and prospective investors, who wish to know more about Florida, its resources, its flora, its beauties, its traditions, its history, and its literature, but are unable to learn, even after inquiry at their local libraries, where the books they would like to read are to be found. This shows a need which has long been realized by certain members of the Florida Historical Society as well as librarians throughout the state.

The solution for filling this need was first suggested by Mr. Seymour Robb of the Library of Congress in a communication to the Florida Historical Society. To quote Mr. Robb:-

"Through a Union Catalog scholarship and serious research will be given a tool that quite possibly may save weeks and months of tedious correspondence. A glance at the card in the Union Catalog will show the various locations of a given item at once and whether the problem is one of borrowing a single book or an extended trip to consult a number of works. The efficiency of this method is at once apparent.

"The Union Catalog when perfected can be used as the basis for a comprehensive bibliography of

the state of Florida. I have no doubt that there are a number of such bibliographies now in existence which are acknowledged to be incomplete. Compare in your own minds the benefits of amalgamating all such existing records into one unit.

"In fact there are only two prime requisites-but upon them hinges success or failure. First of all, some library with perhaps a little more than sympathetic interest must be persuaded to give the catalog a home. This will entail a relatively small increase in space occupied and a relatively small increase in routine labor. It will, however, undoubtedly cause a large increase in correspondence. The added, responsibility, as a whole, should not be burdensome to any well organized library. Secondly, the cooperation of all libraries in the state, large and small, public and private, should be forthcoming. It is inconceivable that in such a cause any librarian would not give his cordial support. In this way, serving the best interests of the many would mean comparatively little individual effort on the part of any one person or institution. Finally, in the interest of efficiency and convenience, locate this catalog as centrally from a geographical standpoint as is possible.

"The Union Catalog is just coming into real prominence. That most valuable of all servants to scholarship, the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress, best exemplifies the extent to which such an idea can be carried. However, all over the country, regions, states, and municipalities are realizing the ultimate economy and usefulness of the Union Catalog. . . . Texas University Library has a cooperative Union Catalog, begun in 1921, of the books, periodicals, pamphlets, etc., in Texas libraries relating to Texas and the Southwest. It now numbers 7,000 cards from fourteen contributing libra-

ries. The Union Catalog of the Philadelphia metropolitan area combines the resources of over one hundred libraries and represents perhaps 5,000,000 books. These outstanding examples have proven their worth beyond question."

Filled with enthusiasm after a talk with Mr. Robb, and acting on the latter's suggestion, Professor A. J. Hanna, of Rollins College, called into conference Mr. Watt Marchman, Librarian of the Florida Historical Society, Mr. W. F. Yust, Librarian of Rollins College, and the writer, a member of the Florida Historical Society, to consider the formation of a Union Catalog of Floridiana. Having received the approval and encouragement of President Hamilton Holt, and in the hope of material assistance from friends of the college, it was decided to make Rollins College the site for the Catalog. In addition to the fact that the college would provide a home for the Catalog, the central location and facility of access of Winter Park, and the number of members of the Florida Historical Society living there or in the neighboring city of Orlando, were important factors in the decision to establish the Catalog there. President Holt invited the writer to assist in carrying out plans for the Catalog, and the latter was subsequently chosen Director by the Advisory Council.

During conferences with Mr. Robb at the Library of Congress and with Dr. James A. Robertson at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, the Director received hearty encouragement and enthusiastic offers of assistance. Dr. Robertson, with the utmost generosity, threw open to the Catalog his unrivalled bibliographical notes on Florida books and manuscripts, the collection of which had involved years of research, with permission to use any or all of it, on the sole condition that the re-

sults of his researches were not to be published until he had completed his own project of publication. Mr. Robb, liberally offering his own time and experience, is now engaged in examining, listing, and preparing cards based on Dr. Robertson's bibliographical notes. Mr. George A. Schwegmann, Jr., Director of the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress, furnished many valuable suggestions and provided facilities for making photostatic copies of all Florida cards in the catalog of which he is in charge. This work is now in process of completion and will be the foundation upon which to build our catalog. Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, Chief of the Division of Classification of the National Archives, explained the work of collecting copies of Florida and other Spanish colonial manuscripts which he had done in the archives of Spain and suggested useful sources of information in the National Archives and other government bureaus in Washington. Mr. Joseph F. Marron, Librarian of the Jacksonville Public Library, and Mr. Watt Marchman, Librarian of the Florida Historical Society, have made available the catalogs of their respective libraries, and Mrs. Sue A. Mahorner, State Director of the Historical Records Survey and State Archives Survey, has supplied the Director and the Chairman of the Advisory Council with many useful reports describing important records found by her workers in the county repositories of the State.

As at present planned, it *is* intended that the Union Catalog shall contain cards for every book with an important reference to Florida or written by a Floridian, for every manuscript of historical value in this country pertaining to Florida, for all newspapers published in Florida or containing articles of especial value on Florida, for all articles concerning Florida published *in* periodicals, for all

documents of special or historical significance, for all maps of Florida or parts of Florida; and for photographs of scenes or inhabitants of Florida, if of unusual interest or significance.

The printed book, periodical, and newspaper sections will be made up from copies of the cards contained in the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress, and from those in other public, university, and private libraries, from bibliographies and check lists of Floridiana, and from reports from the State Librarian and the librarians of local libraries. The cards referring to manuscripts will be based largely on the indexes obtained from the collections of Dr. James A. Robertson on the bibliographies of sources discovered by Dr. J. B. Lockey, Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus and other authorities on the sources of Spanish colonial and Florida history-on catalogs of collections of manuscripts in university and public libraries-on lists published by the National Archives and the state archives, and on the voluntary help of historians, editors, and literati who may have information about the location of unusual documents, manuscripts, or papers. The map section will receive help from the Map Division of the Library of Congress-from leading authorities on maps-from the archives referred to above; and from reliable information received from individuals. Photographs and miscellaneous Floridiana will form a small section compiled from reports from individuals or the Archives Survey which have been verified by the Director or his assistants and found to be of enough reliability, interest, and importance to warrant inclusion. From the above it will be seen that the catalog is a cooperative undertaking toward the completion of which everyone is asked to help. Such assistance will be gladly received and publicly acknowledged.

The Catalog will be arranged as both an author and a subject catalog, the subjects probably being grouped under general categories such as agriculture, antiquities, art, bibliography, biography, fauna, flora, geography, guide books, general history, inhabitants, literature, manufactures, transportation, and other convenient headings. The cards themselves will conform to the system in use in the Library of Congress, and will contain the name of the author, title, publisher, place and date of publication, collation, number based on the Dewey decimal system, and especially the name (or symbol representing the name) of every library in which a copy of the item may be found. This locating of each item, the distinguishing feature of a union catalog, is the one requiring the most extensive and painstaking investigation. In the case of rare books, manuscripts or other material in private libraries, the full name and address of the owner will appear with brief instructions how permission to see the item may be obtained.

It is expected that the book section will be formed with reasonable rapidity, consonant with thoroughness and accuracy, and that during the latter part of the academic year of 1937-38, it will be possible to install a cabinet, ready for use, containing sufficient cards, tentatively arranged, to make it worth the consultation of investigators. The cards for the other sections will require more time in assembling. Perhaps scholars using the Catalog will supply helpful suggestions. Whenever verified new information is received or a new book is published, a card will be added, so that the growth of the catalog will be continuous and unlimited.

In order to carry out the purposes of this *Union Catalog of Floridiana*, and to make it as complete, accurate, and up-to-date as possible, the coopera-

tion of all state, local, and college librarians is hoped for. They will be asked to furnish lists of books on Florida in their libraries and to answer questions from time to time about their resources in manuscripts, documents, maps, and other items, the answering of which will no doubt involve considerable extra work. It is believed, however, that enthusiasm for their work, State loyalty, and a spirit of mutual helpfulness will be sufficient inducement to bring substantial results from these requests.

Those who have in their possession documents or manuscripts of historical interest will, by the mere tilling in of data on the information sheet received from the Union Catalog, make full compliance with the owner's obligation toward the dissemination of knowledge.

The satisfaction of performing a public duty is sufficient reward for those who are devoting their time, without remuneration, to the making of the Union Catalog. At present the executive personnel consists of the director, Dr. Alfred Hasbrouck;* bibliographical consultants: Dr. James A. Robertson, Archivist of the State of Maryland and one of the leading authorities on Florida history and bibliography, and Mr. Seymour Robb of the Library of Congress; advisory council: Professor A. J.

*Dr. Hasbrouck (Ph.D. Columbia) is well qualified to bring the Union Catalog to full success and usefulness. He is a colonel (retired on account of physical disability incident to the service) U. S. Army. He has taught history in Lake Forest College; has been a frequent contributor to *Hispanic American Historical Review*; has published *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America* (Columbia University Press, 1928); and made extensive contributions to *Studies in Hispanic American Affairs* (George Washington University Press, 1934, 1935) He is one of the literary colony gathered about Rollins College, in care of which he **may** be addressed. Professor Hasbrouck invites correspondence and help from all who are interested in the *Union Catalog of Floridiana*. - Ed.

Hanna of Rollins College, chairman, Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey of the Florida State College for Women, Mr. Julien C. Yonge, Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and Mr. Watt Marchman, Librarian of the Florida Historical Society. The enthusiasm and helpfulness shown by this highly qualified group have been of the greatest importance to the Director in starting his work. It is hoped that similar interest may induce many others in Florida and outside, and especially among members of the Florida Historical Society, to give what assistance they can toward the continued growth of the undertaking until the *Union Catalog of Florida* becomes a fully developed institution for the diffusion of knowledge about our State.

(Mrs. Murray L. Stanley, of Daytona Beach and Maine, formerly president of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, has donated the necessary \$248.25 for the purchase of initial equipment for the Union Catalog. Mrs. Stanley, who is an active member of the Florida Historical Society and has done much for historical projects in Maine, has previously indicated her interest in scholarship and research by the presentation of valuable records to the libraries of the Connecticut Historical Society, Bowdoin College, and Princeton University.)

COMMENTS ON THE DELGADO PAPERS

By JOHN R. SWANTON *

Evidently Delgado uses the word Tawasa much as Calderon does for at least part of the Upper Creeks besides its special application to the town itself. He seems to differentiate between the province of Tawasa (or Tabasa) near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa and the Tukabahchee province which we may assume was around the bend of the Tallapoosa and above.

It seems to me that the word Chata is used here for the Choctaw Indians and Chacato or Chacata for the Chatot. The Choctaw pronounce their name Chahta, the second "h" standing for a breathing.

The Estaninis I suspect are the Biloxi or some Biloxi town. One of the French writers calls them Ananis though I had always supposed that to be a misprint for Anaxis, a corruption of the name which they gave to themselves. If Estaninis had been obtained through the Creek language, I should suspect that the first part was Creek *isti*, "people," but it may be the instrumental prefix common to all Muskogean languages. The location given this tribe would, however, suggest to me identity with the Biloxi or Pasagoula.

Yaimamu was probably identical with Alibamu.

Cusachet, I judge from its association, to be merely another form of Koasati.

Evidently I have not made my definition of the relations between the Tukabahchee and Shawnee Indians clear. I do not think that the former were originally Shawnee but that they had the most intimate, and probably the earliest, dealings with them

*Dr. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, has made these notes and observations on the papers relating to the expedition of Marcos Delgado to the Upper Creek country in 1686 and published in the last issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

of any of the Muskogee tribes. The Tukabahchee seem originally to have been an independent body of Muskogee.

"El Agua" is evidently the same name as that which appears in Calderon's letter as Agna. Either Calderon's scribe miscopied or the Delago document has done so, in which latter case we should have "El Agna" instead of "El Agua".

"Calistoble" is, I suspect, the town which appears as Calutoble in the expedition against the Yuchi, the narrative of which was printed in Bulletin 73. Kali means "spring" in Choctaw and probably in the related Apalachee, and it is a reasonable inference that the town was near Blue Spring. This is a very interesting identification.

"Ogchay of the chacata nation" derives interest from the fact, according to tradition, the Okchai Indians were once independent of the Creeks. I think it probable that the language of the Indians of which he is now speaking was similar to that of the Chatot Indians. However, the town here mentioned may be Okchayutchi, "Little Okchai," composed of Alabama Indians who had lived with the true Okchai for a time and then separated. A resemblance between the Chatot and Alabama languages is very probable but why the Chatot should be singled out here is a puzzle.

The Koasati once lived on Pine Island in the Tennessee from whence they fled south. Adair says that "two great towns" were involved in this movement and these two may be the Quita and Qusate referred to on page 26. (July Quarterly)

I am also interested in the flight of the Pagna (Pakana) from the Choctaw. Tradition states that they were formerly independent of the Creeks. The movement of the Aymamu, if that is the Alibamu, falls in line with the fact that De Soto found them

living west of the Chickasaw in 1540. They may have moved into the neighborhood of the Choctaw first and then to the Tallapoosa River.

Probably the Tuskegee appear under one of the names given but it is not recognizable. As they lived in the bend of the Coosa where the Tallapoosa joins it, it is possible that their town is the one called Tubani. Anyhow, we know that the Tuskegee did come in from the Tennessee country.

The above notes are submitted for what assistance they may be, and I am sorry that there has to be so much more conjecture than determination. Each of these old manuscripts lets in a bit more light and we must be satisfied to move slowly although some of the things that just can't be proved or disproved are very exasperating.

THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS
(*John McKee to James Innerarity*)

Washington Jany. 17, 1811

Dear Sir,

I arrived here not before the 14. where I met a letter from Mr. Forbes, dated at Charleston 1st. Jany. I expect daily to receive another in answer to one I wrote to him on the way-indeed I am not without hope that he will come on himself-My reception here has been flattering and might lead a man of more ambition & credulity to expect great things-but money is *the subject of my story* and if they will, God bless them, give me but enough of that they may keep their honors for those who are more ambitious of them. - I have had a few skirmishes about the Anglocism of your house-and with some I trust I have succeeded in placing you in a proper point of view-that is honest, peacable English Merchants & men of honor above being intriguers or spies for any Government-and without any strong prejudices against ours. You may expect to hear from me frequently especially if anything should occur interesting to you or to the good people of Mobbille

Present me respectfully to Mrs. I. and give little William a kiss for me

Your friend
John McKee

James Innerarity, Esq.

NOTES

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPTS

The Newberry Library of Chicago has issued an extensive (295 p.), carefully compiled, and uncommonly well-printed *Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection*. This is one of the important collections for historical research in the country and contains much Florida material of the colonial period. There are a few later items, among which are: a letter (4p.) from Zachary Taylor to Richard K. Call, 1839; an original despatch concerning the Dade massacre; and a bounty subscription list, 1836. It is hoped that when opportunity offers, these may appear in the Quarterly.

There are some original documents and other papers of the colonial period, especially "Reconocimiento del Puerto y Baia de Pansacola" of Siguenza y Gongora (May, 1693, 52p) *; but of greater general importance are the voluminous transcripts and photostats of Florida material in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville; Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid; and Archivo Nacional, Cuba-the latter containing many letters and other papers of Bernardo de Galvez. From the Archivo Historico Nacional is a transcript of Pulgar's extensive and serviceable manuscript chronicle, *Historia general de Florida*.

The Society's library acknowledges with thanks the receipt of a copy of the Check List.

*See *Fla. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, IV (Jan. 1929) p. 76, n1.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS HISTORICAL ESSAY CONTEST

The ninth annual essay contest for a silver cup awarded by the Florida State Council, Knights of Columbus, was won by Francis X. Heidrich of St. James High School, Orlando. The contest is open to students in high school classes of the Catholic parochial schools or academies in Florida, and to the Catholic students of other high schools of Florida where there is no parochial school. The subject for this contest was The Border Wars between the English Colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia and Spanish Florida and the Consequent Destruction of the Franciscan Missions. One hundred thirty-six students of the following schools wrote essays: Gesu High School, Miami; St. James, Orlando; St. Anastasia, Fort Pierce; Our Lady of Mercy, Ybor City; St. Joseph's Academy, St. Augustine; Convent of Mary Immaculate; St. Joseph's Academy, Jacksonville; St. Paul's, Jacksonville; Immaculate Conception, Jacksonville. The essays were judged by Professor A. J. Hanna of Rollins College.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TO THE MEMBERS:

The directors, sure of the members' interest in Society affairs, wish to bring the library fund and other matters to their attention.

Many State governments contribute to the expenses of their State historical societies and some bear the entire cost of their publications. As you know, our income is solely your annual dues of two dollars. Most of this is expended in printing and mailing the *Quarterly*. Other activities and services are desirable-especially a fuller use of the Society's library. These can be carried out only if the expenses necessary are met by contributions.

Scholars, students, and the public can now make very limited use of our valuable library. Reorganization and cataloging is necessary and is now being done by Mr. Watt Marchman, our librarian, who is generously giving much of his time to this work. But there are necessary expenses here, and a greater outlay needed for repairing and putting in a permanent state of preservation numerous old manuscripts, some already seriously damaged. Many books, pamphlets, and series of magazines should be bound, with receptacles provided. To make the most of Mr. Marchman's time a student assistant, one working his way through college, is very desirable. The Finance Committee, with Professor A. J. Hanna, chairman, has been raising a library fund for these purposes. An officer of the Society has donated \$100, and seventeen members through Sustaining Memberships have contributed \$185; but the work cannot be carried to completion unless additional funds are secured. To preserve these valuable books and papers, will you not become a Sustaining Member for this year with dues of ten dollars.

Recent sustaining memberships, as contributions to the library fund are: Mrs. Grace K. Babson, Mrs. W. S. Barstow, Mrs. John J. Carty, Mrs. A. B. Chaffee, Sydney O. Chase, William Watson Davis, Mrs. Jane Porteous Murray, Mrs. James Simpson Reese, J. S. Foley, Peter George Ramos, W. W. Kincaid, T. A. Mellon, John F. Miller, Alfred K. Nippert, Giles J. Patterson, Mrs. Edgar V. Seeler, Edwin R. Seligman, W. C. Sherman.

REPORT OF THE

The librarian aided by a reliable student assistant began the cataloguing and reorganization of the Florida Historical Society's library in Jacksonville on June 10. Rapid progress was made in the cataloguing, listing, preserving, measuring, describing, binding and mending the items composing this valuable collection. Most of the books and pamphlets have been catalogued and proper filing index cards made; periodicals, including newspapers and files of exchanges of other state historical society magazines have been listed and entered on file index cards; the Governor John Milton papers, the El Destino plantation records and other documents, pictures, manuscripts, etc., have been carefully mended, measured, described and listed, numbered, catalogued and placed in individual light-proof, flat filing folders in order to insure minimum handling when used by historians, writers or research students. The most valuable letters and documents are being wrapped in special cellophane which will neither shrink nor tear to prevent direct handling.

In listing each item for the proposed catalogue of accessions, a careful description is given, including the size, shape, color, condition and when practicable, a resume of contents.

Rare and valuable old books and pamphlets have been placed under lock and key.

The Governor R. K. Call papers, purchased recently by the Society, are now in process of being catalogued and placed in a permanent state of preservation. They consist of several original letters written between 1819 and 1865 to Governor Gall, numerous copies of Governor Call's public addresses, legal papers, pamphlets, documents, newspaper clippings, etc., and several hundred pages of handwritten manuscript consisting of a history of early Florida written by Governor Call's daughter, Ellen Call Long. There is also a well-preserved bound volume of Governor Call's *Journal*, beginning with his campaigns with Jackson and coming down to the territorial period in Florida. The first portion of this *Journal* is in Call's hand-writing; the second portion was dictated to his daughter, Ellen Call Long, on account of his failing health. Except for the bound *Journal* and the manuscript history of Florida, much of the Call material is in a damaged condition. A great deal of care and time has been and must yet be expended upon it to place it in good condition so that it may be safely examined by historians or writers.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

There will be two sessions of the next annual meeting of the Society, on consecutive days of the fourth week of January in Tampa and St. Petersburg. As it is expected that these meetings will be outstanding preparations have already begun under the direction of Professor A. J. Hanna, chairman of the program committee. This early notice is given the membership with a plea from the officers and directors of the Society for a large attendance. The program will be notable in interest and the west coast is most attractive at that time. Why not come.

The hosts will be the Junior College of St. Petersburg with President Robert B. Reed as chairman of the local committee; and the University of Tampa, with Mr. D. B. McKay, trustee of the University and director of the Society, as chairman of the Tampa committee.

The historical exhibit will be directed by Mrs. Charles W. Ten Eick, a former Tampan, who gathered such a noteworthy loan collection of Floridiana for the last annual meeting. A plea goes also to everyone who owns, or can obtain the loan of, any kind of historical material relating to Florida—to bring with them or send such material for the exhibit.

The program will be told of in the January issue of the Quarterly.

ST. AUGUSTINE RESTORATION

Members of the Society and other readers, of historical bent, are doubtless already interested in the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and were glad to know what Dr. Chatelain and Miss Beeson has told them of its plans and progress. The project should not be, and is not, only a local undertaking. It is so broad and many-sided that outside cooperation is essential. All Florida should take part—and the Legislature at its recent session appropriated \$50,000 towards its cost. The founding of St. Augustine was the first permanent European settlement in the limits of the United States, so the nation should take part—and the Carnegie Institution of Washington is sponsoring and directing the restoration.

The National Committee, which includes several foremost historians of the country as well as President Tigert of the University of Florida and Hon. Scott M. Loftin - this committee and its announced

plans inspire confidence that the restoration will be based on the results of archeological and historical research and investigation, and the beginnings and progress of the work reaffirm that confidence.

The Florida Historical Society is lending its aid through President Chase who is a member of the committee; and the members of the Society, covering the State as they do, can with assured confidence, aid the restoration materially and in numerous ways.

As it is not historical, the fountain of youth is not mentioned. But the myth of the fountain is the most charming as well- as the most famous of all Florida romances, and its present-day import adds to that charm. Perhaps in its origin, as it is today, the fountain-head was the sun-for legend often comes to be symbolical - and instead of water, Florida sunlight, as today, was the medium of the miracle. It is recorded history that in every period St. Augustine has been noted for its salubrity, and notwithstanding its isolation and difficulty of access it has been a mecca for a century for those seeking rejuvenation.

The Florida Historical Society and other well-wishers of the restoration may feel sure that the research being carried out by the committee and its staff will not result in any implication of reality to the fountain, and they may be confident that any local beliefs without historical or other foundation will have no place in the restoration. (The editor.)

CAPTAIN SETON FLEMING

Captain C. Seton Fleming, former vice president of the Florida Historical Society, died at his home in Jacksonville on August 3. His long interest in the Society is natural, for he was a son of Governor

Francis P. Fleming who was the spirit in the re-establishment of the Society in 1902, was its president from 1906 to his death in 1909, and was the founder of the *Quarterly* and of the Society's library.

Captain Fleming was born in Jacksonville on August 24, 1875. He received his education at Florida State College, Lake City, and at Virginia Military Institute; and was admitted to the bar in 1900. His first military service was as a volunteer in the Spanish-American War. Later he held the rank of captain in the Florida National Guard, of colonel on the staff of Governor Gilchrist, and captain in the Reserve Officers Corps. In 1915 he was a member of the Executive Council of the national organization of Sons of Confederate Veterans. He served in France in the World War as judge advocate, 38th Artillery Brigade, C. A. C.

MEMBERS OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

- Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey, Tallahassee
 Henry P Adair, Jacksonville
 Dr. W. P. Adamson, Tampa
 W. G. Allen, Tampa
 John Walter Alsobrook, Plant City
 Mrs. Alice H. Alvord, Lake Wales
 Carl G. Alvord, Torrington, Conn.
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 Mrs. Myrtle Taylor Bradford, Miami
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 Dr. Grady H. Brantley, Lake Worth
 John H. Brelsford, Palm Beach
 Harold E. Briggs, Coral Gables
 Dr. Charles M. Brittain, Jacksonville
 Carl D. Brorein, Tampa
 William G. Brorein, Tampa
 Judge Armstead Brown, Tallahassee
 Hunter Brown, Pensacola
 Mrs. S. C. Brown, Charleston, S. C.
 A. Parker Bryant, Palm Beach
 Mrs. H. H. Buckman, Jacksonville
 Judge Rivers Buford, Tallahassee
 Mrs. B. F. Bullard, Savannah
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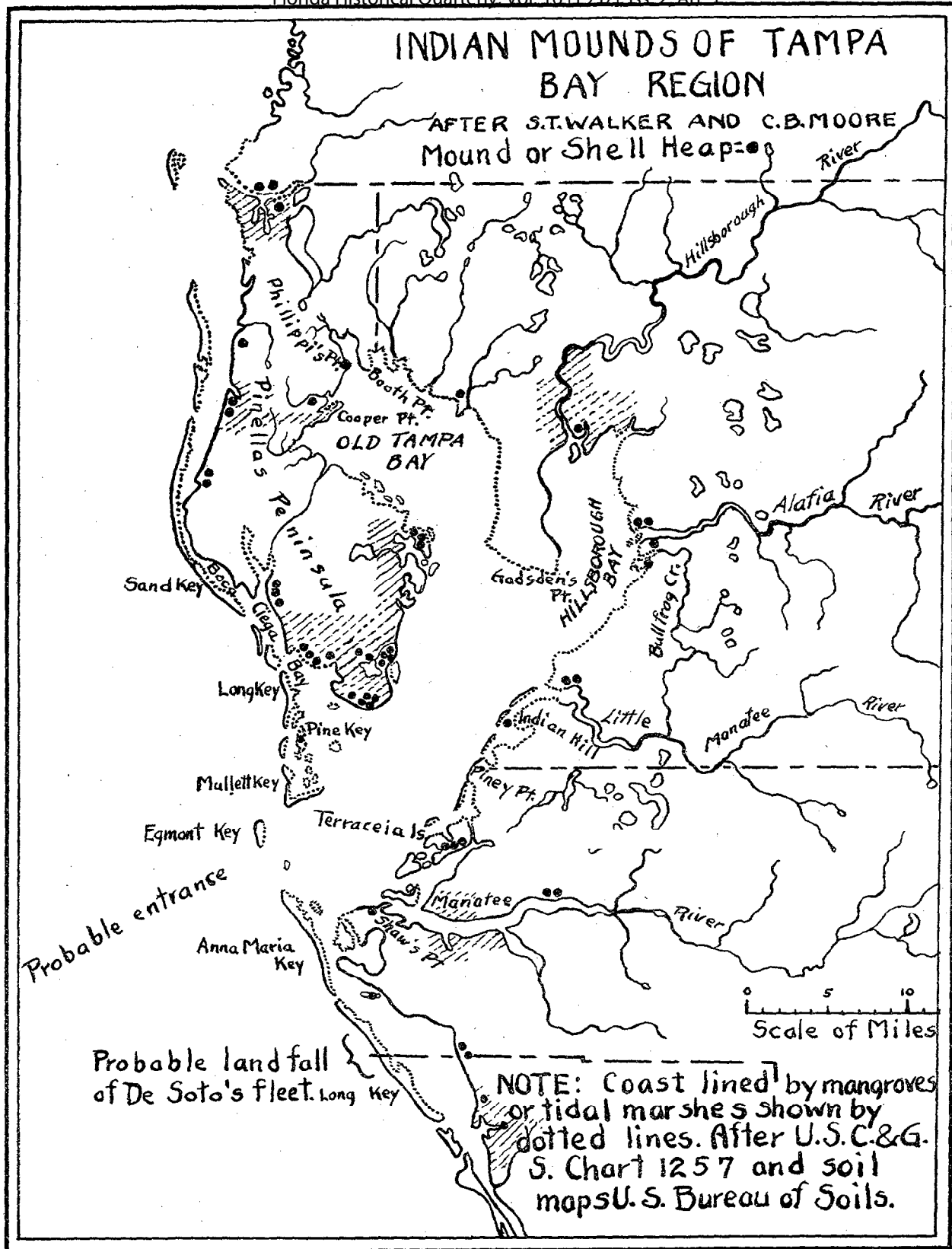
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