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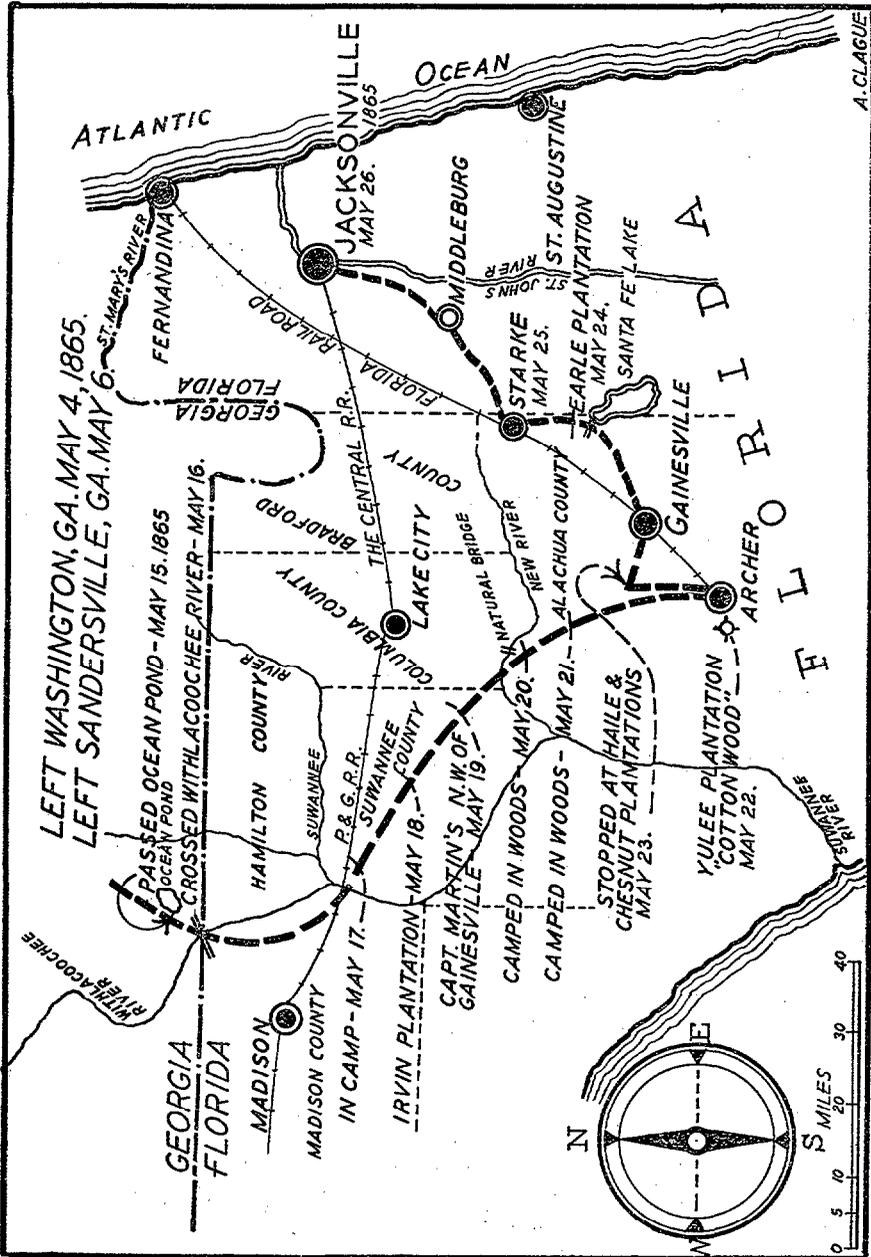
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Notes

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ROUTE OF CONFEDERATE BAGGAGE AND TREASURE TRAIN. BASED ON "MAP OF FLORIDA ACCOMPANYING THE ANNUAL REPORT OF COMMISSIONER, GENERAL LAND OFFICE, OCTOBER 2, 1866."

THE CONFEDERATE BAGGAGE AND
TREASURE TRAIN ENDS ITS
FLIGHT IN FLORIDA

A Diary of Tench Francis Tilghman
By A. J. HANNA, Rollins College

Editor's note: The widespread interest aroused by A. J. Hanna's latest publication *FLIGHT INTO OBLIVION* suggests that readers of the *QUARTERLY* will wish to read the diary of Tench Francis Tilghman on which a chapter of that book is based. In editing the diary Professor Hanna* has used the mass of materials he assembled through years of research for his book to give us a picture of conditions in Florida in 1865. For this he has a noteworthy heritage, as each branch of his family came to Florida before the War, and two of his great-grandfathers were here before Florida became a state.

It was clear and hot when on May 15, 1865, a curious cavalcade crossed the Georgia border into Florida at a point near one of the tributaries of the Suwannee River. This cavalcade consisted of a sturdily built ambulance and a heavy wagon, both drawn by mules and carefully guarded by nine well-mounted young military and civil officers of the Confederate States of America, members of some of the most distinguished families of Maryland and Louisiana. Two scouts rode considerably in advance and five negro servants brought up the rear. It was the baggage and treasure train of the Confederacy on its way to "Kirby-Smithdom" ¹ that

*Those who have recently become members of the Society may not know that for many years Professor Hanna was a director and a vice president and that much of our progress during the recent past is a result of his assistance to each of our officers. His interest in Florida and her history has led him to establish the Union Catalog of Floridiana at Rollins College, with which readers of the *Quarterly* are familiar. Mr. Watt Marchman, librarian and corresponding secretary of the Society and one of our most active officers is a former student of his. *Ed.*

1. "Kirby-Smithdom," or the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederacy, consisted of Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, Arizona, New Mexico and the Indian Territory. After the fall of Vicksburg (1863) General Edmund Kirby Smith, 39 year old Floridian became the virtual dictator of this prosperous territory.
- Col. Samuel H. Fisher has in preparation for publication in the *Quarterly* an account of two interesting episodes which occurred in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1799 and 1806 which were the indirect cause of the settling in Florida of General Edmund Kirby Smith's father, Judge Joseph L. Smith.

vast, uninvaded and prosperous territory west of the Mississippi River where President Jefferson Davis hoped to reorganize and revive the Confederacy.²

Captain Micajah H. Clark, Acting Treasurer of the Confederacy, headed the cavalcade. Just before Richmond was evacuated on April 2, he had, as chief clerk of the President's office, helped Davis, his aides, and the six members of the Confederate Cabinet assort the official papers and pack those it was deemed wise to preserve. Clark had been of invaluable aid to Burton N. Harrison at Danville, Virginia, when that city was the temporary capital of the southern government ; particularly when, after news of Lee's surrender was received, Davis and the Cabinet were in the throes of moving on to Greensboro, North Carolina.

When, on the night of April 14 Davis, his Cabinet and escort were forced to leave Greensboro Clark was, next to Harrison, the busiest man in town. Stoneman's raiders had destroyed the rails south of Greensboro, hence it was necessary to pack in such ambulances and wagons as could be commandeered the Government archives, the baggage of the officials, and some \$35,000 which had been set aside in Greensboro for the President's train. Discouraged by the indifference of North Carolinians, though aided by some of them, the Confederate officials retreated rapidly to Charlotte, which remained its headquarters until April 26, when the surrender of the remaining Confederate forces in the East by General Joseph E. Johnston made necessary a hurried exodus still farther south.

At Charlotte the actual break-up of the Confederate government occurred. There the fiction re-

2. A. J. Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion* (Johnson Publishing Co., Richmond, Va., 1938) pp. 70-81.

garding the revival of Southern resistance in the West, on which Davis insisted, lost its appeal. The Confederate Attorney General, George Davis of North Carolina, resigned here, and while President Davis remained unswerved from his purpose to re-establish the Confederacy in Texas, his civil and military advisers and Captain Clark directed their attention to eluding Federal pursuers. "We hope to get out safely" wrote Tench F. Tilghman,³ who with three other Marylanders joined the escaping Confederate officials in Charlotte on April 19, and who the next day was placed in charge of the private baggage wagon of the President.⁴ The entire baggage train, as it left Charlotte on April 26 consisted of five wagons and an escort of cavalry. Captain Fred Emory, who had been placed in general command of the five wagons had been "drunk continual-

3. Tench Francis Tilghman (1833-1867), author of the diary which follows, was the great-grandson of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman, (1744-1786) aide-de-camp to George Washington, by whom he was selected to carry to Philadelphia the official dispatches announcing the surrender of Cornwallis. The Tilghman family, one of the distinguished colonial families, emigrated from England to Maryland in 1661.

Tilghman was born at "Plimbimmon", Talbot County, Md., and in 1851 entered Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. His father, Tench Tilghman, friend of Jefferson Davis at West Point, was stripped of his commission as Major General of Maryland Militia by Gov. T. H. Hicks because he issued a bellicose order to his division following the invasion of that state by Massachusetts troops.

T. F. Tilghman, author of this diary, served the Confederacy as an engineer in Richmond. After the War he was in charge of construction for the Maryland & Delaware Railroad which ran from Oxford, Md., into Delaware. He was married (1) to Anna Coxe in 1857 and (2) to Elizabeth Barron Camp in 1865. He died at the age of 34. See records of the War Dept., Washington, D. C.: the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 542-546; and family records of Dr. Tench F. Tilghman, St. Johns College, Annapolis, Md.

The editor of the diary, the editor of the *Quarterly*, and its readers gratefully acknowledge the generosity of Dr. Tilghman in allowing the publication of this diary of his grandfather.

4. Diary of Tench F. Tilghman.

ly for several days" in Charlotte, reported Tilghman⁵ and was "superseded by Captain [Watson] Van Benthuyzen⁶ with whom (not knowing of the change) I liked to have had a quarrel. Emory is humiliated beyond degree and we are all disgusted with him."

As the Confederate cavalcade moved southwestward through South Carolina and across the Savannah River into Georgia with Clark, Van Benthuyzen, Tilghman and other loyal Confederates faithfully watching over the baggage, archives, and the steadily dwindling treasure, the government structure of the South suffered further disintegration. George A. Trenholm, of South Carolina, Sec-

5. Tilghman piously added: "Strange that any man should allow himself to act as he does."

It is hoped that some reader will be able to help the author assemble the essential biographical facts about Captain Fred Emory. The Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington, D. C., is unable to locate a record of his service.

6. Watson Van Benthuyzen (1833-1901), whose first American ancestor moved from Benthuisen near Leyden, Holland, to Albany, N. Y., in 1642, was born in Brooklyn in 1833 and about 20 years later moved to New Orleans where he was associated with his father in newspaper work. He enlisted in the Confederate Army in February 1861 and became captain and assistant quartermaster in June 1863. Although he was paroled in Florida at the close of the War he was arrested upon his return to New Orleans and imprisoned in Fort St. Philip, near the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Upon his release from prison he became a wholesale tobacco merchant on Magazine Street. He served as president of the New Orleans & Carrollton Railway and also president of the Crescent City Railway. He built what later became known as the Coliseum Line and was connected with the National Improvement Telephone Company.

About 1885 Van Benthuyzen moved to New York, organized and became president of the Poughkeepsie Bridge Co., and with a capital of \$5,000,000 constructed the huge bridge that spans the Hudson River at Poughkeepsie. He died in New Orleans. See records of the War Department, Washington, D. C., the Holland Society of New York and genealogical records of Mr. A. S. Van Benthuyzen, 446 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

retary of the Treasury, became too ill to proceed farther than Fort Mill, South Carolina. Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, Secretary of the Navy, resigned at Abbeville, South Carolina and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, Secretary of State, and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, Secretary of War, separated from Davis near Washington, Georgia and by different routes started toward Florida in the hope that they might find a means of escaping to the Bahamas, Cuba or Mexico.

By the time Davis left Washington, Georgia, his escort was drastically reduced. Clark had assisted two of the President's aides, Colonels Johnston and Wood, assort the government papers in Abbeville. Some of them were destroyed and others left there with Mrs. Henry J. Leovy, while still others were hidden in Washington, Georgia. By repacking carefully Clark, Van Benthuisen and Tilghman were able to reduce the train to one wagon and two ambulances one of which they soon, however, discarded.

Davis, with the one remaining member of his Cabinet, Judge John H. Reagan of Texas, Postmaster General and now Acting Secretary of the Treasury, followed by his aides, Colonels Johnston, Lubbock and Wood and several scouts, left the baggage and treasure train near Sandersville, Georgia, May 6. It was understood that Clark, Van Benthuisen, Tilghman and the other guards of the train would proceed to Florida and rejoin Davis and Reagan near Madison or Tallahassee. They believed they could find in the northwestern part of Florida ways and means of escaping to Texas.

With Clark, Van Benthuisen and Tilghman were W. E. Dickinson,⁷ Fred Emory, J. W. Scott,⁸ W. S. Winder⁹ and Watson Van Benthuisen's two broth-

-
7. William Elveno Dickinson (1840-1869) was the son of Col. Samuel Dickinson of "Crosiadore", Talbot County, Maryland. He attended Mount Saint Mary's College.
 8. John White Scott (1836-1916), a native of Baltimore, was educated at Mount Saint Mary's College and was reading law in the office of his father, Judge T. Parkin Scott, when the War began.
 9. "The most thrilling episode of my career down South", wrote Scott in his diary (see the *Baltimore News* May 24, 1913) "was when I was sentenced to be hung. . . . [three of us were] arrested March 5 [1863], taken . . . before Gen'l Hooker, and tried (without counsel) before Gen'l Daniel E. Sickles, pres. of court Martial. . . . When asked if we had anything to say, I replied - 'When I left home I was a student of law, but had only read a few pages . . . of Blackstone and am therefore unable to try my own case, and counsel has been denied us, but I think that the evidence for the prosecution is good enough defense for anyone.' The Gen'l was furious and ordered us away. We were confined for awhile in the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, then transferred to the Carroll House Prison where we were told by a Yankee soldier that we had been sentenced to be hanged. Mr. Lincoln commuted it to prison during the war; Mr. Davis held three Yankee officers as hostages and we were exchanged."
- After Scott surrendered to the Federals in Jacksonville, Florida he proceeded to New York where he remained about one year. He then secured a position with the Maryland & Delaware Railroad later a part of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He married Annie Massey in 1868. Devout Catholic and ardent Democrat, his last days were spent in his native Baltimore.
9. William Sidney Winder of Baltimore was appointed 1st lieutenant and aide-de-camp October 29, 1861 and ordered to report to his relative, Brigadier General John H. Winder. In June, 1862, he was appointed Captain and Assistant Adjutant General. See records of War Dept., Washington, D. C.

ers, Alfred C. Van Benthuisen¹⁰ and Jefferson Davis Benthuisen.¹¹ They were charged with the preservation of the material remains of the Confederate government. For more than one week the members of the cavalcade, suspecting that Federals

10. "Alf" wrote to his brother, Jefferson Davis Van Benthuisen, from Naples, Sept. 1, 1860, an account of his travels in Italy. Garibaldi honored him, he said, by appointing him an aide de-camp on his staff. In this campaign, Van Benthuisen wrote, "We passed . . . Salerno and other towns and cities, each and every one of them surrendering upon our approach. We have had no regular battle and but two skirmishes. And here we are at Naples" wrote the conquering hero from America ". . . and in consequence [of being one of the first to enter that city] was made quite a lion of. I am billeted at a palace where I have my sleeping quarters and get all my meals with General Garibaldi which is an honor that princes would give anything for. The General treats me very kindly, there being only one other American besides myself in his army. Garibaldi is a plain, mild, modest, good, honest, man." Original of this letter is in the possession of a daughter of Jefferson Davis Van Benthuisen, Mrs. Murray Mason McGuire, Woodside, 5202 Riverside Drive, Richmond, Va.

When Alfred C. Van Benthuisen returned to the United States he entered the Confederate service and, because of his military experience under Garibaldi, although he was only 24 years old, was made a Captain in the Marine Corps on March 30, 1861. He was stationed at New Orleans and Pensacola in 1861-62, Drewry's Bluff, Va., 1862-64, Mobile, Ala., and Wilmington, N. C., 1864, participated in the defense of Fort Fisher, N. C. Dec. 24-25, 1864 and Jan. 13-15, 1865, where he was severely wounded and captured. He remained in a New York hospital until February 25, 1865 when he was exchanged. See Records of the War and Navy Depts., Washington, D. C.

11. Jefferson Davis Van Benthuisen, (1841-1872) named in honor of the Confederate President, the brother-in-law of his aunt, Mrs. Joseph Davis, enlisted April 15, 1861, at the age of 20, in the Louisiana infantry. He became a corporal the following June, a 2d lieutenant in August and a first lieutenant the next year and later a captain.

He lost an eye in the battle of Gettysburg, and having been captured was imprisoned at Sandusky, Ohio, until late January 1865, when he was exchanged.

After the War he entered the wholesale tobacco business with his brother, Watson. Endeavoring to regain his health he later went to Cuba and then to Virginia. While at "Woodside" the Virginia home of his father-in-law, Dabney Cosby, he died prematurely at the age of 31. See records of the War Dept., Washington, D. C., and of his daughter, Mrs. Murray Mason McGuire, "Woodside", 5202 Riverside Drive, Richmond, Va. The Confederate Museum, Richmond.

would overtake them at every turn, laboriously dragged the wagon and ambulance through the drab, lonely pine barrens of Georgia. Then, wrote Tilghman, as they entered Florida "the country suddenly changed and became fine."

THE DIARY

Monday May 15th

Clear & hot. Left camp at 20 ms to 9 & rode 26 miles leaving the State of Georgia & entering Florida. About 4 P M we left the pines having traveling [!] one week in an unbroken pine barren. The country suddenly changed & became fine We passed just before camping two fine plantations from one of which a gentleman brot us just at supper time some elegant fish bread & clabber. We feasted sumptously. The party are getting tired of riding & hope soon to camp for a day or two. The Yanks have occupied the State & are paroling all the State troops. After 10 days all not paroled are to be outlawed & we shall be among the number beyond a doubt as it is not our intention to apply for one

Tuesday May 16th

Clear & hot Broke camp this morning at 10 to 8 & traveled 23 ms camping on Mr. Beasons farm. At 9 1/2 AM we crossed the Withlacouchee ¹² River a narrow deep, dirty stream a tributary to the Swanee made famous in song. The waters smell badly. Fish abound Yesterday we passed Ocean Pond ¹³ a sort of Lake or Pond covering 6 sq miles

12. This Withlacoochee River, which rises in southern Georgia empties into the Suwannee just north of the railroad bridge at Ellaville and forms the boundary between Madison and Hamilton counties, should not be confused with the river by the same name in Marion County, the largest tributary of the St. Johns.
13. This Ocean Pond in Georgia should not be confused with Ocean Pond northeast of Lake City, Florida where the Battle of Olustee was fought in 1864.

of land deep & abounding in fish. To night we camp in a bad place but are well satisfied as we are tomorrow to lie still as we are to wait for news from the Yankees. We crossed to day the Pensacola & Georgia R R & are in camp only a few miles from it. Things are getting squally & the time is close at hand when we shall either be free or prisoners Our scout reports Gen Breckinridge's son ¹⁴ in Madison & we fear the Gen ¹⁵ has been captured

Wednesday May 17th

Clear & hot in the morning. Cloudy with some rain at 6 P M All day we laid still fixing up I cleaned my pistol, took a bath, repacked the waggon & arranged my affairs generally What would I not give to be able to write a letter to the loved ones ¹⁶ at home & get it to them Jeff [J. D. Van Benthuy-sen] & Howard ¹⁷ have gone out today to scout & see what can be done in finding out news. Our negroes are getting uneasy & I fear will leave us if they can. Jeff & Howard at camp at 10 P M & no news of any kind. Tomorrow we move again

-
14. Joseph Cabell Breckinridge (1844-1906) enlisted in the Confederate Army at the age of 18 and served as Private, Corporal, 1st Lieutenant and Aide-de-Camp on the staff of his father, Major General John Cabell Breckinridge. He was captured at Missionary Ridge, Tennessee, but was exchanged several months later. After he separated from his father at Madison, Fla., May 16, he proceeded to Tallahassee, where on May 21, 1865 he was paroled. He, his brother, and the sons of other prominent Confederate leaders had guarded the Confederate treasure from Richmond to Washington, Ga.
 15. General Breckinridge, accompanied by his aide, Col. James Wilson of Kentucky, Col. John Taylor Wood, aide to President Davis who had escaped from the captors of his chief, and Thomas Ferguson, a negro servant, had arrived safely at Madison May 15 and were, on May 16, being secretly guarded at the home of Lewis M. Moseley on the Suwannee River.
 16. Tilghman's wife had died in 1862. His motherless children were Francis, Henrietta and William, all under six years of age.
 17. A scout.

Have been made very uneasy to day by the appearance of a deserter who had joined the Yanks & is now home He left suddenly to night & we fear an attack from him & his band

Thursday May 18th

Cloudy & warm. Rain at 12 M for some hour & then cleared off. Drove some 20 ms to day & camped at a Mr Irvins house Here we got plenty of forage both long & short & food for ourselves among other things Some nice blackberry wine which we used plentifully. a fine pig & plenty of chickens. He *bled* us freely it is true but we stood it for the stomach's sake Got a little wet to day having loaned Stafford ¹⁸ my overcoat & depending entirely on my oil cloth. At 5 P M we crossed the old Swanee River so often heard of in song & never seen We crossed it at Mosleys Ferry

Friday May 19th

Clear & hot untill 3 P M when we had a heavy thunder shower. I did not get very wet We travelled some 20 miles & camped at a Capt Martins one of the State troops officers Had a disagreeable time in camp forage very scarce. Our scout led us off the road & we travelled some 1 1/2 m out of our way.

Saturday May 20th

Clear & very warm. Travelled all day & encamped in the woods near good water stopping in our route near night at a grist mill where we bought some corn long forage & meal MY watch to night was broken by the sudden sound of a bugle I roused the camp expecting an attack from bushwhackers ¹⁹ but nothing came

18. Stafford (or Staffin), had been one of President Davis's personal guards at Richmond.

19. Bushwackers or bushfighters were irregular troops engaged in guerilla warfare.

Sunday May 21st

Beautiful clear day. We travelled to day 18 ms camping at 5. P M on the road side near only tolerable water To day Cap V [Van Benthuyzen] & El [W. E. Dickinson] have been ahead to Gainesville but bring no satisfactory news It is reported that no Mds [Marylanders] or Kens [Kentuckians] are to be allowed to go home again

Monday May 22nd

Clear & Hot. Broke camp early & passed to the right of Gainesville towards the Gulph camped on the line of the Fernandina & Cedar Keys R. R. on the premises ["Cotton Wood" Plantation] of Mr D. L. Yulee former U. S. Senator & Prest of the R R. Here we find information from Yankee papers which satisfies us of Gen Johnston Capitulation of Prest Davis Capture & of Dick Taylors surrender. A general gloom pervades our camp. Of course the last hope is gone of the Confederacy & our only course as we are in the Dept surrendered by Gen Johnston is to go some where deliver ourselves up & be paroled. This I had hoped to have been spared but there is no alternative Our little crowd [of] officer will still remain together. We stopped today at noon at a Mr Hailes²⁰ house by whom we were hospitably treated & refreshed by a very nice drink of brandy.

* * *

Thus was ended the long, dangerous journey of the Confederate cavalcade that had been begun so hopefully three weeks before at Greensboro, North Carolina. Captain Clark and the other steadfastly faithful followers of the Confederacy who camped the night of May 22, 1865 on the Yulee Plantation,

20. This was Edward Haile's plantation "The White House," about 12 miles northwest of Gainesville.

“Cotton Wood”, were finally forced to admit, now that their President had been captured and their Cabinet disbanded, that further flight on their part with the remaining baggage and gold was futile.

Payments for the maintenance and other expenses of their train from North Carolina to Florida had reduced the gold, originally about \$35,000, to about \$25,000. Captain Clark, who was Acting Treasurer of the Confederate government, announced that he would now pay to his associates a fair salvage from this gold and would place the balance on deposit in England to be used as President Davis and Acting Secretary of the Treasury might direct. Since both these officials were in prison this plan did not appear practicable to Captain Watson Van Benthuyzen. He had evidently previously discussed the ultimate disposition of the Confederate funds with his brothers and other members of the party, because when he informed Captain Clark that he as quartermaster had exclusive control of the funds, he was supported. Tilghman made no record in his diary of the heated controversy over the last Confederate funds which took place in camp that night between Captains Clark and Van Benthuyzen, but it has been learned from Clark's subsequent report as Acting Treasurer and from supplementary letters and papers, that Van Benthuyzen said he would lay aside one-quarter of the entire fund (probably \$6,790) for the benefit of Mrs. Davis and her children which he, her distant kinsman, would take charge of and that he would divide the balance equally among those who had guarded the funds, papers and baggage.²¹

In addition to the sum it was understood Watson Van Benthuyzen had saved for Mrs. Davis, he dis-

21. Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 264.

tributed \$1,940 in gold sovereigns to each of his two brothers and to Clark, Dickinson, Emory, Tilghman, Scott and Winder. He gave \$55 to each of them also for travelling and miscellaneous expenses and paid \$975 for wages to Howard, the scout, to Staffin, a member of President Davis's guard in Richmond, and to the five negro servants.²²

In the absence of her husband, Mrs. Yulee and her young son, Wickliffe, consented to secrete the papers and baggage at Cotton Wood Plantation where the cavalcade was being disbanded. "Mrs. Yulee . . . asked me if I could conceal a very valuable trunk where it could not be found" later reported Lieutenant John D. Purviance. "I informed her that I thought I could bury it in Charlie's stable ; Charlie was a Cuban Poney that was kept apart from the other horses, in a log cabin stable, to himself. That night, after all the people were gone to bed but Mrs. Yulee, I turned the poney out of his stable, and dug a pit in the middle of his stable, and went with the wheelbarrow to the House, and took the trunk and buried it. . ." ²³ This was the personal trunk of Jefferson Davis. Two chests and another trunk containing papers and baggage were also hidden.

Captain Clark quietly remained near Cotton Wood Plantation for one week to find out if the Federals had discovered the secret trail of the Confederate cavalcade and followed it to Florida. He then hid the \$1,940 in gold sovereigns that had been given him by Captain Watson Van Benthuyzen as his share of the last of the Confederate treasure, and,

22. Hanna, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

23. Dunbar Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, Mississippi Dept., of Archives and History, Jackson, 1923, IX, 450-451, and C. Wickliffe Yulee, *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, II, 10-12 (July, 1909).

after stops in Washington, Georgia and Abbeville, South Carolina to check the archives that had been hidden in those towns, he proceeded to Baltimore.²⁴

The Van Benthuisen brothers consulted Ex-Senator Yulee, upon his return to Cotton Wood Plantation, about what they personally ought now to do. He advised them to seek paroles, "return home to their families, and resume the duties of civil life."²⁵ This they proceeded to do. Watson and Jefferson Davis Van Benthuisen were paroled in Jacksonville and then returned to New Orleans. Alfred C. Van Benthuisen and Fred Emory were paroled at Baldwin, twenty miles west of Jacksonville.²⁶

24. Capt. L. R. Clark went to Florida at this time and got the \$1,946 in gold sovereigns and some unimportant papers of the Treasury Department for his brother, Captain M. H. Clark. According to Clark's reports he expended all of the \$1,940 in the interests of the Confederacy.

Captain Micajah Henry Clark (1830-1912), son of Dr. Micajah Clark, was born in Richmond, Va. After the War he entered the cotton brokerage business. He made his permanent home in Clarksville, Tenn., about 1872. As Acting Treasurer of the Confederate States of America, the last official appointed by President Davis, he played an important part in the final dissolution of that government. See Micajah H. Clark Papers and the Harrison Family Collection, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. ; also records of his daughter, Mrs. Edward S. Munford, 3411 O St., N. W., Washington, D. C., and of his grandson, M. K. Clark, Greenwich, Conn.

25. When Yulee was arrested he arranged for his wife to return to the home of her father in Kentucky. He sent the chests and trunks containing baggage and papers to Waldo for safekeeping. After searching for them at the Yulee plantation Capt. O. E. Bryant U. S. A. and a group of negro soldiers found them at Waldo and took possession of them, transported them to Jacksonville where they were examined and sent on to Washington, D. C. The Federals found the ambulance and three horses at the Yulee plantation and the wagon, mules and horses at Thomas Haile's. **See Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies**, Ser. I. Vol. XLVII, Pt. III, 651-656, cited hereafter as *O.R. (Official Records)*.

26. There does not appear to be a record of what became of Howard the scout, Staffin, a member of the Davis guard, or the five negro servants with the exception of Watson, the Davis cook who was taken by Capt. Clark to Atlanta.

Dickinson, Scott, Tilghman and Winder, the four eastern shoremen from Maryland, started out from the Yulee plantation to seek their paroles three days after the flag of the United States had replaced the Stars and Bars at Tallahassee. Describing that event a Tallahasseean wrote:

"I was startled on yesterday by a cry from our little 'black boy' of 'Yankees!' 'Yankees!' and I found myself running with the 'rest of the children' to the front, to see Gen. McCook and staff enter to take command of our little city. This 'raw head and bloody bones' that had been threatening us so long made a very modest entrance, respecting the humiliation of the people by leaving his cavalry some miles distant to approach more leisurely."²⁷

As McCook²⁸ was in the midst of paroling the approximately 8,000 Confederate soldiers in Florida, he received a letter from Brigadier General Israel

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27. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes*, (Ashmead Bros., Jacksonville, Fla., 1883) 380-381.
28. Edward Moody McCook (1833-1909) Brigadier General of the U. S. Army, Minister to Hawaii (1866-69) and Governor of Colorado Territory (1869-73, 1874-74) was a member of a family which gave so many famous soldiers to the War of 1861-65 that they were known as the "Fighting McCooks". In the Atlanta campaign he prevented the reinforcement of Hood when the Confederates were shut up in Atlanta, His widow, the former Mary McKenna, is now a winter resident of St. Augustine. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI 602.

Vogdes,²⁹ who, with headquarters in Jacksonville, was in command of that part of Florida east of the Apalachicola River, virtually the entire state, requesting him "to desist from further proceedings in the matter of surrender of troops within the limits of this command [Florida], as that duty has been delegated to me. . . ."³⁰ McCook replied that he was acting under orders of his corps commander, proceeded to exercise the functions of a military governor and informed Vogdes that the arrival of his command in Tallahassee was "most opportune, as mobs of citizens and soldiers throughout the whole country were engaged in breaking open the public store-houses and appropriating their contents."³¹ Because the four Marylanders hoped to find at Jacksonville transportation by water up the coast, they determined to make their immediate objective not Tallahassee but the headquarters of Vogdes at Jacksonville. * *

Tuesday May 23rd

Clear & very hot. To day all has been confusion. The party has broken up & we are all going to seek

29. Israel Vogdes (1816-1889) was born in Willistown, Chester County, Pennsylvania. He was graduated from the U. S. Military Academy in 1837 and was Assistant Professor of Mathematics at his alma mater 1837-49. He was then engaged in quelling Indian disturbances that broke out in Florida after the long and costly Seminole Indian War, being stationed at Key West in 1850-51, 1851-54, and 1855-56.

Vogdes was with the Federal forces at Ft. Pickens (Pensacola) from Feb. 7, 1861 until he was captured by the Confederates on Santa Rosa Island Oct. 9, 1861. He remained a prisoner until August, 1862. He then served in Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Virginia and again in Florida in the spring of 1864. On April 9, 1865 he was made a Brigadier General "for gallant and meritorious service in the field." He continued in the army until 1881. See G. W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the U. S. Military Academy* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1891) I, 670-671 and *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 304.

30. *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLIX, Pt. III, 494.

31. *Ibid.*, 499.

some point at which we can be paroled & go home Our crowd of 4 [Dickinson, Scott, Tilghman, and Winder] will go to Jacksonville Some go to Cedar Keys At 12 M we mounted our horses & each with all his worldly goods in a very small bundle behind him rode off our 4 retracing our steps We stopped, Sid [Winder] & I [Tilghman] at a Mr. Thos Haile's³² a Bro. of the gentleman mentioned yesterday, John [Scott] and El [Dickinson] went to Mr. [Thomas Whitaker] Chesnuts a 1/4 mile off a Bro in Law of Mr. Haile. We were recd & treated very kindly by Mr. Haile indeed & a clean bed & entire undress after so many nights on the ground was elegant indeed.

Wednesday May 24th

Clear & hot. This morning we started off at 8 AM. Sid & I rode to Mr. Chesnuts where we found El & John & started for Jacksonville where we are to get Paroled. Mr. Chesnut rode some 4 ms with us to put us on the right road We stopped in Gainesville a few minutes & then rode on to Gen Elias Earle's.³³ The Gen rather declined taking us. as we found out from him afterwards [he thought] that we were Yankees. He treated us very kindly though We took a bath in Santa Fe Lake³⁴ near bye This lake is 9 ms [?] x 4 1/2 a fine sheet of water We enjoyed our bath very much after a long hot ride Gen E has a large plantation in

32. This was Thomas Evans Haile's plantation, "Kanapaha", near Arredondo, 8 miles southwest of Gainesville.

33. Elias Earle, for whom Earleton was named, moved from Columbia, S. C., after having served in the Mexican War. He established a plantation of several thousand acres on the west side of Sante Fe Lake, which he worked with a large number of slaves. He was an officer in the Confederate Army. After his second marriage he moved to Melrose. Earle's granddaughter, Mrs. J. S. C. Collins, whose father was Baron H. von Lutichau of Germany, now lives on the Earle plantation.

34. Sante Fe Lake is approximately nine miles in length and extends into four counties: Alachua, Bradford, Clay and Putnam.

the pines We find water very scarce indeed & our horses have suffered very much. Sid is still ailing. The country through which we have passed today & for some days is horribly poor & sandy

Thursday May 25th

Clear, hot & dusty. Left Gen Es at 8 AM & rode 37 ms stopping all night at an old man's named Branning.³⁵ near Black Crk which we had to Ferry ourselves across passing over first in a canoe for the Flat. Just before getting to this stream we passed through the village of Middleburgh³⁶ which has been nearly entirely deserted since the war Before the war it had a very large business in cotton etc the S [team] Boats coming up to the Ferry where we crossed. We stopped to day on the Fernandina & Cedar Keys Road at a place called Starke³⁷ where we fed our horses getting corn for them at an exorbitant price. We are now nearing our destination. What is to be our fate God only knows.

Friday May 26th

Clear & hot till 1 P M when we had quite a nice thunder shower which cooled the air nicely. It showered late in the night We left old man B's [Branning's] at 7 AM & got into Jacksonville at

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35. George Ozias Branning, member of a pioneer family of this section of Florida, had a farm on Black Creek near which the public road crossed over the ferry.
 36. Middleburg, former county seat of Clay County, is located at the union of two branches which form the navigable Black Creek, a tributary of the St. Johns. According to tradition it was settled while Florida was an English colony, 1763-1783. Its Methodist Church, erected in 1848, is still standing. Before 1861 Middleburg was an important point for the shipping of cotton. It is 28 miles southwest of Jacksonville. Ft. Heileman, at the junction of the north and south forks of Black Creek, near Middleburg, was established in 1836 during the Seminole Indian War.
 37. Starke received its name from Madison Starke Perry, Governor of Florida, 1857-61. It was in New River County until 1862, at which time that part of the county in which it was located was changed to Bradford. It was in 1865 a town of several hundred people.

12 M. reported. registered & got rooms at the Taylor House³⁸ We are at once making arrangements to sell our horses John & El sold their mares at \$50 each. Today we have been subjected to a trial such as I had hoped never to have been called on to endure. We were halted by negro Pickets. taken to a tent where our names were registered by a negro Seargent. We were then stripped of our Revolvers (Bolbers)³⁹ & escorted into town to Hd Qts where our names were registered As we passed along into town the remarks of the negro soldiers were unendurable I feel disgraced & degraded but it is of no use The whole country lies prostrate & it is but little use to kick unaided against the breaks. We meet here quite a character named McCall, a Bean Hickman who in less than an hour got \$5 fr John [Scott] to buy whisky which up to bed time John has not seen

Saturday May 27th

Clear & pleasant. This morning we went to the Provost Marshalls office & were referred to the Dist Hd Qts Here we were refused Paroles & asked to call in the afternoon. We called at 4 P M & still refused but offered the oath of allegiance which we declined taking & the Gen [Israel Vogdes] told us to file an application in writing. We concluded afterwards to take the oath & will see the Gen tomorrow. We are tolerably comfortable, at the Hotel.

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38. The Taylor House was probably more of a boarding house than a hotel. It seems to have survived the fire of 1863 by which the Federals destroyed that part of Jacksonville. The Carleton Hotel was built in 1876 on the site of the Taylor House. See T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity* (The Florida Historical Society, Jacksonville, Florida, 1925), 89, 151, 487, 490.
39. Probably the negro mispronunciation of revolvers. It does not appear likely that the Confederates would have been able to conceal over \$2,000 in gold sovereigns on their persons, or that they would have attempted to do so realizing they would more than likely be searched. Did they bury their gold in Florida as Capt. Clark did?

No chance of getting off on a boat though for some days

Sunday May 28th

Clear & cool. Everyone here says very cold for the season. Went round to the Gen's this morning & to our surprise were refused to be allowed to take the oath. He stated no reasons for so strange a course but gave us a pass & transportation to Hilton Head & orders to the P. [Provost] M. [Marshall] Gen to whom we are to report [There is an unexplained break of three days in the diary here]

Thursday June 1st

Clear hot day but some breeze blowing Summer is on us hot & piping & we are longing to get off on our Northern trip Since Sunday the daily routine has been so monotonous that my diary must be the same We had all sold our Horses at \$50 apiece We have sat in the balcony of the Hotel just outside of our room door longing for a boat disgusted with the sight of negro soldiers which are never out of sight. We find of course no congeniality among any of the Yankee officers & so confine ourselves to our own crowd We find here an elegant, accomplished & educated gentleman, Mr. Holmes who has been a prisoner here until recently He has interested us all by his conversation. Major May [?] of the C.S.A. is also among our party (paroled)

Saturday June 3rd

Yesterday & today have been alike clear & hot & sultry Nothing new We were to go off yesterday about 9 am but the boat was stopped to wait for Gen Scannon to come from Tallahassie & now it is said is to go to St Augustine before going to the head so there is no telling when we will get off The party here was increased yesterday by the arrival of Capt Alf Van B, Capt Emory & Mr Greene of Va. They came on foot from Baldwin where

they were paroled They go with us to the Head
& thence in different ways home.

Wednesday June 7th

Clear & warm Today the monotony of our life has been changed. On Monday evening the steamer *Coit* came in from Hilton Head Yesterday she went to St Augustine for troops & came back at 11 am with the 17th Regt of Reg. At 4 pm she left for Hilton Head All of us taking passage at \$5 1/2 The boat was much crowded & bad accomodations We went down by sunset to the mouth of the River & the tide not being high enough to get over the Bar we were compelled to remain all night at anchor inside We leave Jacksonville without any regrets as our sojourn here has been very tiresome indeed Mr. Homes is all we leave with sorrow The negro Garrison and all its concomitants is awful

Thursday June 8th

Clear & hot Left anchorage at daylight & at 8 am called in at Fernandina for passengers & mails. This is an old antediluvian town built on the sand Just before reaching it we pass Fort Chinch at the mouth of St Marys River Remained an hour.

* * *

The steamer *Coit* which carried Tilghman and his three fellow Marylanders from Jacksonville past what Tilghman described as the "old antediluvian town" of Fernandina, where they had stopped an hour, docked at Hilton Head at the mouth of the Broad River on the South Carolina coast about forty miles northeast of Savannah on the evening of June 8, 1865. The next morning, still apprehensive of trouble, they reported to the office of Major General Q. A. Gillmore, who commanded the Federal forces of the Department of the South. They took the oath of allegiance to the United States June

10, and that afternoon secured transportation on the S. S. *Haze* (which Tilghman said rocked "terribly") to New York. Scott remained there but the others went on to Baltimore and then to their homes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Tilghman, writer of this diary, reached his ancestral "Plimbimmon" plantation in Talbot County, June 24, 1865.⁴⁰

40. William L. Stone in an address before the Theta Delta Chi Fraternity in New York on October 21, 1880 made the following reference to Tilghman:

"The last convention [of Theta Delta Chi] Tilghman attended was the one held at the Astor House in this city in the spring of 1867. He had come to attend it from the southern portion of Maryland at no little inconvenience to himself; and his suggestions and enthusiasm on that occasion did much toward kindling anew the embers of zeal for the fraternity - - - - A few days after being greatly interested in the publication of the catalogue (for which, by the way, he contributed, out of funds by no means ample) he called at my office for the purpose of giving me the names of several of the fraternity who had died during the war - - - - That very afternoon he left the city and returned south, apparently in the flush of health. The same night, however, of his arrival home, he was awakened suddenly by a violent hemorrhage of the lungs; and with the single remark to his wife 'Darling, I am dying', he fell back on his pillow and expired."

Stone incorrectly described Tilghman as "Chief-of-Staff during the late war to Jefferson Davis" and spoke of Tilghman's part in the collapse of the Confederacy as follows:

"On the morning of Mr. Davis's capture, Tilghman waited upon him at his bedside and said: 'Mr. Davis, by this map, you may see that the enemy are here; such and such is the situation of the roads. If you come with me, you will be able to leave the country in safety. If you do not, you will be captured in five hours.' To [which] Mr. Davis replying curtly [said] that he knew his own business best', Tilghman continued, 'Very well, sir; I have been entrusted with the treasure and archives, and propose to secure them, even at the peril of the loss of your favor and of my life. I shall start at once, by the route I have marked out.'

"The result is well known. In less than five hours. Mr. Davis was a prisoner; but the *archives* were safe. When, a few days after, in the recesses of the forest, Tilghman learned that all was lost, he alone, with his own hands, buried the treasure and archives; and unless, during the four days that have elapsed between parting with me and his untoward death, he revealed the spot, the secret as to the whereabouts of the Confederate archives is forever buried. . . ." See *The Shield*, Theta Delta Chi Press, Champaign, Ill., December, 1923, Vol. XL, No. 2, 134-135.

THE MILITARY OCCUPATION
OF BRITISH WEST FLORIDA, 1763

By C. N. HOWARD

The military occupation by the British troops of the former French and Spanish forts on the Gulf coast to the east of New Orleans was a movement of continental as well as of local importance. The twentieth article of the Treaty of Paris, 1763, had ceded to His Britannic Majesty all of the French territory to the east of the Mississippi river, except the port of New Orleans and the delta, and all of the Spanish territory of Florida, which extended westward to the Perdido river.

The province of West Florida, to include the posts of Pensacola and Mobile, was erected by the proclamation of October 7, 1763.¹ It was bounded on the east by the Apalachicola river, on the west by Lake Pontchartrain, the Iberville river and the Mississippi river, and on the north by the thirty-first degree parallel. The northern boundary was raised in 1764 by an Order in Council to a straight line running east from the junction of the Yazoo river and the Mississippi river, and intersecting the Apalachicola river. It was, from its beginning, a royal colony, and it was also, a fact of considerable import, the first British colony to be established west of the Appalachian mountains.²

1. The text of this proclamation appears in the *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, III. (4) 36-42. Vide, C. E. Carter, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, 365-369; J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, I, 92, note; *Calendar of Home Office Papers for the Reign of George III*, I, 27.

2. The plan, as it was evolved by Egremont, Halifax, Shelburne, and others, of the extension of royal colonial government into the west, the purchase of Indian lands and the eventual reservation of certain lands for the Indians, was later followed to a marked degree by the United States government in its territorial government and its purchase and reservation of Indian lands.

This fact put West Florida definitely into the pattern of royal colonial government. There were no earlier charters or precedents to be minimized or destroyed. Its location put it definitely into the stream of the Anglo-American westward movement. The question of the period of settlement was, whether the crown would precede the settlers on the frontier, or whether it would let them exploit the western lands in the old individualistic fashion. There is no mistaking that the crown decided distinctly for crown control of westward expansion.

The military occupation of this territory was, therefore, in accordance with the establishment of this province, which fulfilled the long-projected plans of the British to obtain a port upon the gulf. At least as early as 1718 definite plans had been presented to the privy council for the acquisition of a gulf port, which, it was considered, would derive great benefits from the Spanish trade. The British trading interest in the Caribbean was closely linked on the north with the movement of settlement on to the gulf coast and into the old southwest.³ The continental importance of the military occupation of West Florida lay in the fact that the province was used as a southern base of attack in the British two-year campaign of reconquest of the eastern Mississippi region and the Ohio valley from the Indians of Pontiac's uprising.

The movement of the British to take possession of the province was not long delayed. The final peace dated from February 10, 1763. On April 18 the Earl of Egremont notified the secretary at war

3. H. E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable land*; V. W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier; Some Considerations on the Consequences of the French Settling Colonies on the Mississippi, with Respect to the Trade and Safety of the English Plantations in America*, from a Gentleman of America, to his Friend in London, 1720.

of the dispatch to the American military command of final orders to take possession of the newly ceded provinces.⁴

The operation of occupation was directed from Havana, the base seized by the British from the Spanish during the Seven Years War. It was Havana which the British crown returned to Spain in exchange for the territory of Florida. On July 3 General Keppel at Havana handed instructions for the occupation of Pensacola to Lieutenant Colonel Prevost and supplied him with three thousand pounds sterling for expenses, and with provisions for the sea-passage and for six months of occupation.

Colonel Prevost was to proceed with the Third Battalion of His Majesty's Royal American Regiment of Foot to receive the surrender of Fort San Miguel de Pensacola with all its dependencies from the Spanish governor.⁵ In pursuance of his orders Colonel Prevost set sail from Havana on July 6 with the third battalion under his command. Contrary winds delayed his arrival at Pensacola until August 6. A month was consumed in a voyage which in later times with the use of steam and electric power would not require more than two days.

4. *P. R. O., Sp. Dom., E. B.*, 196, 27-28.

5. The story of the Spanish evacuation of Pensacola has been told by W. H. Siebert. He has drawn upon materials from the Archives of the Indies. He records Prevost's departure from Havana as July 10; that he was supplied with 3000 livres; that he arrived on August 5. There appear to be discrepancies between these records and the British records. The number of men under Prevost's command is recorded as 350. The frigate *Richmond* convoyed the fleet of four transports. The number of inhabitants under Spanish rule is given as 772, including 102 Catholic Indians who left with the Spaniards. Prevost recorded it as 1200, but Professor Siebert surmises that he was including his own forces in this count. All of the Spanish subjects left Pensacola upon its occupation by the British, save one, who was detained for a short time as custodian of the cargo of a wrecked sloop. Vide, *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5, 582; W. H. Siebert, "How the Spanish Evacuated Pensacola in 1763," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, XI, no. 2, 48-57.

The first British port upon the gulf is worthy of a moment's description. Pensacola in 1763 was a small village consisting of about one hundred huts encircled by a stockade. It was situated upon the northern shore of its very large harbor approximately ten miles from the sea. The entrance to the harbor was somewhat difficult of navigation for inexperienced pilots because the long island of Santa Rosa formed a breakwater across the mouth of the harbor leaving a channel scarcely four fathom deep, at the extreme western end. This channel twisted like the bend of the letter S. Bayous and lagoons with sand-barred mouths lay on either side of the bay. Upon the point of Santa Rosa on the eastern shore of the harbor's entrance was a small square stockaded fort with two guns in it, which the Spaniards had maintained rather as a signal than as an actual defense. About eleven miles above Pensacola just south of the spot where the Escambia river flows into the northwestern fork of Pensacola bay was the site of the village later established by the British and named Campbelltown.

The country around Pensacola remained still uncultivated at the time that the British took it over, a fact which Colonel Prevost attributed to the insuperable laziness of the Spaniards. The woods had been cleared only a short distance away from the village and the Spaniards had contented themselves with a few domestic gardens for their own use. The soil about Pensacola was sandy but capable of producing as excellent vegetables as are grown in many of our seaside gardens today. Some miles back from the shore the land was better. Colonel Prevost felt that the land was capable of any improvement, but that only years and a number of industrious settlers could make a change upon the then existing face of the colony. There was no

stock about Pensacola, for the Spaniards had been entirely supplied with beef from Mobile, a settlement which the British officers found better cultivated and producing enough for a small export. Game was plentiful in the surrounding forests, and Pensacola bay was abounding in quantities of good fish of different kinds. Of such sort was the not unpromising though undeveloped settlement of Pensacola in 1763.

With no waste of time after an unavoidable delay of a month on the voyage, Colonel Prevost upon his arrival immediately waited upon the Spanish governor, Don Diego Ortiz Parilla, delivered the letters from the court of Spain and demanded the surrender of the place. The Spanish governor readily acknowledged the letters from the court of Spain and handed over the authority of the settlement to Colonel Prevost. He and his garrison did not depart until September 2. The governor-general of the West Indies, the Count de Riola, had not provided sufficient transports for the retiring troops and inhabitants, and while waiting for the arrival of these transports Colonel Prevost was obliged to disembark and canton his troops in some huts without the stockades. The expected transports arrived within a few days, but to Colonel Prevost's disgust "the numerous Stores they had to put on board together with their indolence, even though assisted by the man of war & Troops, detained the Embarkation 'till the 2d of September, & next day they Sailed for Vera Crux." ⁶

The Indians were numerous and near to Pensacola. They were for the most part Choctaws and Creeks. Within the few days after the departure of the Spaniards some two hundred individuals of

6. *P. R. O., C. O., 5,582.*

the five different nations visited Colonel Prevost and the British garrison. Prevost did not have it in his power to make them any present, but he gave them some rum with which they appeared satisfied. At their departure they assured the British of their peaceable intentions and promised to return soon with some of their principal warriors. They asked only that during their absence their young men should not be "insulted" by the garrison troops and when Colonel Prevost very readily agreed to this commitment they departed, leaving white feathers with the British in token of their friendly intentions. However at this time Colonel Prevost wrote to the secretary at war "as I since learn of their Crueltys lately committed in America and putting no great confidence in their promises, I shall put this place in the best situation the Time and weakness of the Battalion will allow to prevent any Surprise." Prevost was referring, of course, to Pontiac's outbreak the news of which reached England early in August. The visiting Indians included Tallapoosas, Apiskas, Creeks and Chickasaws. By way of strengthening himself, Prevost had the woods cleared some distance from the fort. He needed more artillery, so he borrowed six cannon from a merchant, and he hoped to obtain more from the frigate *Richmond*, which had convoyed him thither, and from a Captain Douglas who had promised him some.⁷

While Colonel Prevost was occupying Pensacola, provision was being made for the occupation of the rest of the territory of eastern Louisiana and Florida. On July 19 General Keppel, still at Havana, issued instructions to Major Ogilvie and Major Farmar for the occupation of Saint Augustine and

7. Vide, *P. R. O.; C. O.*; 5,582 ; W. H. Siebert, *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, XI, no. 2, 48-57.

Mobile. To Major Ogilvie, who was to effect the transfer of Saint Augustine he wrote in a postscript to his instructions : "On your Arrival at St Augustin you will be able to judge, of the most practicable method to relieve the Garrison of Pensacola, and if upon enquiry it proves impossible to do it by Land, without greatly fatiguing the Troops, then in that case you are to hire a Vessel and Charter her agreeable to the usual Custom, and embarking such detachments as you think proper to send; they are to proceed directly to Pensacola which Vessel by her charter must engage to take ye present Garrison of that Fort (exclusive of the Detachment of Artillery) aboard and carry them to New York." ⁸

At the same time General Keppel issued instructions, dated July nineteenth, to Major Farmar for the occupation of the French post of Mobile, which was really the entrepot of West Florida and the gateway to all the territory of the old southwest, the country bounded roughly by the Apalachian mountains, the Ohio river and the Mississippi river, just as New Orleans because of the superior advantages of its water-borne traffic was the natural southern outlet of the Ohio valley and the old northwest territory. In particular did Mobile drain the valleys of the Alabama and the Tombigbee rivers and command at this time a heavy trade in peltry. Some five years after the British took it over, its commerce demanded at least the annual visit of a two-hundred ton vessel filled with British manufactures and carrying skins back to London. ⁹

Major Farmar was instructed to proceed with Gage's and Cavendish's, the 22nd and 34th regiments, to take possession of ". . . the River & Port of Mobile, and of all that France possesses on the

8. **P. R. O., C. O.**, 5,582.

9. P. J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 2d. edn., 1910, 259, note.

Left side of the River Mississippi, except New Orleans. . .” He was equipped with the necessary letters from the court of France and was authorized to use his judgment in adjusting arrangements to conditions and to draw necessary bills upon the lords of the treasury. Inasmuch as supplies then at Havana were insufficient for the full equipment, the expedition was directed to call at Jamaica where it would be supplemented on the order of Rear Admiral Keppel from the naval stores there. Undoubtedly much of this struggle is emphatically a Caribbean and Gulf struggle. Spain conducted her evacuation from Havana ; France, hers, from Santo Domingo; and the British base was Jamaica.¹⁰

When he had completed his provisioning at Jamaica station Major Farmar detached from the expedition and sent on ahead two small vessels lent by Rear Admiral Keppel and loaded with three hundred barrels of powder and other artillery stores. These small vessels were under the command of Captain Farmar of the Twenty-second regiment who carried a letter to the French governor of Mobile asking his permission to unlade them before the arrival of the main body of the expedition in order that they might be used in landing the troops and baggage that were in the big transport which drew too much water to cross the bar.¹¹ The main expedition was convoyed from Jamaica station by H.M.S. “Stag” commanded by Captain William Bayne, whom Major Farmar records as being of every service to them.

Farmar and the main body of the expedition dropped anchors in Pensacola harbor on September

10. *Vide, P. R. O., C. O.*, 5,582; A. S. Aiton, “Spanish Colonial Reorganization Under the Family Compact,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XII, no. 3, 269-280.

11. *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5,582.

20. On the next day he despatched Captain John Lind with a letter of authorization to Captain Pierre Nicolos Annibel Chevalier, Sieur de Ville, (or Develle), in command at Mobile, notifying that officer that Captain Lind was empowered on his behalf to make all the necessary preliminary arrangements for the transfer of all the posts and forts east of the Mississippi. He requested that Captain De Ville would forbid for the time being any sale of land or properties to English subjects by the French in the event that these sales might, he said, prove prejudicial to the French.¹² He could admit no such transactions to be valid which should take place before the actual occupation of the province by the British troops. It would seem probable that American land speculators were not unknown to Major Farmar!

As early as July 5 Major Farmar had received a letter from M. De Kerlerec, the governor-general of Louisiana, in which that official urged Farmar to come to New Orleans to consider with him "the movements which the Savages pretend to make for to oppose you, if at least one may believe their designs". The governor continued: "by the most wise reflections, which we will Consert, the respective conduct we ought to hold for to prevent the ends above explained, and to make known to the Indians, the forced dependence, and the necessity in which our common Interest ought to keep them". M. Kerlerec added: "Messrs Develle and Fazend, Commander and Commissary at Mobile, has order to furnish you with everything necessary depending on their Department that is to say if you don't love better to make use of your own Carriages, after demanding of them the usual Customs".

12. *Ibid.*

Captain Lind carried, beside the letter to M. De Ville at Mobile, a letter to M. Kerlerec, and Instructions from the French court regarding the cession. Major Farmar instructed him to proceed to New Orleans to Governor Kerlerec in case that the lieutenant governor at Mobile should have no definite orders regarding the evacuation. Precisely this proved true and Captain Lind continued his journey to New Orleans where he found Governor Kerlerec somewhat out of sorts, with all of his effects packed up, and expecting to leave for France any day.¹³ He received Captain Lind pleasantly but was forced by the circumstances of his imminent departure to hand over the more serious duties of hospitality to an official envoy to his successor, M. D'Abbadie.¹⁴

Upon Lind's return M. Kerlerec entrusted to his care letters to M. De Ville, Lieutenant governor and commandant at Mobile, and to Major Farmar. In the latter, letter he explained that although M. De Ville had had from him provisional orders concerning the transfer and evacuation, he would now despatch him a more definite order. The commandants at Alibamoux, Tombecbe, Natchez and the Illinois posts had their orders. The occupation of the Illinois posts might best be accomplished by river between January and April, the high water season on the Mississippi. It would be feasible to establish a post at Natchez on the way up the river. But in all these matters it would be advisable and indeed almost imperative that he consult with M. D'Abbadie who would probably arrive in Mobile about the twenty-fifth of October for the conduct

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13. *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5,582. *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries*, ed. Nancy Maria Miller Surrey, I, *passim*.
 14. Royal director-general at New Orleans, with combined powers of governor and intendant; *Vide*, Surrey, *Calendar*, 1439, 1440; *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5,582; *infra*, note 19.

of the annual Indian congress. M. D'Abbadie was sending Major Farmar an explicit copy of the plans for the council. There were many other matters upon which Major Farmar might very beneficially consult M. D'Abbadie and he, Kerlerrec, could vouch for this upon eleven years experience as governor of Louisiana. It would therefore be most convenient if Major Farmar would arrange to arrive in Mobile at the same time as M. D'Abbadie. M. Kerlerrec concluded by saying that although Captain Lind seemed somewhat surprised that the French had dismantled and carried off most of the artillery from Fort Conde at Mobile, he must explain that such were their orders. The French military throughout Louisiana have always been very ill equipped with respect to arms and war-like stores. The store of powder in the province has been practically exhausted and the French officials flatter themselves that the English will spare them some in the event of an emergency.

As a matter of historical fact this issue of the state of the French muniments at the time of the surrender of the various forts brought forth much controversy. Farmar wrote : "On my Arrival here I found 6 Cannon lying in the Covert Way with their Trunnions knock'd of, & render'd entirely useless, for which reason I suffer'd them to be carried off, the Carriages were put together without the Works, some of them appear'd to be new, the Evening the French Troops sailed from hence, unknown to me, they set them on fire." The controversy may be traced at some length in the French and British archives. Some of the revelant docu-

ments have been included in various of the published collections.¹⁵

Captain Lind returned to Mobile on the evening of October 14, where he met Major Farmar who had meanwhile arrived off Mobile harbor on October 9. When passing Fort Conde upon his way to join the main convoy of troops, which, under Major Farmar's command reached Point Mobile that evening, Captain Lind delivered Governor Kerlerec's letter to M. De Ville. In reply, then, to Major Farmar's letter, M. De Ville, having read Governor Kerlerec's letter, wrote briefly declaring his accord with the governor's suggestion that Major Farmar defer his arrival in Mobile until the arrival of M. D'Abbadie on October 25. Which would considerably ease the business of transfer and evacuation.

Meanwhile Captain Farmar in command of the advance convoy of the two powder ships had been unable to carry out his orders without a hitch because M. De Ville, the French lieutenant governor, would not permit the British to land their powder until he was assured that he might at any time remove from the magazine of Fort Conde twenty-eight barrels of powder belonging to the French crown and intended as presents to the Indians who were just then gathering for an annual congress.

As a result of the delay in unloading the small vessels, the main convoy arrived off Point Mobile on October 9 to find that the small vessels were in the inner harbor by the fort and not at the bar where they were needed. They came down, however, to Point Mobile on the evening of the four-

15. The Military Papers of Major Farmar, *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5,582; *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, ed., C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, X; *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-1766, The British Dominion*, I, ed., Dunbar Rowland; *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775*, ed., C. E. Carter, I.

teenth and on the sixteenth three of the troop ships got over the bar because they drew less water than the large transport.

On the eighteenth Major Farmar, Major Loftus, Captain Bayne and Captain Lind landed at the Fort upon the invitation of M. De Ville. They were civilly received by the lieutenant governor and his aides, but no lodgings or billets were assigned to them. De Ville pressed the British officers very strenuously to keep their troops on board the transports until after October 27, when the Indian congress would be concluded. He had hoped that Major Farmar would accept M. Kerlerec's suggestion and defer his arrival at Mobile at least until October 25 when M. D'Abbadie was expected. But since Major Farmar had left Pensacola without waiting for a reply to his letter sent by Captain Lind, M. De Ville apparently felt that the next best step was to retain the British troops on board ship until the Indians had departed. On his part Major Farmar represented to the French officials that further confinement on board ship would be injurious to his men and with some apparent reluctance M. De Ville consented to evacuate Fort Conde on the twentieth.

This arrangement was carried out, and the grenadiers of the two British regiments took possession of the French post on the twentieth.¹⁶ A *procès-verbal* acknowledging the delivery and receipt of authority over that part of Louisiana which was ceded to the British crown by the French crown

16. *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5,582.

was signed by De Ville,¹⁷ Fazende,¹⁸ and D'Abbadie,¹⁹ for France and Robert Farmar²⁰ for Great Britain.²¹ In addition to the usual acknowledgment of the cession and transfer of authority, the *proces-verbal* contained a specific though not detailed inventory of Fort Conde and its state of repair and disrepair. Major Farmar later made a careful inventory of the fort, which he was careful to include in his report to the secretary at war.

Although the grenadiers took possession of Fort Conde on the twentieth, the landing of the British troops was no easy task. The transports were unable to come nearer than within twelve miles of the town, and much time was consumed in landing the men. They had only the transport boats and a very heavy launch which Captain Bayne had brought with him from Pensacola, to transport the men from the ships to the fort. The result was that the Indians, who had been invited to the congress five months before by the French, had assembled at the Mobile post before the British could bring their cannon and stores up to the fort. By the first of November nearly three thousand Indians were encamped within two miles of the fort.

The French troops left Mobile for New Orleans on October 22. Major Farmar had already made

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17. Pierre Annibal Develle Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et militaire de St. Louis, Lieutenant de Roi Commandant du Port de la Mobile.
 18. Rene Jean Gabriel Fazende faisant fonctions d'ordonnateur au dit lieu en consequence des ordres que nous avons recus de Mrs. Kerlerec, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et militaire du St. Louis, etc.
 19. Dabbadie commissaire general de la marine ordonnatuer en la ditte Province.
 20. Robert Farmar, named by His Brittanic Majesty to command the Port of Mobile and its dependencies and that part of Louisiana ceded in Consequence of the Seventh Article of the Definitive Treaty of Peace concluded at Versailles, the Tenth of February, etc.
 21. The text and the French translation of the *proces-verbal* are published in *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5,582.

appointments among his officers for a temporary staff for the fort at Mobile. Captain John Farmar of the Twenty-second regiment was appointed Fort Major and Captain Lind became Fort Adjutant. A master gunner with three men from each regiment to assist him, since there were no artillerymen among the troops, was appointed. Lieutenant Lindsay, an artillery officer of the Twenty-second (Gage's) regiment was appointed to superintend the landing and mounting of the cannon. Lieutenant Henry of the Thirty-fourth regiment was charged as barrack master. Captain Farmar added the keeping of the ordnance stores to his duties as fort major and Captain Lind served as surveyor of the works in lieu of an engineer. Lieutenant Lancelot Hilton became secretary. Mr. Richard Power was made commissary of provisions, Edward Burt, master gunner, and Sergeant William Kendrick, port sergeant.²² This staff under Major Farmar's command immediately took charge of the fort at Mobile on October 20.

The same day Major Farmar issued a manifesto at Mobile to the inhabitants of British Louisiana. All suits in civil cases conducted under the French civil law were to be suspended at once by both parties and the cases referred *pro tempore* to the commandant of the local post, if the matter be trivial. The judge advocate (deputy) of the post at Mobile had been appointed by Farmar to assist him in such

22. An order from General Gage restricted the staff of each fort in the province to a barrack-master and an adjutant. This was to minimize the expense of the empire military establishment. *Vide, P. R. O., C. O.*, 5,582; *Calendar of Home Office Papers for the Reign of George III*, I, 148; *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, I, XI, 129, 130; 208-218; *P. R. O., Sp. Dom., E. B.* 191. 42.

cases.²³ This was direct military government, but military government was then the only government in the province. This was, of course, actually true, although the civil government had legally been set up by the Proclamation of October 7. One of the many later controversies of Governor Johnstone with the military authorities centered around the governor's claim to review cases which had been passed upon by the military judges before his arrival in the province, on the ground that his authority began with the date of his commission, and not with his arrival in Pensacola. The military judges declared that appeal lay only to the Privy Council.

All landed estates and all complaints in land cases were to be recorded not more than a year from the issuance of the manifesto, and disposal of lands or real property was not permissible until the title had been verified and approved by the commanding officer. The governor and council set the final time limit for the handing in of land titles and sales for consideration as January 1, 1765.²⁴ French inhabitants who wished to remain might take the oath of allegiance at Mobile within the next three months.²⁵ Later delay meant dispossession and ex-

23. Hamilton says that in 1767 Haldimand found the laws of West Florida to be an astonishing mixture of French and English. Presumably this refers to civil law. *Vide*, Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 258-259 ; Carter, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IV, 314-341.

24. *Minutes of the Council of the Province of West Florida*, P. R. O., C. O., 5:632.

25. One hundred and twelve of the French took the oath before the end of the military period. Most of these were accorded land grants upon petition. The French seem to have had little objection to staying if they were guaranteed a reasonable personal and religious freedom. The Spanish professed a fear that the faith of their colonists would be contaminated under an alien government and church. *Vide*, *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5:632; Siebert, *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, XI, no. 2, 48-57.

pulsion. Frenchmen who wished to leave the province might do so in accordance with the terms of the peace treaty. The manifesto was to be read in the parishes four consecutive Sundays, was to be posted on the church doors and in other public places. The manifesto was dated from Mobile "the present seat of the English government in Louisiana, this twentieth day of October, 1763 :"
(Donnees a Mobile le present siege du Gouvernement Anglais dans la Louisiane ce vingtieme jour d'Octobre 1763.) The territory during the military, occupation was strictly regarded as former French and Spanish territory, without regard to the fact that both were included in the Province of West Florida by the Proclamation of October 7. The royal proclamation establishing the government had been issued on that date, but news of it had not yet reached the gulf coast.

At the same time that Fort Conde was taken over by Major Farmar it was renamed by him Fort Charlotte in honor of the young queen of England, Toulouse was abandoned temporarily, Fort Tombecbe was renamed York; and a jack and an ensign, borrowed from one of the transports, betokened British sovereignty in the new country. Hamilton adds a very colorful item to the surrender of Mobile. "As the lilies of France descended, a regiment of Highlanders from Pensacola entered, it is said, under Colonel Robertson, to the music of bagpipes, and a royal salute greeted the British flag as it was flung to the breeze." Other writers have followed approximately the same story. There appears, however, to be little substantiation for it. The nearest approach to a highland regiment at Mobile was Farmar's own regiment, the Thirty-fourth, which was a Cumberland regiment. It is possible that members of this regiment, which was

recruited largely, perhaps, in the north of England, were highlanders, but the regiment does not appear in official lists as a highland regiment. The records also show that Colonel Robertson did not arrive in Mobile until almost a month after the surrender of the post to Major Farmar.

The year 1763 included four important events in North America: the evacuation of Havana, the occupation of the gulf coast, the driving out of the British from the Illinois country and the lakes region, and the organization of the imperial troops in North America under a unified command on a peace basis. The last-named movement involved the older colonies particularly, for it compelled the raising of the old quarrel which had been contested during the late war. There was no help for it. A colonial union which did not come about voluntarily in defense against the enemy was forced upon the imperial government by the provisions of that treaty.

If the great valley was to be reconquered from the Indians who had driven the English out in 1763, it was necessary that a force should come from the south to join an expedition down the Ohio at Fort Chartres. Hence, the military of West Florida were concerned during the early winter in preparations for such an expedition, and in February 1764 a fleet of eleven craft under Major Loftus started up the Mississippi from New Orleans; but an ambuscade with the loss of a few men soon turned them back. General Gage was insistent, and after holding a

26. *Vide*, Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 217; Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi*, 253-254; *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, I, 7, 14-15, 24; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131; Carter, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IV, 314 *et seq.*; Robert Beatson, *A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland*, II, 209, 210, 220, 231, 232, 247.

congress with generous gifts to placate the Indians and with more careful preparations and a skilful commander, Major Farmar, an expedition from the south at length reached Fort Chartres in December 1765. But meanwhile Louisiana had been ceded to Spain.

THE DISSTON LAND PURCHASE *

By **T. FREDERICK DAVIS**

To understand the importance of the Disston land purchase to the development of Florida it is necessary to consider the conditions in the state antecedent and relative.

At the close of the Civil War President Andrew Johnson appointed Judge William Marvin of Key West provisional governor of Florida ; he was a conservative Union man, long-time resident of the state and had the confidence of the people. The governor issued a proclamation calling an election for delegates to a convention that would be empowered to organize a new state government in accordance with the President's Amnesty proclamation. Only those qualified to vote at the time the state withdrew from the Union were entitled to vote in this election. The election was held, and the delegates assembled at Tallahassee in October 1865. They adopted a constitution providing for a state election in that year, at which David S. Walker, a Southerner, was elected governor. Before vacating his office Governor Marvin issued an appeal to lay aside revengeful feelings and institute a just and reasonable policy in the reestablishment of civil government. He was opposed to granting suffrage to the freedmen at this time. Governor Walker upon inauguration expressed the same ideas and recommended the rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment as it would virtually disfranchise most of the intelligent people of the South. The legislature refused to ratify the amendment as it saw with unclouded vision, as did other Southern legislatures, the chaos that would result were the freedmen allowed to vote so soon after emancipation.

*Read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society at St. Petersburg, January 25, 1938.

Dissatisfied with the logic of the Southern legislatures, a radical majority in Congress in 1866 passed over the President's veto an act providing for virtually a military dictatorship for the South, notwithstanding the President's assurance that the South was making good progress in establishing civil government. This was followed the next year by the so-called "reconstruction" act, likewise passed over the President's veto, which enfranchised the negro and in effect disfranchised nearly all Southern white men.

These acts opened the way for the domination of the South by adventurers that came down from the North in swarms, not with the intent to remain, but merely to feed on the substance of a prostrate and defenseless people. Combining with a few "scalawags", and some leading negroes to act as decoys for the rest, they controlled all elections or else prevented elections from being held. They assumed the function of all offices, including the courts of justice, and in some places even ran the churches. There was no show of truth or honor about any of it; they were here for spoils and nothing else. These were the "carpetbaggers" - they have no other name whereby they are known in the South or elsewhere.

The carpetbag regime in Florida lasted almost ten years. It was a bitter mockery to the Southern people, but they bore it wisely, if not patiently. At last public sentiment in the North became crystallized against the despoiling of the fairest part of the country, with the result that the links forged by Congress began to rust and fall away. The negro at last discovering that he was being defrauded, lost interest in politics. The carpetbagger saw the handwriting on the wall and made ready to pack up for departure. To the Southerners these were hopeful signs; they marshalled their forces to wrest Florida

from their enemies and succeeded in 1876 in electing George F. Drew, a Northern man by birth and a Democrat; and this was hailed as a return of home rule in Florida.¹

There was also another class of Northerners that came to Florida in this period. They were of the conservative and best element of the North. Some were invalids seeking health. Many came to investigate with a view of establishing themselves in private business and pursuits. A few were rich playboys with Florida estates as a hobby. Numbers of them remained permanently and were highly respected citizens. They were not in sympathy with the carpetbagger activities and stood side by side with the Southern people in electing Mr. Drew.

Governor Drew upon taking office in 1877 was confronted by a depleted treasury with the state overwhelmed by debt. Figuratively, he rolled up his sleeves and went to work, reorganizing, coordinating, checking the leaks and backwash of the former administrations, Assessments upon taxable property were revised, generally downward, and, paradoxically as it may appear from the viewpoint of today, taxes during his administration were reduced from twelve and one-half to seven mills. Confidence took hold again in Florida after a lapse of many years. Governor Drew and a cooperating legislature brought about a great improvement in the state's general financial condition. But a vital factor in its development remained strangled by an insurmountable debt; this was the Internal Improvement Fund.

1. On conditions in Florida during the "reconstruction-carpet-bag" regime see: Samuel S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation, 1855-1885*, (1886) particularly pp. 624-26; John Wallace (colored), *Carpetbag Rule in Florida, The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government after the Close of the War* (1885); William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (1910).

The Internal Improvement Fund ²

By an act of Congress in 1841 provision was made for granting 500,000 acres of public lands to each new state admitted into the Union, for the purpose of internal improvements. The grant was made to Florida upon its admission in 1845, without restrictions. This act was supplemented in 1850 by another granting to the State of Florida all of the swamp and overflowed lands in the state then unsold (not including lands submerged under navigable waters), the fee simple to vest in the State upon patents issued by the United States and subject to the disposal of the legislature, with the provision that the proceeds derived from the sale or appropriation of the lands be applied exclusively to the purposes of reclaiming them by means of levees and drains. The number of acres thus accredited to Florida was estimated to be about fifteen million. ³

In 1855 the legislature of Florida passed an act vesting all of the unsold lands acquired by the State through the acts of Congress, together with the proceeds derived from the sale of these lands, in a fund to be known as the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida. This Fund was a trust, represented by the governor and four other state officials and their successors in office. It was a separate department of administration responsible for its own obligations and none of its assets were to be diverted to purposes other than those of the Fund, such as internal improvements, drainage, reclamation and settlement of land. The state was prohibited by the constitution from going to the financial aid of the Fund, either directly or by the

2. See Historical Sketches by Judge James B. Whitfield in *Compiled General Laws of Florida*, (H. B.. Skillman, Atlanta, 1927) Vol. 5. pp. 4778-79.
3. From later surveys the actual acreage was found to be in excess of twenty million.

issue of bonds. In short, it was a state department without state jurisdiction.

During the administrations preceding that of Governor Drew the Fund became hopelessly involved with claims, amounting in 1877 to some \$960,000. These claims tied up the affairs of the Fund, being in fact a mortgage upon the lands controlled by the Fund, and about 1880 an application was actually presented to the United States court for the foreclosure and sale of its lands, or a sufficient amount thereof, to satisfy the indebtedness-then, with the accrued interest, amounting to \$1,000,000 in round numbers. As we have seen, the general state government could do nothing in relieving the situation.

Several associations of wealthy men outlined offers to the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, all of them contingent however. John H. Fry offered to purchase 6,000,000 acres paying therefor all of the liabilities of the Fund (about 161/2 cents an acre for the land), and a promise to build a canal or ship railway across the peninsula. This offer was finally allowed to die without agreement. Henry S. Sanford and associates proposed certain developments, mainly in the Ocklawaha river valley ; Mr. Sanford dropped out and the negotiations were carried on for a time by Alexander St. Clair-Abrams but without a successful conclusion.

*The Disston Drainage Contract*⁴

Hamilton Disston and associates offered to reclaim by drainage an unspecified number of acres in the general vicinity of Lake Okeechobee, under certain conditions. He opened negotiations with the new trustees incident to the inauguration of Governor Bloxham in January 1881, and on the 31st

4. From the Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida.

of that month an agreement was entered into between the trustees of the Fund and Mr. Disston and associates William H. Wright, Whitfield H. Drake and Albert B. Linderman all of Philadelphia, William C. Parsons of Arizona, and Ingham Coryell of Florida. A formal contract was drawn February 26, 1881, and approved by all parties on March 10th. Under the contract Disston and associates agreed at their own expense and charge "to drain and reclaim by draining all overflowed lands in the State of Florida practicable and lying south, of Township 23 [afterwards amended to read Township 24]⁵ and east of Peace Creek, belonging to the State of Florida or said Internal Improvement Fund, now subject to overflow by Lake Okeechobee, the Kissimmee river and its branches, and the lakes contiguous to said river whose waters now flow into, or can be made to flow into, said river or into Lake Okeechobee, or into the Caloosahatchie river, or Miami river, or other outlets, by cuts or canals. . . ."⁶ The contract carried no cash consideration, except \$5000 to be deposited as a binding bond. When 200,000 acres had been reclaimed and fit for cultivation the trustees were to deed to Disston and associates the alternate sections of land so reclaimed, and thereafter deeds were to be given as the work progressed.

On July 20, 1881, with the consent of the trustees of the I. I. Fund, Disston and associates incorporated as "The Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okeechobee Land Company", which assumed the contract without amendment. The corporation issued 600,000 shares of stock at \$10 a share.

During the winter of 1881-1882 two of the company's dredges were put to work in the vicinity of

5. The southern limit of T. 24 is about three miles north of Kissimmee.

6. The western limits of the district were afterwards changed to definite boundaries.

Lake Okeechobee, where nature's sounds were broken for the first time by the clank and clatter of steam-driven machinery, and the Seminoles of the Everglades sensed the sacrifice of their last retreat to the white man's advancing civilization.

*The Disston Land Purchase*⁷

What is known in history as the "Disston Land Purchase" was a separate and distinct transaction from the drainage contract and the two should not be confused.

The drainage contract carried no cash consideration beyond the \$5000 binder, consequently the debt against the I. I. Fund was not effected thereby. In connection with this debt Governor Bloxham personally visited Hamilton Disston in Philadelphia and there is evidence that this visit was designed for the purpose of seeking Mr. Disston's direct aid in behalf of the Fund. Upon his return to Florida Governor Bloxham announced that a tentative arrangement had been made with Mr. Disston whereby he had agreed to buy enough of the lands controlled by the I. I. Fund at twenty-five cents an acre to satisfy its indebtedness. The result of this was a formal contract dated June 1, 1881, between the trustees of the I. I. Fund and Mr. Disston for the sale of 4,000,000 acres at twenty-five cents an acre or \$1,000,000, which was the estimated total indebtedness of the Fund at that time. Mr. Disston was authorized to make his selections of land in bodies

7. Consult : *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida*, 1879 to 1883 (primary source) ; *Journal of the Senate (Florida)*, 1883 ; R. H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, (Edited by Francis P. Fleming) 1902; Caroline Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida*, (Edited by James Alexander Robertson), 1924; Tallahassee Floridian, September 5, 1882 (contains an excellent narrative account of the I. I. Fund and the Disston purchase; *The Disston Sale and The State Finances*, (pamphlet), speech by Gov. Bloxham, Aug. 26, 1884.

of 10,000 acres up to 3,500,000, the remainder to be selected in tracts of 640 acres if so desired. The contract specified only the class of lands patented to the State under the act of 1850, popularly called "swamp lands", of which some 12,500,000 acres remained unsold.

The terms of the contract required a down payment of \$200,000 and the balance at stated intervals, the whole to be paid on or before January 1, 1882. Upon the initial payment 250,000 acres were to be deeded at once to Mr. Disston. The first payment, \$200,000 was to be made in currency of the United States; thereafter any legal obligation of the Fund would be acceptable at par as cash.

Mr. Disston signed the contract June 14, 1881, and on or before September 1 he had paid \$500,000, all in currency except about \$15,000 in coupons. The money was immediately put to work in satisfying the most pressing claims against the Fund. In anticipation of this, and thereby the release of lands for railroad grants, ten or more companies were already making preparation for railroad construction in Florida. Among them, and probably the most extensive, were interests represented by E. J. Reed. Through preliminaries not now definitely known, Reed and Disston arranged an inter-agreement affecting the Disston purchase contract, which is interesting as indirect evidence that the Disston land purchase was not a speculation, but was originally designed to rid the I. I. Fund of its burden.

On December 17, 1881 Hamilton Disston and Edward J. Reed of the County of Kent, England, entered into an agreement with the consent of the trustees of the I. I. Fund whereby Sir Edward (as he was known in England) was to complete the payments due under the Disston purchase contract, that was, \$500,000 not later than July 1, 1882 the

trustees having extended the time limit for final payment. Under the arrangement the payments were to be made directly to the Fund, in sums satisfactory to the trustees, and when so made were to be credited to the Disston purchase contract; acceptance of bona fide obligations of the Fund at par as cash still prevailed. When full payment had been made to the Fund, Reed was to receive from Disston 2,000,000 acres or one-half of the Disston purchase, to be selected as follows: Disston to first select 1,500,000 of the 4,000,000 acres, then Reed to select his 2,000,000 from the remainder in bodies of 10,000 acres.

Sir Edward made payments at irregular intervals and had not completed them at the time limit, July 1, 1882; however, further extension was granted by the trustees of the I. I. Fund.

On December 26, 1882 E. J. Reed deposited in the Bank of Jacksonville to the credit of the Internal Improvement Fund \$33,730, which was the full balance due under the Disston purchase contract for 4,000,000 acres.⁸ At the same time Reed requested the trustees of the Fund to deed directly to William B. Barnett of Jacksonville 500,000 of the 2,000,000 acres acquired by him through his contract with Disston, which was approved by the trustees, but their *Minutes* do not show that it was actually done. Of Sir Edward's total payments, about two-thirds was currency and the remainder adjudicated indebtedness of the Fund.

Final deeds were executed by the trustees of the I. I. Fund to Hamilton Disston on February 3, 1883; followed February 6, 1883 by a covenant warranting "indefeasible estate in fee simple" in Hamilton Disston covering all the lands conveyed by virtue of the Disston purchase contract of June 1, 1881.

8. *Minutes of Board of Trustees I. I. Fund*, December 26, 1882.

Thus the agreement of Mr. Disston was carried out in full, which wiped out the financial burdens that had been pressing down and retarding the internal improvement and thereby the development of Florida as a whole. It is said that he lost \$100,000 as a result of his deal with Sir Edward, but how is not explained.

All through the *Minutes of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund* runs a tone of appreciation of Hamilton Disston's benefaction and a fine spirit of cooperation with him in the unforeseen situations that arose in connection with the transaction.⁹

As soon as it became known that Hamilton Disston was taking a hand in restoring the I. I. Fund to its normal functions the effect was evident, so great was the confidence in his integrity and ability to carry out the undertaking. Railroads and other corporations that would be the beneficiaries through land grants by the Fund made their plans for immediate execution. Florida then embarked upon an era of railroad building and development not dreamed of before. But it was not a "boom" in the present sense of the term ; the development was substantial and due, having been held back by causes already explained.

Within four years from the time Mr. Disston's purposes became known, many millions of dollars from the North and from Europe were invested in Florida properties. Population increased rapidly. Taxable property doubled in value. More miles of railroad were built in proportion to population than

9. About 1882 efforts were made to form a new political party in Florida for the purpose of wresting the state government from the Democrats. Some of its propaganda was directed against the Disston purchase, none of which was founded in fact or reasonable deduction. It was simply political propaganda and nothing more.

in any other state of the Union. Large areas of swamp and overflowed lands were being drained and made ready for cultivation. Agriculture and fruit culture advanced hand in hand with the railroads as they opened up the wilderness, the citrus industry in the central portions of the peninsula in particular assuming much importance. Nor were these all ; every section of the state from Key West to Pensacola was benefited by the action of Mr. Disston.

Besides the first incorporation under the canal and drainage contract, Mr. Disston's holdings in Florida were represented by the Florida Land and Improvement Company and the Lake Butler Villa Company, with probably stock interest in some of the railroads. Through his land companies Florida continued to receive wide publicity throughout the United States and in Europe—a publicity that brought large numbers of settlers and untold thousands of visitors to the State, wherein was born the movement that grew through the years into the multitudes that make Florida their winter home today.

Hamilton Disston was the son of Henry Disston, one of the pioneers in the steel industry of Pennsylvania. He was associated with his father and brothers in the manufacture of the world-famous Disston saws. At one time he was personally interested in the development of mining properties in the far West. There, no doubt, he acquired the adventurous spirit that led him to Florida with the idea of reclaiming vast areas of waste land for the uses of civilization.

In the history of Florida's general development four names constitute the front rank—Yulee before the Civil war, and after the war Disston, Plant and Flagler in the order of their coming.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF FLORIDA
ARCHAEOLOGY TO THAT OF
MIDDLE AMERICA *

BY DORIS STONE

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Florida, as we all know, is a low coastal plain having as its principal element a limestone base, with its share of swamps and soft adhering mud which covers easily and in certain cases preserves. On the east and west coasts the environmental conditions differ from each other and from the peninsula itself, as well as from the entire southeastern area to which anthropologically it belongs, and from the rest of North America. On the western coast are the shell keys and coral reefs and not far distant on the eastern side, in addition to a few reefs, lie the mass of islands of the Bahamas and the Antilles. Indeed it is only forty miles from Gun Keys in the Bahamas to the Florida mainland. Geologically, therefore, with its coral and shell formations, Florida is analogous to the eastern coast of Middle America and to the West Indian inlands.

Added to this, we find on the eastern and primarily on the southern portions a curious mixture not of land, but of water elements. The waters surrounding the island groups and the regions to the south and west have long been utilized by traders who frequented what is now the Bahamas and the Antilles, as well as the coast of Yucatan and Spanish Honduras. We can say "long" and feel confident that we are not making an unjustifiable statement, for we have the very earliest reports to verify the existence of habitual interinsular and intercoastal trade at the time of the first advent of Europeans

*Read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society at St. Petersburg, January 25, 1938.

into the New World. When Columbus touched Guanahani Island, the natives began without any hesitation to give cotton skeins, parrots and darts in exchange for the glass beads and trinkets of the Spaniards. Afterwards, when what is now called Long Island was reached, men swam out to the boats with cotton on their heads for barter. They swam out calmly and naturally, as if accustomed to meeting and to exchanging with boats at sea. This is not meant to say, of course, that the size and shape of the European vessels were known and taken as ordinary objects by the Indians; it is merely to show that these Indians were familiar with the idea of barter and of meeting, by swimming with their wares on their head, some manner of vessel at sea. More definite yet is the native in a canoe Columbus picked up on his way from Guanahani to Long Island. This man was bringing, to quote the admiral, "a little of their bread, about the size of a fist, a calabash of water, a piece of brown earth powdered and then kneaded, and some dried leaves" (this last was tobacco). The man, furthermore, had "a native basket with a string of glass beads and two blancas". All of this shows not only that trade between the islands was usual, but also how quickly any new object was diffused by the Indians. But for the good wind which facilitated the speed of the European boats, the Spaniards would have arrived at an island for the first time and found their own coins ahead of them. An interesting problem of diffusion for future anthropologists!

Later, on his fourth voyage, Columbus met a large canoe filled with people and trade articles off Bonacco Island in the Bay of Honduras. This canoe had come from the north and was navigated by men who spoke a dialect that has since been proven Yucatecan-Maya.

The Maya were not especially fond of water as seamen-that we know. They were principally an inland people, so there is room for contention as to whether the Maya were the actual boatmen-traders. We do know, however, that the Mosquitia from the eastern coast of eastern Honduras and of Nicaragua were in the habit of making regular trips to the Grand Cayman Cays. They were seamen of the first order and there is really no reason why if they crossed the Caribbean by canoe to the Grand Caymans, they should not have gone just a little further to Cuba-perhaps the San Juan Valley where divers Middle American influences have been found.

These incidents, happening as they did before the establishment of western civilization in the New World, show the actual existence of commercial intercourse during the pre-Conquest era in the Bahamas, the Antilles and the Yucatecan-Honduran coast.

Now, all of these sections are within easy reach of one another, and the distances are lessened by the many currents which have their start in the waters of the far south. It is from Cape Maize that these currents split, that is, they divide in half. One goes in the old Bahaman Channel between Cuba and the Bahaman Islands while the other travels on the western side-through the channel of Yucatan and over to the east coast of Florida. This is the familiar Gulf Stream which is met in the Florida Straits by its sister current from which it parted at Cape Maize. Although this mighty stream shifts slightly in its natural run, it must still have played an important part in carrying occasional canoes northward, and it must have been known and respected by the various native traders who were in the habit of crossing the Florida Straits, or who came up as the Mosquitia to the smaller Antillian keys.

In Florida, therefore, situated almost in the way of the powerful Gulf Stream and in easy access to its relative, the current from the Bahamas, we have two avenues from which to expect a flow of foreign artifacts or importations. In addition to this, on the land side, there is the flatness of the Gulf coast which makes it easily passable, and its connection with the neighboring territory of the southwest which in turn is closely allied to Mexico. To the north and west there is again a link with the mound cultures of Georgia and the Ohio Valley. These in themselves are not entirely free from Mexican influences, and some students have even suggested migrations. Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, in a paper on the Etowah Mounds in Georgia, points out that the distance from the valley of Mexico to Nicaragua, where some Nahua-speaking people had settled before the Conquest, is approximately equivalent to the distance from the valley of Mexico to Georgia. If tribes migrate in one direction, there is no reason why it would not be plausible for a similar migration in the opposite direction. Be that as it may, we know for certain that the Muskogian tribes of which the Creek, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Natchez were members, were relatively modern invaders from the north who were splitting the previous civilization in half. It is also known that these people, the Creeks particularly, had a legendary history of migration from the west, and their creation story of origin from caves is not dissimilar to many of the Maya and Toltec peoples. The Cherokee, who were found also in western Florida, were an intrusive group of the same period as the Muskogians. These tribes, stepping in on top of people of whom we know nothing historically, brought with them their own culture which had with it its own supply of foreign details.

Archaeologically, there are three important features in Florida: the shell heaps, the keys, and the mounds.

The first two of these, the shell heaps and the keys, are bound automatically with the sea. They are dependant upon tides, currents, and in the case of the key people, the ability to use a canoe. Both types are distinct within themselves and each should be taken as a separate culture.

The shell heaps are found along the coast and even run up the rivers. Here there is a close relationship between objects in Florida and in the West Indies, even a slight relationship with parts of the Central American mainland. In these deposits, stone implements are rare, but their place is taken by those of shell. Henry J. Boekelman, who has made numerous excavations in both Florida and West Indian shell heaps, has obtained shell cups made of the specimen called "Busyon-perversa" in both sections. The West Indian type of conk shell chisel has been found in Florida, as well as various remains of conk shell trumpets. This last can be classed as a Middle American feature more than an Antillian element. Whether these shell mound people were fundamentally the same as those who were responsible for similar heaps on the east coast of Honduras from the Aguan Valley over to the Bay Islands, and hence to the Antilles, it is impossible to say from the scant research to date. Besides, the conk trumpets, which are Middle American rather than shell mound, and were probably brought north as trade pieces before their use was taken ceremonially, celts of the "stronbus gigas" shell have been found in St. Johns River, Florida. These are identical with celts from shell heaps belonging to the Siboney culture in the valley of San Juan, Cuba, and with celts from the Bay Islands of Honduras

as well as celts from shell heaps in Jerico, on the Spanish Honduras mainland. In the United States, celts of this shell are not found north of the key sites.

Another interesting similarity between Cuba and the St. Johns River are the specimens of "tellina radiata" or "sun shells" having crude paintings in black on the inside. They have been reported by Cushing from Florida and Boekelman from Cuba, and are associated with the Arawaks. The Arawaks were originally a South American people who were in the process of migration on the Antilles when the Spaniards arrived.

The key sites which are principally off western Florida have their own peculiar formation which was responsible for certain characteristics in the manner of aboriginal construction. Here the ground was low, having to be built up into low terraces and platforms of conk shells. The builders were fisher people who spent their life on the water. Marcos Key, in particular, is outstanding with suspicious culture traits. In the first place, Marcos Key had a careful arrangement of platforms about a water court. One could go by canoe through the court to the mounds. This layout of mounds around a court is a questionable feature. Where did it originate—was it a natural parallelism or was it influenced by the Mexican and Middle American habit of laying a town around a plaza or quadrangle? What makes Marcos Key more suspicious is the fact that when the mud of the water court was dredged, it yielded certain wooden objects of definite foreign character. Among these were atlatls or throwing sticks with two finger loops, the recognized Mexican types. There were masks and wooden tablets representing birds and animals which bore a striking similarity to Georgian artifacts and also

wooden clubs resembling those on copper plates from Georgia. These objects with such a definite Georgian background, similar to things from the Etowah mound, have been traced in part to Mexico-in part to a Georgia localization. Another outstanding artifact was a wooden stool of four peg legs. This is a decided West Indian type, and must have been carried over the Florida Straits. Stone objects also were found here. Thus we have a mixture of various cultures.

The last archaeological feature, the mound sites, were due primarily to the Muskogean tribes, and belong to the latest period of pre-history continuing into historic times. The Muskogean built pyramidal mounds which were merely supporting structures. These mounds are related to the Mexican pyramidal mounds, but contain occasionally artifacts and burials. Some of these grave objects are offerings of clay imitating animal and vegetable forms. These are very crudely made and are of a suspicious character. By that is meant that they probably are of Mexican origin. These are described by Holmes in Twentieth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, 1898-99, but were found originally by Moore.

A negative, and what is probably a questionable, evidence of trade relationships between the mainland and the Antilles, Middle America, and northern Columbia, is the presence of monolithic stone axes of a ceremonial nature.

Florida then presents definite Middle American elements in the shell celts, conk shell trumpets and "Busycon-perversa" shell cups. That the "Busycon-perversa" shells were definitely associated with Middle America is evidenced from many examples, one in particular being a piece of jadeite from the sacred cenote in Yucatan. A "Busycon-perversa"

shell is incised on this piece. In addition to this, there is the now lost evidence of Mexican atlatls and the somewhat debatable example of the layout of Marcos Key. South American connection is evidenced in the specimens of painted "Tellina radiata" or sun shells. There is little question that the shell objects and especially the *shell celts* arrived on the peninsula. by water from the Bahamas and West Indian Islands, and belonged to the culture of fisher folk which stretched over from the Central American mainland. Of the popularity of the island waterways as early trade routes, we have numerous examples.

The plan of Marcos Key has been attributed to several sources. One is to Mexican influence coming by way of Cuba. In Cuba, Middle American influence has been found in a number of the early sites, and is evidenced both in the presence of ball courts and in the general arrangement of mounds. The other place held responsible for Marcos Key is the Georgia group of mound-builders who in turn show more than a few Mexican characteristics and whose influence is an additional evidence at the key site in the form of the wooden clubs and tablets with animal interpretations.

Finally, there is the confusing problem of the Muskogean tribes, with their Mexican characteristics in mound structure, their legends, and the actual evidence of migration. There is the nearness of the Etowah group of remains with their very definite Mexican features displayed by the incised designs on their copper plates. There is the continued link of Mexican influences traceable through the Pawnee of the Plains, through the southwest itself, on down to the valley of Mexico, and beyond.

DeBRAHM'S REPORT ON EAST FLORIDA, 1773
BY CARITA DOGGETT CORSE

The most detailed of the early reports on the Florida peninsula is that of John Gerard William DeBrahm, Surveyor General of the southern district of North America for George III of England. His observations on Florida are contained in a work entitled "History of the Three Provinces, South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida," in manuscript in the British Museum, with a copy in Harvard University Library. The South Carolina and Georgia sections of this report have been printed but the Florida material is still only in manuscript. A great benefit would be conferred upon students of Colonial Florida if this part were printed also.

DeBrahm saw Florida while evidences of the first Spanish period were still discernable and, unlike the usual English observer, he noted these things with interest. For DeBrahm was a Dutchman, and before coming to America, had been an engineer in the service of the Emperor Charles V, ruler of the combined realms of Austria and Spain.¹ It is natural that his report, bidding for the favor of an English king, should be biased in favor of England, but he did not suppress his knowledge of the Spanish background of the regions he surveyed.

DeBrahm was appointed to his position on June 25, 1764 at a salary of one hundred fifty pounds a year, with an allowance of fifty pounds for an assistant; his appointee being another Dutchman, Bernard Romans.² Thirty-six other men were employed, including twelve mariners, one ship-builder,

1. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*. (DeLand, Florida, 1929) vol. II, p. 337.

2. Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans*. (DeLand, Florida, 1924) p. 103.

three navigators, four mathematicians, one Indian interpreter, one pack-horseman, and one man without rating, designated as a "liver in town."³ Also noteworthy was the fifteen year old apprentice, Joseph Purcell, who obtained his position through the intercession of Dr. Andrew Turnbull. Both Romans and Purcell were excellent draughtsmen and turned out some of the most accurate of the early maps of Florida.

Of the three hundred twenty-eight pages in the report, one hundred sixty-one deal with that portion of the present state of Florida east of the Apalachicola River which under English administration was called East Florida. West Florida whose area under English rule extended from the Apalachicola westward to the Mississippi was not included in the report, probably because the survey was interrupted by disturbances attending the American Revolution. Florida remained loyal to England, but an English surveying party would have been liable to capture by American privateers on the coast or by Georgia raiders in the interior. It is indeed a great loss to Florida history that the careful work of the survey did not continue into West Florida. However, this lack is in a measure made up by Joseph Purcell who mapped West Florida⁵ and Bernard Romans who wrote an interesting account of that area.⁶

The Florida text is divided into six chapters, with twelve maps and many survey charts and hydro-

3. DeBrahm MS. p. 190.

4. Phillips p. 109.

5. Purcell Maps 1778. The Road from Pensacola in West Florida to St. Augustine in East Florida. Reproduced in Fla. Hist. Quarterly, XVII, 15-25.

1788. A Map of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia comprehending the Spanish Provinces of East and West Florida. Published by Vint & Anderson.

6. Phillips p. 35.

graphical tables to enforce the report. In a three page preface of salutation and transmittal we learn that DeBrahm was ordered to survey both inland and coast, and to give detailed descriptions of the country, and that he began his work at the southern extremity of Florida and worked north. In June 1772 he delivered a map twenty-five feet long to illustrate his work on Florida⁷ and on April 2, 1773 he delivered the first volume of his report, but the second volume was not delivered until 1798, having laid "unrequested" in his possession during and after the American Revolution. Presentation of the report to Phineas Bond, Consul-General of Great Britain for the United States, was made with the hint that the eighty-one year old surveyor, then living in Philadelphia, had been unprovided for from 1783 to 1795.⁸

Of chapter one, ten pages deal with the history of Florida from 1513 to 1763 and eight pages with a list of English citizens of Florida 1763-1771 with their occupations. Notations up to 1771 state whether they left the province or died or were still there. Since most of the English came to Florida during the Revolution, this list, though interesting, is tantalizingly incomplete. It is even more so because the fifteen hundred colonists brought to Florida by Dr. Turnbull in 1767, who might have been listed, are only mentioned as a group.

DeBrahm puts an arresting lead to his chapter on history in showing that Florida was the Spanish name for most of North America. This fact is mentioned but not emphasized by English and American historians who were not interested in featuring the Spanish claims to this region. Pursuing this point, DeBrahm takes note of the vast extent of Spanish

7. DeBrahms MS. p. 191.

8. DeBrahm MS. p. 170.

Florida, including most of the continent with the exception of old Mexico and New Foundland.

The purpose of DeBrahm's survey of Florida was to encourage English settlers to come to the peninsula. Every possible inducement was offered by the English government to fill this new province almost vacated by Spanish settlers, and to this end bounties on crops, grants of land, and even subsidies were made.

DeBrahm pictures East Florida as an irregular figure representing a tongue or peninsula containing near 62,718 square miles, and describes the soil and climate in various sections. He said that the constant winds fanning the lands kept the climate at an agreeable and gentle warmth, and that among the three thousand Spaniards who had recently evacuated St. Augustine many were over one hundred years old.⁹ He recorded the rise and fall of the quicksilver in the thermoscope for a period of near thirty-five months from June 1767 to April 1770 and observed that during this period it never became hotter than ninety-one degrees in the shade in summer or colder than thirty-two degrees in winter. This is one of the earliest weather reports for Florida. During the years that he and his employees worked on the survey, exposed to all kinds of weather, they remained quite healthy.

In describing the northern boundary of East Florida along the St. Marys, DeBrahm mentions that "from the Indian boundary line, the south side of the river is entirely laid out in Tracts of Land unto private persons, among which is a reserve of 10,000 acres for a town which was, according to turnings of the river, thirteen miles distant from the Bar of the Inlet." This town was intended for a number

9. DeBrahm MS. p. 192.

of emigrants from the Island of Bermudas though they did not settle here.¹⁰ He adds, "The jealousy of the Indians has not as yet permitted me to make a survey of it (St. Mary's Stream) for its source lay in Okefinokee Swamp and its contiguous country which is contained within the Hunting Ground reserved by the Indians at the Congress held at Picolata in November 1765 between James Grant and John Stuart Esqrs, the former at that time being Governor of East Florida, and the latter Superintendent of Indian Affairs, with the head men of the Indians, at which time the latter tied the above described line between the land deeded to His Majesty and the Hunting Ground reserved for themselves."¹¹ This line was to begin at a pine stump upon the St. Mary's where the Georgia boundary line stops, and to continue as far as Oklywaha River. From there south the St. Johns River was the boundary. Thus most of the interior of Florida was given by the English to the Indians. Interesting mention of this meeting between Grant and the Indians is also found in Bartram's Travels.

There follows four maps with descriptions of their salient features :-

St. Mary's Inlet, guarded by Fort William on the South end of Cumberland Island [where Dungeness stands now.]

Nassau Inlet including an opening between Fort George and Nassau [which is now closed] and settlers houses located-Loftin's, Edmund Gray's and Andrew Way's along the Inland Waterway.

America, [Which he says is to be known as Egmont Island, with a town laid out and called Egmont Town where Old Town in Fernandina stands.]

10. DeBrahm MS. p. 247.

11. DeBrahm MS. p. 247.

St. Juan [St. Johns] Inlet. [Shows only 4 ft. of water at low tide and 9 ft. at high on the St. Johns bar.]

Twenty-six tables of land surveys made in various directions follow. Most of the surveys started from the barrier gates of St. Augustine. Since this is still a landmark, many old locations can be identified from these records, including the site of forts Picolata and San Francisco de Pupa on the St. Johns River guarding the Indian trail crossing. *St. Augustine Inlet* and town, shows many plantations in the vicinity, including Governor Grant's farm north of the gates, Lieut., Governor Moultrie's *Bella Vista* plantation and others. *Mukoso Inlet and Environs* - New Smyrna was not yet founded when the surveying party passed but the place intended for the settlement was marked, for Dr. Turnbull had already inspected it and received his grant.¹² Hillsborough, alias Indian, alias Ays Inlet, is the modern Indian River. The old Ays Inlet which was then the only entrance to the sea has since closed up. On one map he explains how the present Carysford Reef received its name-a British ship of that name having run aground there in 1770. *Dartmouth Inlet, Cape of Florida and Sandwich Gulf*. Here the north end of Biscayne Bay was called Dartmouth stream, the south end of Biscayne Bay was called Sandwich Gulf, and Elliott's Key was called Biskaine Island. Old and new names for the Florida Keys are recorded.

In this portion of his text DeBrahm clears up the story of how and when New River at Fort Lauderdale was formed. Hitherto it was usually regarded as local legend from Indian sources that the river broke through in one night, though Forbes mentions

12. Doggett, Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida. (1919) p. 27.

the incident.¹³ DeBrahm confirms this, saying that between May 25-30, 1765, great rains fell here and the rock, weakened by the weight of water within and by the surf piled up by winds outside, gave way and the river broke through.¹⁴

DeBrahm describes the climate, soil, vegetation, and possible crops ; lists the various streams, rivers, and rivulets; and states that the manufacture of turpentine, pitch, tar and lumber is so common that details need not be given. He said that he had not seen olives bearing here but that "China oranges, Seville oranges, lemons and citrons are better in Florida than in Europe, or in fact than in any other American province." He recommended laying oyster shells in trenches in the fields to enrich the soil, and many fields so treated are still to be found in northeastern Florida.

He recommends the use of mosquito nets over each bed and says night air outdoors is harmless if one is behind such a net. He describes the "tabby" construction of houses, built with floors made of shells burnt into lime and mixed with twice the quantity of unburnt shell, placed in a mortar, rammed into place with heavy pestiles and finally brushed with linseed oil and polished to a surface very near equal to marble. This was the floor of the St. Augustine house in Spanish times-as pleasing and easy to clean as tile. Some houses in the old town still retain their tabby floors.

He gives advice to new settlers as to how to get along with the Indians-never to give them liquor, but small presents of rice and salt. He did not anticipate any trouble with the Indians, provided their head men were placated with presents, and

13. Forbes, *Sketches Historical and Topographical, of the Floridas* (New York, 1821) p. 99.

this proved to be correct so far as the English were concerned.

DeBrahm lists the natural products of East Florida, including pearls, and mentions that experiments had been made in the culture of coffee, cotton, sugarcane, and indigo. He ends with giving advice to the Europeans as to how to succeed in this new province. Strangely, he felt that the vicinity of the present Miami was the most promising location of any on the whole east coast of America, because of South American trade.

On November 17, 1798 at the age of eighty-one DeBrahm, then living in Philadelphia, delivered the second and third volumes of his report, of which the second contained his description of East Florida. He was reimbursed by the British Government for losses in East Florida to the amount of 1,138 pounds.

The fourth volume of his work, mentioned in his report, is not found among these papers. It is possible that some of it is contained in the description of West Florida published by Bernard Romans.

This brief resume does not pretend to treat all the material to be found in the DeBrahm manuscript. Only by reading the complete report can one appreciate the thorough work of this colonial engineer.

FLIGHT INTO OBLIVION By A. J. HANNA

A Review by W. W. Davis

Author of Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida

Professor Hanna's book, "Flight into Oblivion"* is a unique as well as a notable contribution to the history of the closing weeks of the Civil War. It is, in part, a colorful historical narrative of the final dissolution of the highest civil authority in what might have been a powerful independent nation. The last sentence of the volume explains its striking title: "The misfortune of the Confederate Cabinet was that the tide of war turned against its members, and its flight ended in unmerited oblivion." The accuracy of this conclusion can be challenged, but not the appeal of the title.

The scene stretches from Virginia to Florida and far beyond the continent. The lapse of time for most of the narrative is less than three months. The principal characters are the President of the Confederacy; his aide, Colonel John T. Wood; John C. Breckinridge, Secretary-of-War; Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary-of-the-Navy; Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary-of-State; George Davis, Attorney-General; John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General; and George A. Trenholm, Secretary-of-the-Treasury.

The inclusion of fifty-seven realistic illustrations in black and white by John Rea lend the right atmosphere to the volume and add to its charm. Fourteen page-size graphic maps aid in clarifying essential geographic facts.

From first to last the account moves with dramatic swiftness. There is the ring of reality. There is no stuffiness nor ostentatious scholarship. Yet from source and secondary citations, both printed and in

*Flight into Oblivion by A. J. Hanna. Richmond, Va. Johnson Publishing Company. 1938. Pp. xiii, 306. Fifty-seven illustrations. Fifteen maps. \$2.75.

manuscript, there is ample evidence that this work is based upon an extraordinary array of historical materials. The manuscript sources include such collections as the papers of Davis, Breckinridge and Trenholm, as well as Andrew Johnson, Edwin M. Stanton, and Micajah H. Clark, all in the Library of Congress. Also the journals, published and unpublished of several members of the Cabinet and others of the escaping party. The author draws extensively on "Official Records of the Rebellion" and the companion Naval Records, as well as on the files of some twenty Northern and Southern newspapers. He has used numerous articles from historical periodicals, some thirty biographies and memoirs are cited, with as many general works and monographs dealing with the Civil War and Reconstruction period. In the search for fact and critical opinion, assistance from historians and others of fourteen States and three foreign countries is acknowledged. It is thus evident that one of the merits of the work is broad and intelligent research.

But there is more to the book than well-used references. It is a profoundly interesting volume, easy to read and hard to put down before the last page is reached. The author says that "the assembling of materials has been an adventure almost as varied as the episodes described. I hope to read some day his description of such a flight into bibliography.

The book begins with a vividly grim description of what happens to the government of a nation when it is being overrun by conquering armies-of what happens when its highest political leaders have a price on their heads, and when many of the political and moral leaders of the conquering nation demand that "treason be made odious by death." Judged by European experience, the wonder is that many Confederate leaders were not lead to the shambles as

sacrifices to the hysterical defenders of a revolutionary regime posing as the preservers of the Nation. There is merit and good sense in the second thought of the American people-North, South, East and West.

In the winter of 1865 it must have been evident to observers in Richmond that the end was not far off. The northeastern portion of the Southern republic was held by a diminishing gray line. The heartening promise of an early spring brought no hope for the Confederacy. Did not bewildering thoughts often seize those upon whom rested supreme responsibility? They must have sensed the impending crisis. Where would they go if driven from Richmond? Being men of education and experience they must have realized that evacuation of the capital might soon become flight through country overrun by Federal cavalry-that flight exposed them to capture-and capture to the firing squad or the gallows. But doubtless none of them realized in March 1865, that many would seek escape and survival through distant Florida.

President Davis had in mind a re-birth of Confederate military power in Texas. But certainly the distinguished Secretary-of-War, former Vice-president of the United States, would have been shocked could he have known that within a few short weeks in his struggle to escape he would experience semi-starvation and would practice piracy on the sea. Nor could the rotund and brilliant Secretary-of-State realize that in disguises that suggest the fertile mind of Charles Dickens, he was about to enter upon hair-raising adventure on land and sea as he fled to a new greatness in a foreign land.

The breakdown of Confederate power in Virginia came with stunning suddenness. A telegram from General Lee was delivered to the Southern president

while he was at church on April 2. It was a warning that Richmond must be abandoned at once. The fact that he and his Cabinet made very hasty and improvised preparations to leave the doomed city is an indication that the military situation for the Confederacy was worse than the civil chiefs realized. They prepared to take with them some of the government records and the available national treasure.

The author describes briefly and vividly the withdrawal from Richmond—the crowds of bewildered people, the breakdown of law and order, the looting and pillage of mobs, the outbreak of fire ; and the retirement of the supreme government to Danville, Virginia. With the President, on this first lap of what was to become a journey of privation and danger and end in stark calamity, were his aides, Colonel John T. Wood and former Governor Richard Lubbock of Texas, and all the Cabinet except the Secretary-of-War, who joined the party later.

An interesting and important factor in the retreat and escape was the Confederate treasure, consisting of some \$500,000 in Mexican silver dollars, British coin, gold and silver ingots, and even nuggets, under the care of a Captain Parker and a guard of sixty midshipmen. Yet it was reported in the Northern press that the fleeing Confederate leaders had in their possession as much as \$13,000,000 with which they were attempting to escape from the country. It is significant in the final disposition of the treasure that it was handled by its Confederate guardians with scrupulous honesty until the final dissolution of the guard in Florida—that the use of a small portion enabled the Presidential party to pay its way to Georgia and played an important part in the ultimate escape of Breckinridge and Benjamin—and that the only portion which was

stolen before the dissolution was taken from Federal agents who had gotten possession of part of the funds.

During these early days of crisis and flight hope was entertained by some of the high Confederate civil authorities that somehow the armies of Lee and Johnston would combine and reassert the magic of Confederate superiority in the northeast. But at Danville comes news that Lee had surrendered. This was the fateful event for the South. This was "Surrender", which was to become for many a traditional base for reckoning time more important or better understood than B.C. or A.D. To the presidential party it meant the beginning of serious difference of opinion concerning fundamental appraisal of what was the actual status of the Southern nation, and what policies of war or peace should be followed.

At Greensboro, North Carolina, President Davis and his Cabinet conferred with General Johnston over the military situation. Johnston advised surrender, because, as the passing years have confirmed, the Southern armies were faced by overwhelming superiority of men and equipment. The President, with characteristic stubbornness, opposed surrender at that time because he believed that better terms could be made if organized military forces were in the field.

From Greensboro there was an escort of cavalry through Salisbury to Charlotte, where news was received of the first Johnston-Sherman agreement. The Cabinet unanimously approved this and Davis reluctantly agreed.

Here was a critical moment, which presented a fateful issue to the President of the United States. Had this first agreement been accepted by Andrew Johnson, the whole course of reconstruction follow-

ing the War might well have been very different, and must have been better for the Southern white man, the Northern white man, and the negro. But a suspicious president, swayed by a vindictive and cowardly Secretary-of-War, refused to approve the plan, and Johnston was forced to surrender in Lee's terms.

From this time on, we witness the disintegration of the presidential party, both in personnel and moral unity. Davis was seeking to reach the Trans-Mississippi department of Kirby Smith, while several of his Cabinet resigned and either sought to reach their families or made plans to escape from the United States.

The bewildered party crossed the Savannah River into Georgia, where the military guard was dismissed, and from near-by Washington they sought to leave the United States through Florida.

The Florida route was chosen for two reasons: It was a wilderness land where amid the tangle of hammock, swamp, lake and river, pursuit would be difficult, and it lay near to foreign territory: Cuba and the Bahamas. For Jefferson Davis, Florida was but the way to Texas, to Kirby-Smithdom-to a surviving base of Confederate power in the Southwest.

To the President the moral issue was clear and not to be dodged. He felt that as long as Confederate military forces were in the field he as their high civil chief must not resign, must not surrender, must not destroy by quitting the civil nucleus of what he considered the national authority. He was seeking not to escape from the Confederacy but to reach a section of the Confederacy where he might reassume leadership. It was a most forlorn hope and clearly the members of his Cabinet had little faith in it.

And yet momentous consequences might have come to pass had Davis and his Cabinet reached Texas before the disintegration of the Kirby Smith regime. Texas was the only part of the Confederacy touching foreign soil. It was the only part of the Confederate borders not dominated by the blockade or the Federal army. It was the only place of ingress and egress through a neutral power. It was rich in natural resources. Its population was a vigorous stock of more than a half-million by 1865. Suppose in 1861 Houston or San Antonio had been selected as the Southern capital. A southwestern Confederacy could hardly have won its independence, but what would have happened if the Confederate army there, headed by Davis, Kirby Smith and Breckinridge, rather than surrender had retired to an already friendly Mexico and placed itself at the service of Maximilian? Such a group of resolute and experienced men with a veteran army could have dominated the country, and the whole course of subsequent Mexican history might have been changed.

But Mexico was far away and the Federal net was being drawn. In the gray dawn of May 10 just beyond Irwinville, Georgia, the party (except Breckinridge and Benjamin, who had separated from it) was apprehended by Federal troops. Davis was seized in brutal fashion, all were placed under arrest and prison followed.

A storm of hysterical opinion demanding vengeance was sweeping the North. It demanded the blood of Jefferson Davis and his fellow leaders in the Confederacy. Here, especially, Professor Hanna is convincing in his citation of evidence, but he might well have published the recommendations of the Judge Advocate General of the United States Army at this time. The author does not go into the

hideous mistreatment of Jefferson Davis. But it is a wonder that the fallen chief survived his initial prison experience-but even a greater wonder that the patriot protagonists of the radical but victorious ideology did not see to it that Davis and his associates were executed.

And now as we turn to the sixth chapter of this remarkable work the whole plot or pattern of the narrative changes. We no longer follow the Presidential party's flight from improvised capital to improvised capital. We are no longer concerned with the national policy of the Southern government. The Confederacy died with the capture of its president. From this point the narrative is concerned with the flight into Florida and over the sea of four resourceful, resolute, and desperate high ex-officials of the Confederacy who chose to struggle towards exile rather than risk the consequences of surrender or capture.

Ex-Secretary Breckinridge and Colonel Wood, meeting as arranged in Florida, planned to escape by the East or Atlantic Coast to the Bahamas. Through the aid of Captain J. J. Dickison, Southern military leader in the closing agonies of the War in Florida, a small lifeboat was procured in the St. Johns River. Colonel Wood was an expert navigator. Supplied with little food, but with fire-arms and a pocket compass and with one or two native companions they sought escape from the ever-tightening toils of the Federal government in a journey through the wilderness and over the sea which, as told by the author, is about as good as Robinson Crusoe or Treasure Island. Paddling and sailing up the silent river, hauling their boat through the wild scrub to the long arm of the sea known as Indian River, shooting alligators and an occasional deer, fighting clouds of mosquitoes, the adventurers

led by Breckinridge reached salt water and graver dangers.

With their food almost exhausted, they ate the eggs of sea-turtles and traded with a band of Seminole Indians. They warily hoodwinked the Federal patrol fleet which took them into brief custody once but released them as unwanted beach-combers. Undeterred by an attack from pirate-wreckers, they fought them off with effective gunfire and induced them with gold to sell some food. Deciding to strike out for Cuba, they needed a different boat and when fortune put one in their way they siezed it at the point of their guns from a crew of wreckers or deserters, and after a struggle with a violent tropical storm in their small craft, they at length reached Cardenas, Cuba, and freedom. For astounding adventure, this flight of Breckinridge and Wood, as told in this book is second to none known to me.

Judah P. Benjamin sought to escape by way of the West Coast. He had reached Florida disguised first as a French visitor, traveling in a buggy or sulky. Next he was a roughly-dressed farmer, and got by with both. But when he reached the plantation estates of central Florida he found himself among old friends where he received asylum and counsel at the Gamble mansion on the Manatee River. There he arranged with a West Coast skipper to be landed in Nassau for \$1,500 gold. He paid it, and in a sixteen-foot boat set out from Sarasota Bay. Once they were hotly pursued by the Federal patrol and escaped by hiding themselves and their boat in a mangrove jungle. But ere he reached the Bahamas the craft foundered and the ex-confederate fugitive barely escaped with his life in a small and leaking skiff. He was rescued by an English lighthouse tender, and ultimately reached Nassau and England. Benjamin's distinguished career in

England, as discussed briefly by Professor Hanna is an epic in itself.

Most of the higher civil leaders of the Confederacy surrendered or were captured and imprisoned. Several thousands of loyal citizens and some military leaders of distinction left the United States because they feared the future here or cared no longer to live under the new and revolutionary regime.

Is there any escape into oblivion? Most men ultimately pass to that blessed state. Yet some, because of mischance, or mistakes, or outstanding achievement cannot escape in their lifetime, and when their life is ended they live in the memories and minds and maybe the hearts of other generations. The high civil officials of the Confederacy did not escape into oblivion. They could not. They were too well known. Though an effort was made to brand them with something like the brand of Cain, most of them continued to be distinguished figures in the United States, and one in a foreign land. They are not numbered as founders of a nation, but they are numbered as courageous men who proved themselves to be great in defeat. Professor Hanna's book is for me one of the proofs that Jefferson Davis, John C. Breckinridge, Judah P. Benjamin and others were not engulfed in the oblivion which they might have sought and to which vindictive enemies would have consigned them. We read with deep interest of their fall and their flight, not only because the author deals in unsurpassed fashion with great events and high adventure, but also because the adventure and the events involve these famous men.

Maybe the perspective of the years is the guardian of the quiet halls of oblivion.

THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS

LETTERS OF EDMUND DOYLE
(*The Third Installment*)

Prospect Bluff Appalachicola River
6th April 1815

*Gentlemen

In consequence of advices which I lately received of Mr. John Innerarity one of the partners of the firm of Messers John Forbes & Co. of Pensacola, I have the honor of submitting to your consideration the following particulars.

That on the arrival of Captain George Woodbine, His Britannic Majesty's agent to the Creek Indians I was employed by the firm of Mr Forbes as agent to their Establishment for Indian trade at this place, which employment I held for several years before his arrival; wishing to aid his Majesty's service at the Solicitation of Captn. Woodbine, I relinquished my charge of their affairs and accepted the Employment of Store Keeper under His Majesty.

By these means the affairs of Mr. Forbes has been in a great Measure exposed, and of course a considerable loss has accrued to them in part of their property formerly in my charge (as they could not get any person to venture their person amongst the Indians who was capable of Managing their affairs) It therefore becomes my duty to State that a Considerable Stock of Cattle has been nearly destroyed *by the Indian Allies of His Britannic Majesty*. Several of the Horses carried off and the following Negroes, who are now on the Bluff, the restoration of them appears doubtful, to Wit-Billy & Lally & their children Cressy, Flora Beek, Cynthia & Nero

*This letter of Edmund Doyle's appeared in the *Quarterly*, the issue of April, 1933 (XI. 190). It is reprinted because of its relation to this series.

-Stephen & his wife Cynthia-Tom a House
Servant-I make these particulars known to you
that you may be pleased to act therein as in Your
wisdom shall deem expedient-

I am &c

Edmund Dolye

To the Honble. R. C. Spencer Captn. R. [oyal N. [avy]
and Robert Gamble Esqr.

* * * *

(Superscription missing)

I sincerely lament the failure of your presentation
against Woodbine who I thought must have been
overwhelmed under the weight of evidence YOU car-
ried with you from Pensacola. It is certain when
Woodbine arrived at the Bluff he was accompanied
by none of the negroes carried from St. Augustine
or Lachua ; but on the evening of the day of his ar-
rival a large body of men arrived, I saw some of
them, and asked them where they came from they
told me from Lachua, I asked if any came from St.
Augustine, I was told not one, those fellows of
course received their Lesson along the way: Cassel,
Harrison, Armbrister and others now in Nassau I
know (missing) reported at the Bluff
that thro' the means of Woodbine twenty negroes
of both sexes arrived at the Bluff (from?) St. Au-
gustine, St. Johns and Lachua; shortly after his ar-
rival Mr. Hambly received letters from St. Au-
gustine requesting him to enquire after some
negroes that was carried away from thence by
Woodbine-Woodbine denied in my presence his
carrying one (or any) negro from thence ; Wood-
bine came here prepared for villainy and he took
care to evade all evidence except what answered his
weakest purposes : I hope his objection to his cor-
respondence with the Governor of Pensacola, will
be a great means of exposing his character in its

true vilany every person who knows him must keep in mind that he boasted largely of his masterly talents in "tricking the old Governor" to use his own phrase in this negotiation

You will no doubt have it fully in your power to prove his letter to the Governor either by him his Secretary, the interpreter, or by some other persons who might have been present at its delivery. I heard in Pensacola that the correspondence of Woodbine and the Governor was brought forward, at a Council of warr, held there by the English and Spanish officers a few days before the entrance of the American army: the present Governor was one of the Council-It is needless for me to point these circumstances as you will no doubt make the necessary enquiries yourself: it appears almost impossible that any honorable jury could seriously believe his assertion relating to this letter was just. it is one of those equivocal turns he is so well master of: he well knew his correspondence with the Governor would effect him, and he had this lie ready to meet it, but I hope providence has contrived it so far as to be an instrument of detecting his villainy: I positively affirm, that I never received a letter from Woodbine but one, it was written from Pensacola: requesting all the Kings goods deposited in our stores: this letter was signed with his initials:

I received two other notes from him signed in like manner written in pencil: In Pensacola I received a sett of exchange signed with his name, which I kept a few days and handed over to Mr Innerarity: I received also another sett of exchange after the war ceased, when I was going on to Pensacola, but hearing of money coming on to the Bluff to pay off all demands I surrendered the Bills and waited untill paid off by the British agents; thus thro, my whole acquaintance with this infamous

character he even kept his signature from my knowledge as far as it was in his power, no doubt for some private motive-I must here observe that a few days before I left the Bluff, I repeatedly saw his signature to several bills exhibited by individuals in the Nation, I never took particular notice of it as I never conceived it to be of any consequence to me, or any other person-If you cannot fully prove the reality of the letter I fear all your endeavors against him will be in vain

I think it one of my greatest misfortunes to be so situated as to have any acquaintance with this man: It was not until some time after his arrival at the Bluff, that I mistrusted his hypocritical character, a thousand unheard of reports before his arrival was set afloat to our prejudice, which I now believe was thro' his means: I was therefore necessarily obliged to take all means of securing part of our property from his grasp, all I had earned for many years was there, which he well knew, and I was resolved never to part with it but with loss of life.

Woodbine is confident that no man could induce me to act improperly, he well recollects when alone at Prospect Bluff, after their retreat from Pensacola, the reports set abroad of letters of a treasonable nature being detected written by you to Hambly and I: To the eternal disgrace of some high characters of the Army and the Navy, I was called on to accuse the House relating to some infamous groundless charges brought forward by them: What was my replies altho' surrounded by the damned negro and Red Stick allies : did he see any fear in me, did not I inform them that even the poor Indians themselves would not believe their ridiculous assertions : On the whole I believe there is not a greater scoundrel in existence then this very Woodbine.

Good God, of what substance must the hearts of these inhuman men be made of: figure to yourself a British Colonel and a respectable character a British agent, to sit down coolly at a post belonging to their friends and allies, and meditate the destruction of a poor defenceless set of indians, already ruined by their enemies whom they were sent to protect, and which common humanity would dictate to preserve but hearts hardened with iniquity, such as Nicols and Woodbine are only actuated by private interests-

The indians penetrate already into their wicked policy, and will I hope unite and represent their grievances to the British Government, the conduct of those men have given a mortal wound to the influence of the English Government in this Land-my only consolation is that in a few days we shall root from the Land their already expiring policy-

It is well ascertained that hundreds of negroes was carried away from the Nation, that many are left behind, we all know by common report, and every negro I saw says they were seduced from their Masters-we also know that there were only a very few (not more than ten) American Negroes, arrived at the Bluff: Still this villainous affair was so ably managed that it will be difficult to prove that they were seduced from their masters except by the Black people who voluntarily return-all we can say is that the hero Nicolls and Woodbine sat down at the Bluff (except Woodbines trip to St. Augustine) and by help of their agents and black spies, corrupted the negroes of their friends and Spanish allies-for they dared not to venture within some hundreds of miles of the American territories. I hope you will pardon me for writing in this strain,

but I must give some vent to my feelings-In hopes
that you may yet hang the Scoundrel

I remain Dr Sir

Your very obt servt

Edmd Doyle

Mr. Hambly was at the Forks of the River when
Woodbine arrived from St. Augustine

I have forwarded this letter to him that it may
be sent on to you, which will give him an oppor-
tunity of writing

COLONIAL LAND CLAIMS IN EAST AND WEST FLORIDA

The Florida Historical Records Survey (Works Progress Administration) is engaged in translating, abstracting, and indexing the manuscripts relative to land claims in East and West Florida in the Field Note Division of the Department of Agriculture at Tallahassee. These manuscripts constitute the archives of the Boards of Commissioners for the settlement of claims based on English and Spanish land grants in the Floridas, which Boards sat at Pensacola from 1822 to 1825 and at St. Augustine from 1823 to 1826. Although certain portions of this material, chiefly of a legal nature, are summarized and published in *American State Papers*, *Public Lands*, in the several reports of the Commissioners, and in those of the Committee on Public Lands relative to land claims in Florida, much important social and economic data on the second Spanish occupation, 1783-1821, are as yet unpublished.

The archives consist of original papers filed in evidence before the Commissioners and books of record containing minutes, transcripts of original papers, and translations of some of the transcripts. The original papers are in two groups, confirmed and unconfirmed grants, with all papers relative to a grant filed together in a single bundle or dossier. The Survey is abstracting every paper in each dossier, giving the names of all persons mentioned, all geographical data, such as names and locations of creeks, roads, and Indian trails, and many other facts of interest to the historian, as well as the basic information on size, location, and basis of the claim. These abstracts are being collated with the published material mentioned above. The abstracts will be supplemented by indexes of personal and place names.

This phase of the Florida Historical Records Survey program has been in progress for the last year under the direction of Professor E. V. Gage, and it is expected that another year will be required for its completion. Publication of the results, in mimeographed form, is contemplated. Inquiries concerning material in the land claims archives may be addressed to the State Office, Historical Records Survey, 301 Consolidated Building, Jacksonville, Florida. The Florida program is conducted by Mrs. Sue A. Mahorner, State Director, under the supervision of Dr. Luther H. Evans, National Director, Historical Records Survey.

NOTES AND COMMENT

RESEARCH PROJECTS IN FLORIDA HISTORY

In the *Journal of Southern History* (November) there is *A Compilation of Research Projects in Southern History*, completed, in progress, or contemplated. Two hundred forty-seven projects are listed, several of which relate to Florida.

A similar list of projects on Florida subjects is being compiled by Professor A. J. Hanna of Rollins College, and this will appear in an early issue of the *Quarterly*.

The desirability of such publication is evident. In many cases needless duplication of research and writing may be forestalled; and it may be the means of bringing unknown material to the knowledge of the writer. For example: Professor R. C. Cotner of Stetson University has begun research preparatory to the writing of a history of the citrus industry in Florida, and would be glad to know of any available unusual material on that subject.

Included in this list will be any completed but unpublished works on Florida historical subjects.

Professor Hanna and the editor of the *Quarterly* ask that either be told of any projects relating to Florida underway or contemplated, so they may be included in the list to be published.

* * *

THE IRVING BACHELLER ESSAY CONTEST

This contest, as our readers will recollect, is held annually under the auspices of Rollins College and the Florida Historical Society. It is open to all Florida high-school students who write upon some subject of Florida's history for two medals, the gift of Mr. Irving Bacheller who founded the contest. Essays this year will be written upon "Notable Personalities" and delivered on February 24 at Mr.

Bachelor's residence in Winter Park. Inquiries should be made of Professor A. J. Hanna of Rollins College, chairman of the contest committee.

* * *

The Pensacola Historical Society has established a museum in one of the oldest houses of the town, once the home of Dorothy Walton (widow of George Walton a signer of the Declaration of Independence) who died in Pensacola. This was made possible through the interest of Mr. T. T. Wentworth a former president of that society. Many of the articles on exhibit are historical, and it is planned to increase that category. Mr. Wentworth has devoted one of his weekly historical broadcasts over station WCOA to the loan exhibit of Floridiana being assembled for the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, and another to the purposes and history of the Society.

In 1888 the Florida Southern Railway issued a large-scale printed map showing its land-grants among other features. A few copies remain, and one will be sent to any Florida library or to any one interested in the Florida of that period, upon request to Mr. E. B. O'Kelley, General Agricultural Agent, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company, Jacksonville.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING

On the invitation of the members at Daytona Beach, New Smyrna and St. Augustine, the thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held at those places on January 24-25. The opening session will be in the Clarendon Hotel, Daytona Beach, at ten o'clock on Tuesday the twenty-fourth, with the annual business meeting there at four o'clock that afternoon. Other sessions will be at half-past two and half-past eight, together with a luncheon and the annual dinner. Everyone is invited to the program sessions, and members may bring their friends to the business meeting.

On Wednesday there will be a tour of historic sites from Daytona Beach to New Smyrna, where a picnic luncheon will bring together the members and guests; then in the afternoon to St. Augustine and its historic sites, with a dinner at the Ponce de Leon hotel and an evening session as guests of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

A loan assemblage of Floridana will be on exhibit before the morning meeting on Tuesday and throughout the day. Varied and unusually interesting historical programs have been arranged, and a large attendance of members and guests from all parts of the State is desired and expected.

JOSHUA C. CHASE, *President*

* * *

Is it not possible for you to come to the annual meeting of the Society? One or two days of historical and social enjoyment and profit will be your reward—an experience different from any you may have had, and one which will make a place for itself in your memory. To the East Coast in January, will be added three programs of addresses and papers

by those who can tell you of our State's history, a luncheon and dinner, and a historical tour.

The meeting is held at the invitation of Mrs. C. M. Wilder, chairman, and other members of the Society at Daytona Beach. Luncheon, sponsored by members who are also members of the Daytona Beach Bath and Tennis Club, will be at that club-house, and the annual dinner at the Clarendon will be historical and interesting.

A committee under Miss Henri May Eddy—who is acting-librarian of the University of Florida and president of the Florida Library Association—is assembling a noteworthy loan collection of Floridaiana which will be on view all day on Tuesday at the Society's headquarters in the Clarendon Hotel. Miss Eddy asks that each member or guest who attends the meeting will try to bring something of historical interest for the exhibit. These need not go out of their possession.

Addresses will be made or papers read at the several programs by Colonel Samuel H. Fisher, Mr. Edwin Granberry, Mr. Holman Hamilton, Mr. Leon Huhner, Dr. Howard A. Kelly, Mrs. Marjorie Kinan Rawlings, Dr. A. F. Wilson, and others.

Would you not do well to come?

On the following day a special session of the Society will be held at New Smyrna, followed by a picnic luncheon at which the members and guests from over the State will come to know each other. A tour of historic sites in the vicinity of Daytona Beach and New Smyrna is planned ending at St. Augustine and its historic sites. Dinner will follow at the Ponce de Leon hotel and in the evening the Society will be guests of President D. R. Dunham, Mr. X. L. Pellicer, Mrs. E. W. Lawson and the other officers and members of the St. Augustine Historical Society. * * *

A called meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society was held with President Chase in Winter Park on December 3. In attendance were President Chase, Vice President Kathryn T. Abbey of Tallahassee, Secretary Herbert Lamson of Jacksonville, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian Watt Marchman of Winter Park, Treasurer Dorothy Dodd of Jacksonville, Director C. H. Curry of Quincy, Professor A. J. Hanna of Rollins College, Professor W. G. Winters of Stetson University, Miss Henri May Eddy of the University of Florida, who is chairman of the committee assembling an exhibit of Floridiana for the annual meeting, Miss Serena C. Bailey, librarian of the Lakeland Public Library, of the Program Committee for the annual meeting, and Mr. Herbert E. Kahler of St. Augustine of that Committee.

Details of the program for the annual meeting were presented by Mr. Marchman, chairman, and were approved.

Miss Eddy reported on plans for the exhibit of Floridiana and asked aid of all sections of the State.

Plans were discussed for regional meetings of the Society at Miami, Palm Beach, Mountain Lake, Fernandina, Lakeland, and Sarasota-Bradenton.

Mr. Lamson spoke on a plan for affiliation of the Society with local historical societies, and he will present such a plan in detail for a round-table discussion at the annual meeting.

The treasurer, Dr. Dodd, made a report.

Mr. Marchman, chairman of the Membership Committee reported seven hundred twenty-five enrolled.

Dr. Abbey, Chairman of the Manuscript Committee reported on the papers of Governor Call.

Mr. and Mrs. Chase entertained at luncheon those attending the meeting.

Mr. Kahler lead a discussion on micro-photography as an aid to historical research, and a committee was appointed (Mr. Kahler, Dr. Abbey, Mr. Marchman) to draw up proposals for its use by the Society.

Plans were discussed for State aid in the publication of a series of historical documents and similar material. A committee was appointed (Mr. Curry, chairman, Vice President Holland, and Mr. Marchman) to investigate and report at the annual meeting.

* * *

Mrs. Geraldine B. Buckman of Jacksonville, through the Library Project, Works Progress Administration, of which Mrs. Richard Reed is state director, has been assisting the librarian in the Society's library during the past several months.

Miss Jennie Morrill, librarian of the Daytona Beach Public Library, has been appointed chairman of the membership committee of Volusia county and has been active in bringing in new members in that section of the State.

* * *

Among recent donations to the Society's library are:
Volusia County, Past and Present, by T. E. Fitzgerald. Gift of the author.

Orlando in the Long, Long Ago, by Kena Fries. Gift of the author.

The Florida Audubon Society, 1900-1935, by Lucy Worthington Blackman. Copies presented by C. Russell Mason and Mrs. Blackman.

Inventory of the County Archives of Florida, Hendry County. Gift of Historical Records Survey.

David L. Yulee. Three autograph letters, signed. Gift of A. J. Hanna.

Map of Florida. Bradford, 1838.

Map of Florida. Morse. New York, 1836.

Genealogy. 4 vols. Gift of C. H. Cory, Jr.

LaFitte. (N. Y. 1828.) Gift of Rilla S. Bradley.

First Annual, 1937-1938 of Madison County Historical Society. Gift of Carleton Smith.

Some Account of Belair, also the City of Sanford (1889). Gift of Dorothy McMakin.

Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775-1921, By Bemis and Griffin. Gift of Dorothy McMakin.

Brinton, ***Notes on the Floridian Peninsula*** (Philadelphia, 1859). Gift of Dr. William H. Fox of Winter Park and Germantown, Pa. (This rare volume was presented at the last directors' meeting by Professor A. J. Hanna.)

While the Florida Historical Society is a public institution, it has always been maintained without assistance from public funds, the annual dues of its members (\$2) being its support. Additional funds are earnestly solicited, so that a permanent library and museum building might be provided, so that its library might be increased and made more useful, and a publication program, supplementary to the *Quarterly*, might be begun. More immediate needs are a manuscript cabinet (\$100), the binding of periodicals (\$250), and modern equipment for research and the preservation of records (\$500).
