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ST. AUGUSTINE UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG, 1763-1775

by CHARLES L. MOWAT

The city of St. Augustine, in the serenity which comes from nearly four hundred years of existence, inevitably carries the visitor back to the days of the Spanish Empire. Its narrow streets, its low coquina houses with their balconies overhanging the roadway, its shady square running from the old Governor's House down to the bay, and above all the massive yet graceful lines of the fort which should be called as of old Castillo de San Marcos, all bring back the spirit of the Old World to blend with that of the New into something of its original charm and lusty strength. Only a few other North American cities, such as Charleston, Marblehead and Quebec, possess this same happy power of evoking the past. Each has its own character and associations and each its distinctive appeal. That of St. Augustine, so well described by Dr. Chatelaine in a recent issue of the Quarterly, is definitely Spanish, and the visitor, unless reminded by one of the flags over the 'oldest house', may well forget that the city was ever in British possession.

And in fact, though St. Augustine was for something over twenty years the capital and sole town of the British province of East Florida, its British masters left upon it an impression quite as slight as that which they left upon the province as a whole. It is true that the British occupation in 1763 came upon the heels of the departure of virtually

1. Wilbur H. Siebert, 'The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida, 1763-1764,' *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX, 145-154 (October, 1940).

the entire Spanish population, ¹ and that strenuous efforts were made by the British to encourage the settlement of the land, by the provision of military defense and civil government at the expense of Great Britain, by generous-probably over-generous-grants of land, ² and by numerous accounts of the country in magazines and books published in Great Britain itself. ³ Dr. Turnbull, Denys Rolle and others made valiant efforts to bring over white settlers to their settlements at New Smyrna, Rolles-town or elsewhere; other planters such as John Moultrie and Richard Oswald began to exploit their lands with negro labor; a considerable number of families in humble circumstances came to East Florida from the British Isles, the continent of Europe, and from the other British colonies in North America. Yet the growth of the province was neither as great nor as rapid as was hoped for by both the local and home authorities, and the first Florida land boom tended mainly to cover the map with the grants of those whom Bernard Romans called the "monopolisers of East Florida", who "planted their baronies in the pine-barrens", ⁴ and, as Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie wrote, left their lands in a "state of nature uncultivated and waste." ⁵

2. Charles L. Mowat, 'The Land Policy in British East Florida,' *Agricultural History*, XIV, 75-77 (April, 1940).
3. See for instance William Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida*, (London, 1763) ; [William Stork], *An Account of East-Florida* (London, [1766] : subsequently enlarged and re-issued) ; [Denys Rolle], *An Extract from the Account of East Florida, Published by Dr. Stork . . .* (London, 1766) ; and references in general works such as Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America* (London, 1765). Articles include those in *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVII, 21-22 (January, 1767), and *Scots Magazine*, XXIX, 50 (January, 1767).
4. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), 117.
5. Moultrie to Dartmouth, 16 May 1773, in Great Britain, Colonial Office papers, class 5, volume 553, pp. 45-48 (C.O. 5/553, pp. 45-48) : Library of Congress transcripts.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution the total population of the province, excluding the garrison, seems to have stood at about 3000. This was equal to the size of the previous Spanish population, but since the figures for the latter included the garrison, the British figure does represent a moderate increase over the Spanish. The surveyor general, William Gerrard De Brahm, put the population in 1770 at 144 married men, 145 unmarried men, upwards of 900 negroes, and 1400 persons brought over by Dr. Turnbull. Of the 289 men whom he listed by name, 107, or a little more than one out of three were designated as planters, and of these 32 had died or left the province.⁶ The records of land grants made by the East Florida Council show that between 1764 and 1775 a total of 342 persons had petitioned for land and had received warrants of survey.⁷

It is thus clear that about two-thirds of the province's population, excluding negroes and the New Smyrna colonists, lived in St. Augustine, but that even so the town was very small. The accounts and plans which have come down from the British period—the accounts of Dr. Stork, Bernard Romans and De Brahm, for example, and the plans of De Brahm, James Moncrief of the Engineers, and de Solis⁸ - show that the appearance of the

6. For the Spanish population see Siebert's article cited above, *F. H. Q.*, XIX, 149-150. The British figure is based on those given in the List of Inhabitants of East Florida, their Employments, Business, and Qualifications, from 1763 to 1771, in William Gerrard De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America, 183-190, 294 (manuscript volume in Harvard University Library).

7. Council Minutes, C.O. 5/570, 571, and Audit Office 16/43, *passim*.

8. Stork, 32-34; Romans, 262-264; De Brahm's Report, 293-294 (Harvard copy). For plans see those in the Library of Congress, Division of Maps, including the photostat of Moncrief's plan of 1765 (Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Florida, 8) and of the New and Accurate Plan of the Town of St. Augustine, Engraved from

town was very much as it had been under the Spaniards, and that the ground-plan was the same, with the Bay street and two or three other streets running north and south, intersected by five or six cross lanes, and the whole surrounded by a crumbling rampart. The principal entry to the town was by the "barrier gate", close to the fort. At the southern end, near the water-front, stood the barracks. The principal public buildings, including the Governor's House, and the old Bishop's House and the hospital, stood on the square or Parade in the center of the town. New names were given to some of the streets, and the town was divided into quarters, including those named Key, Moultrie, Main Guard, Halifax, Grenville, Society, Henderson, Keppel and Skinner.⁹ The whole town-site was not much more than 3/4 mile long and 1/4 mile broad. The number of houses standing before 1775 was disputed: Dr. Stork mentioned 900 but admitted that several were constructed of wood and palmetto leaves and were in a state of decay; Romans put the number at only 300.¹⁰

The town owed its importance to at least four things: its harbor, its military garrison, its position as the capital of the province, and the local trade which centered upon it. The harbor suffered from its dangerous bar, which had only nine feet of water at high tide and was narrow and

the Survey of Don John de Solis [1764]. Others are in Archer B. Hulbert (ed.), *The Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps*, 2nd series, I, numbers 36 and 31; 3rd series, II, plates 79, 81 (Harrow, England, 1909 and Cleveland 1916).

9. Council Minutes, as cited above, n. 7. A different series of names occur in the loyalist claims for compensation after the American Revolution; see Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida 1774 to 1785* (Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, No. 9; DeLand, Florida, 1929), II, 120, n. 87a.
10. Stork, 33; Romans, 264.

crooked and subject to sudden shifts after storms, only real port, in the province, and was for long years of British rule. Nevertheless it remained the and many ships came to grief on it during the the only port of entry in the Customs service, though in 1770 a customs officer was appointed for the Port of St. Mary's River.¹¹ Thirty two ships entered the port of St. Augustine in 1764, according to the official records. The corresponding figures for the next seven years were 31, 36, 52, 56, 50, 30, 26. This volume of shipping was greater than that at Pensacola, but very small in comparison with that at the larger ports to the north ; for example, 148 ships entered Savannah in 1768, and 448 ships entered Charleston. On the basis of the comparative tonnage of shipping in the different ports, St. Augustine's position was even more humble, as most of the ships entering its harbor were of 30, 25, 20 or even 12 or 10 tons: only one or two of as much as 70, 80 or 100 tons are recorded as being in the port during these years. Most of the vessels came on the short coastal run from Charleston, where most goods to or from East Florida were trans-shipped into larger vessels going to the northern ports or to Europe, or were unloaded from such vessels. Only an occasional ship made the journey to St. Augustine direct from Europe. The value of East Florida's trade was necessarily small. Provisions, wine, rum and beer, powder and shot, leather goods, hardware, furniture, dry goods, shingles and scantling, livestock and negroes were imported; but ships clearing outwards were in ballast as often as not, though sometimes they carried small amounts of hides, timber, naval stores, oranges or orange juice, and the increasingly large and valuable ship-

11. Council Minutes, 26 December 1770, C.O. 5/571, p. 45.

ments of indigo, the province's principal article of export.¹²

More noticeable, perhaps, than the periodic stir in the harbor when a ship was being loaded or unloaded, was the presence of the officers and men of the military garrison. St. Augustine was first designated in 1763 as one of the places in North America where British troops were to be maintained under the reorganized system of imperial defence adopted after the close of the Seven Years War and the Conspiracy of Pontiac. As such it became the headquarters of a regiment, though since this maintained outposts at Apalache, New Providence in the Bahamas, and elsewhere, and was in any ease never kept at full strength, the number of the rank and file in St. Augustine was generally about 200, with the usual proportion of officers and staff. In 1768 a further military reorganization was decided on by the British government, in which St. Augustine was to become the station for three regiments and the headquarters of the Southern Brigade. Owing to difficulties in providing shipping to transport the troops over the treacherous bar, and in finding accommodation for them on arrival, the plan was never carried out, though Brigadier General Haldimand made St. Augustine his headquarters for a year from April 1769, until recalled to West Florida by the fears of a Spanish attack there. Under a revised plan of 1770, St. Augustine was to be the station for two regiments, and for a time this was put into practice, though after 1773 the needs of the service elsewhere again relegated the town to the

12. This information comes from various sources, principally the returns of the Naval Officer at St. Augustine for 1764-67 in C.O. 5/573, and the tables of the vessels entered inwards and cleared outwards at the several ports in North America for 1768-72 in Customs 16/1.

position of headquarters for a single regiment.¹³

Even so, the military character of the town was very marked. At first both officers and men were chiefly quartered in private houses in the town. Later the old Bishop's House was assigned for some of the men; this and the military hospital were right in the center of the town. After much delay the barracks were completed at the southern end where the old Franciscan convent and church were adapted as barracks and a new frame building was also constructed for the purpose. Both these edifices were completed by 1771. In the previous year the hospital was transferred to the old Indian church on the outskirts of town, so that the removal of the soldiers from the center of town was complete. But officers and men must often have passed along the streets, and sentries were stationed at the barrier gate and outside the Governor's House. The firing of a gun at the fort marked the morning and evening of each day. So, for better or worse (as it happened for both) civilian and military life blended together in the little capital.

Its position as the seat of the provincial government also affected the character and appearance of the town. The public buildings of the British regime were all, however, inherited from the Spaniards, though in most cases partially reconstructed and adapted for new purposes. Various minor additions were made to the Governor's

13. Information on the disposition of troops in North America comes chiefly from the papers of General Gage in the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (see the author's article in *F. H. Q.*, XVIII, 46-60 [July, 1939]), and from Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage . . . 1763-1775* (New Haven, 1931-33). For the imperial reorganizations, see Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (Cleveland, 1917) I, 128 seq., 248-251, 276-286, 325 seq., II, seq., and *passim*.

House, such as a coach house and stables and a laundry, and the belvedere at the back was raised in height. One of the Spanish churches, standing south of the square on the north side of St. George street, was used as the parish church of the Church of England, and was renamed St. Peters. It was repaired from time to time, and in 1773 a wooden spire was added to the tower and a clock and bells were installed. The courts were at first held in the Franciscan church and later in a hired house, but in 1772 the Spanish hospital, released from military uses was reconstructed as a court house, jail and provost marshal's lodgings. In its turn the Bishop's House was reconstructed as a state house in 1772-1775 as part of a program of public works financed out of the savings which Governor Grant had made over a number of years from the parliamentary grants for the support of the provincial government.¹⁴

Persons connected with the government naturally made up a large part of the town's population. Ninety-four persons were entered as being in government service in De Brahm's list, many of them in more than one capacity; several of them had, of course, private avocations as well. The leaders among these, Governor Grant, Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie, Chief Justice William Drayton, Dr. Turnbull, Reverend John Forbes, the other councillors and chief officials, together with the principal military men such as Colonel Tayler, and Lieutenant Mulcaster of the Engineers, were the *elite* of local society. Principal occasions of festivity were the 'public days' such as the anniversary of the King's

14. Details of work done on public buildings are to be found in the annual accounts of the expenditures from the contingent fund sent home by the Governor (C.O. 5/540, 541 548, etc., *passim*.) and in the declared accounts of John Moultrie, Governor Tonyn, and William Knox, the crown agent, in Audit Office 1, bundle 1261, rolls 147, 148, 150.

coronation, on which it was customary for a salute to be fired by the troops and the guns of the fort in the morning, after which Governor Grant entertained 'the Gentlemen of the Town and Army' at dinner.¹⁵

Grant's bachelor hospitality was, however, continuous, and Denys Rolle, who had a standing invitation to dine at the Governor's when he was in town, wrote that Grant saw "the whole Corps of Officers, and the Gentry of the Town" at his table perhaps once a week.¹⁶ In 1771, when Major Small, a Major of Brigade who had been ordered to join General Haldimand, was in town with his 'Music' (a military band), Grant wrote that it was "the gayest Place in America nothing but Balls, Assemblies and Concerts, we are too inconsiderable to enter into Politicks & Faction, and as People have little to do the Novelty has catched, and they are all at present Mason [?] Musick and dancing Mad ... "¹⁷

But in such a society points of precedence counted for as much as in larger capitals. Writing against the appointment to the Council of Martin Jollie, as one of an inferior station in life, the Governor said "it would be very distressing if he was to take Rank of the others, they would not Submit to that for going in at a Door or dancing first at a little

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15. Grant to Shelburne, 10 October 1767, CO. 5/549, pp. 1-7, writing of his quarrel with Colonel Tayler whom he accused of not showing him proper deference on one of the 'public days.'
 16. [Denys Rolle], *To the Right HONOURABLE the LORDS of His MAJESTY'S Most Honourable Privy Council. The Humble Petition of Denys Rolle, Esq; setting forth the Hardships, Inconveniences, and Grievances, which have attended him in his Attempts to make a Settlement in East Florida . . .* (a printed work, never published, issued in a few copies in 1766 with no title page, but the above title at the head of the first page of text: a copy is in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island). Reference here is on p. 59.
 17. Grant to Gage, 18 February 1771, in Gage papers.

Assembly are points among the Women which I cannot direct, and dare not interfere in . . ." ¹⁸ Yet there were small, intimate gatherings also. Mulcaster, writing to Grant in 1775, regretfully recalled the old days before the latter's departure. In praising a certain Captain Charles Fordice, he wrote "He has been for these two years past one of a cabinet junto, consisting of the *Padre* [Forbes] and myself, where the state of the Province and its welfare has been duly considered . . . had he been here in your time, I am confident [he] would have been a frequent guest in the Print room, and a no small sharer of the wicked bottle." ¹⁹

This select little society produced, for its size, a surprising number of men who later attained eminence in public life. The lieutenant-governor, Dr. John Moultrie, an M.D. of Edinburgh University, had six children by his second wife, Eleanor Austin, daughter of a naval captain who had settled as a merchant in Charleston. The pair had eloped in 1762. Of the children the second son James followed in his father's footsteps in the Edinburgh medical school and returned to practise in Charleston and to continue the medical dynasty which still carries on the family profession if not the name in that city. ²⁰ William Drayton had nine children by his first wife, Mary Motte, of whom William, born in East Florida in 1776, subsequently practised in Charleston as a lawyer, became a judge and a Congressman, and ended his career in Philadelphia as the last president of the Bank of the

18. Grant to Hillsborough, 19 October 1770, C.O. 5/551, p. 184.

19. Mulcaster to Grant, 29 September 1775, in Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives*, 4th series, III (Washington, 1840), 838.

20. Eleanor Winthrop Townsend, 'John Moultrie, Junior, M.D., 1729-1798: Royal Lieutenant-Governor of East Florida,' *Annals of Medical History*, 3rd series, II, 98-109 (March, 1940).

United States.²¹ His friend Dr. Turnbull had nearly as large a family by his Greek wife: four sons and three daughters. One of the sons, Robert James, born at New Smyrna in 1775, became the owner of a large plantation in the South and was well known as a writer and an ardent supporter of states' rights and nullification.²² The dashing Lieutenant Frederick George Mulcaster, reputedly a natural brother of George III, married the only child of the testy Dutchman, De Brahm, the surveyor general, in 1769.²³ She died a few years later, leaving two children, Frederick William and Frances; the boy subsequently entered the Royal Engineers, became its colonel-commandant and inspector-general of fortifications and received a knighthood.²⁴

Perhaps the most interesting family, however, was that of the clergyman of the town, Rev. John Forbes, a graduate of Aberdeen University. He married in 1769 Dorothy (or Dolly) Murray, daughter of Barbara Bennet and James Murray of Boston, a prosperous Scots merchant who was later forced to leave Massachusetts as a loyalist. The marriage took place at Brush Hill in Milton, Massachusetts, the home of the bride's uncle by marriage, James Smith. Mrs. Forbes had three sons, the last born at Brush Hill after she had been persuaded by her father, who visited St. Augustine in 1773, to return to Massachusetts for the sake of her health. The outbreak of the Revolution prevented the reunion of the family. Mrs. Forbes and her sister continued to live at Brush

21. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. William Drayton (1732-1790) and William Drayton (1776-1846).

22. *D.A.B.*, s.v. Andrew Turnbull and Robert James Turnbull (1775-1833).

23. *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, 10 July 1769.

24. Force, *Am. Archives*, 4th ser., III, 834-838; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Sir Frederick William Mulcaster (1772-1846).

Hill, which they had inherited and managed to save from confiscation. Parson Forbes stayed on in St. Augustine with the eldest son until 1783, when he returned to England, hoping that the family might be reunited there. But he died two months after his arrival, and Mrs. Forbes, except for a journey to Florida in a vain attempt to salvage some of the family property there, remained at Brush Hill until her death in 1811. The eldest of the sons was the future historian of East Florida, James Grant Forbes,²⁵ who was presumably the Governor's godson. The second, John Murray Forbes (1771-1831) represented the United States successively at Hamburg, Copenhagen and Buenos Aires, and was one of the most trusted agents of the Department of State. The third, Ralph Bennet Forbes (1773-1824), left two distinguished sons, Robert Bennet Forbes (1804-1889) and John Murray Forbes (1813-1898) : the former was a celebrated sea captain, China merchant, ship owner, and author, the latter a successful business man, railway promoter, and champion of the Northern cause in the Civil War.²⁶

In addition to these persons of eminence, St. Augustine had among its inhabitants, according to De Brahm's list, one schoolmaster, three attorneys, one notary public, Dr. Stork, listed as 'East Florida Historian' and one Cass, listed simply as 'Bacthelor of Arts'. The medical men were John Moultrie and Turnbull, neither of whom practiced, Dr. Catherwood, the surgeon of the garrison who was also a councillor and judge, Mr. Richard

25. James Grant Forbes, *Sketches, Historical and Topographical, of The Floridas; more particularly of East Florida* (New York, 1821).

28. See *D.A.B.*, under Rev. John Forbes and his descendants mentioned above; also Nina Moore Tiffany (ed.), *Letters of James Murray, loyalist* (Boston, 1901: printed, not published), 117, 146-147, 149, 280, 281-283.

Pritchard, the surgeon of the Ordnance branch of the military establishment, and the hospital mates of the military hospital, George Kemp and David Yeats. The latter, who was also the register and deputy clerk of the Council, had a thriving private practice.²⁷ The rest of the populace included twenty-six storekeepers, fifteen innkeepers, fifteen house carpenters, three ship's carpenters, one ship builder, one millwright, two blacksmiths, one bricklayer, three masons, two turners, two joiners, two lime burners, one saw miller, three haberdashers, three tailors, one goldsmith, one watchmaker, one cooper, one shoemaker, one baker, five butchers and two barbers. There were also fourteen persons cryptically referred to as 'livers in town'.²⁸

Of the storekeepers and artizans several had frequent dealings with the government, as is shown by the payments made from the 'contingent fund,' which was included in the annual Parliamentary grant. The two principal storekeepers in 1775 were Robert Payne and James Penman; others were James Henderson, George Rolfes, William Alexander, and the firms of Fraser and Richardson, Rodget and Wilson, and George Laidler and Son. The principal carpenter was John Hewitt, who was really more of a contractor. He built roads, made the additions to the Governor's House, and constructed the steeple of the church. Other carpenters were Godfrey (or Godfried) Humbert, Thomas Tustin, and the firm of Simpson and Gressell. The principal ship's carpenters were the firm of Pool and Cross, and Samuel Grondin. Edward Marlin was the chief mason, and on various occasions he contracted for the supply of coquina from the quarries on Anastasia island. Thomas Hannay, another mason, did much of the work on the court

27. Force, *Am. Archives*, 4th ser., III, 837.

28. De Brahm, Report, 183-190 (Harvard copy).

house and state house. Robert Bonsall was the principal blacksmith, Collin McKenzie the principal butcher.

This population enjoyed few of the things usually associated with a thriving social life. There was no newspaper, nor even a printing press in the province before the Revolution, though the Charleston and Savannah papers had some circulation and sometimes carried items of East Florida news.²⁹ Normal needs of publicity were served by the posting of notices, both official or scurrilous, at 'Payne's Corner.' The only social organization to which reference has been found was 'Grant's East Florida Lodge' of the Masonic Order. Grant was provincial grand master over the lodges in the southern district of North America under the Scottish constitution. John Moultrie was a fellow Mason of his.³⁰

Conviviality, however, was not lacking; in fact there was much too much of it, according to one disgruntled critic, Denys Rolle, who was disappointed in his first hopes of making a settlement in East Florida and returned to England in 1765 to petition the Privy Council for help. His account of his troubles, for which he principally blamed Governor Grant, throws a lurid light on the early condition of the town and province. He described St. Augustine as a garrison town "where Luxury and Debauchery reigned amidst Scarcity," and where "the small Number of Females occasioned much Divisions and Irregularity." He gave several instances of its baneful influence. Two young gentlemen who had come over with him were en-

29. See, for instance, the *South Carolina Gazette*, especially for 25 August 1764.

30. [Alastair Macpherson Grant], *General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 1720-1806* ... (published privately by A. M. Grant, London, in 1930: copy in St. Augustine Historical Society's Library), 77: Townsend in *An. Med. Hist.*, 3rd ser., II, 104.

ticed away by the dissipation it afforded ; one eventually found his way back to a London prison, the other was set up on a plantation and promptly converted his provisions into rum. A young surveyor, Henry Fairchild, ran through the money which his fees brought him and absconded to West Florida, leaving a 50 book debt at Rodget's store. One Bullemore, who had come out, so Rolle alleged, with the promise of the collectorship of the port, was disappointed of this, ruined, and "made a dreadful Exit" not long afterwards.³¹ There was also the case of James Sherdley, a youth who came out as his father's deputy as commissary of stores and provisions on the military establishment. He sold on his own account over 2500 gallons of rum belonging to the government in the course of a few months, and when this was about to be discovered, fled to Georgia, where he died shortly afterwards.³² This picture of St. Augustine as the disorderly refuge of the 'remittance man' is borne out by two other pieces of evidence: the large number of taverns, which was once presented as a grievance by the grand jury ; and the account of the place by a clerical visitor, Mr. Woodmason, in 1766, in which he declared that, the Governor kept a concubine and the other officers followed his example, and charged that there was no face nor appearance of religion to be seen in St. Augustine.³³

Be that as it may, St. Augustine had several of the institutions of normal municipal government, supported, however, with the help of the parliamentary grants to the province. There was a bathing

31. Rolle's petition, 9, 20, 24-26, and *passim*.

32. Grant to Gage, 30 August 1765, Gage Papers.

33. Mr. Woodmason's Account of S.C., N.C., Ga., etc., 1766, Fulham MSS., S.C., numbers 300, 298, 299 (Library of Congress transcripts) : quoted in Edgar L. Pennington, 'The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1763-1892,' *Historical Magazine of Protestant Episcopal Church*, VII, 3-77 (March 1938) at 10.

house, a public slaughtering pen at the barrier gate, and a market with a market bell and a beam scales under the custody of a clerk of the market: a new set of weights and measures was brought out by Governor Tonym, as the standard, in 1774. A fire-engine was purchased in 1772 out of the savings from the parliamentary grants, and a man was paid 10 a year out of the contingent fund for taking care of it. ³⁴ A proclamation was issued by the provincial Council in 1773 ordering the inhabitants to store gunpowder in the magazine in the fort in the interest of fire prevention, and another proclamation in 1775 ordered the destruction of weeds on the lots, as they were injurious to health. ³⁵ After public protest expressed by the grand jury and by petition, the sea wall was repaired and extended along the water-front, as a charge on the contingent fund. ³⁶ There was, of course, no regular provision for poor relief, but the contingent fund occasionally paid for coffins for persons who died destitute, and for provisions for paupers who could not support themselves in jail. In 1767-68 6-3-6 was paid for the maintenance of Jonathan, "a poor distracted man, who having no person to take care of him was put into the hospital." ³⁷ In 1772-73 the sum of six shillings was paid for a boat and people to conduct one Mackay to the "Black House, he being delirious." ³⁸

Two other institutions, also maintained at the cost of the British government, must be mentioned. The one, the Church of England, cannot, however,

34. Contingent Accounts for various years ; C.O. 5/549, p. 118; C.O. 5/550, pp. 125-127; CO. 5/553, pp. 119-124, etc.: Council Minutes, 9 April 1774, C.O. 5/571, p. 108.

35. Council Minutes, 8 October 1773, 21 August 1775; C.O. 5/571, p. 93, 181.

36. Council Minutes, 9 April 1774, C.O. 5/571, p. 108; Contingent Account, 1774-75, C.O. 5/555, pp. 205-207.

37. Contingent Account, 1767-68, C.O. 5/549, pp. 117-119.

38. Provost Marshal's Account, 1772-73, C.O. 5/553, p. 129.

be dismissed in a paragraph, and has already been well described elsewhere.³⁹ For the other, the school, a schoolmaster was provided at a salary of 25 on the civil establishment of the province; in fact two schoolmasters were provided for, one being for St. Marks (Apalache), though for obvious reasons he never went to that outpost in the wilderness. It is interesting that the British government made provision for the public support of education in the Floridas at a time when at home and in the older colonies it was left to local or charitable initiative. The first schoolmaster, Enoch Hawksworth, who according to De Brahm's list was also a haberdasher, arrived in 1765, as did Jones Reed, the second schoolmaster.⁴⁰ There is no record of their being paid after 1770, and they had both apparently left by then, though they seem to have had successors. One of the clergy, Reverend John Leadbeater, was pressed by Governor Tonyn in 1775 to assume the position and salary of schoolmaster in addition to his clerical work, but he refused and returned to England.⁴¹ His successor, Reverend John Kennedy, who arrived in 1777 with a royal appointment to the Free Schools in East Florida, received 50 a year as schoolmaster up to 1785.⁴² The subjects taught, according to a table of fees fixed by the Council in 1775, included English, writing, arithmetic, Latin and Greek.⁴³

Thus it can be seen that St. Augustine, in pre-revolutionary days, was a fairly normal self-contained community, though on a diminutive scale, and with many institutions existing only in rudi-

39. See Pennington's article cited above, n. 33.

40. Grant to Board of Trade, 16 July and 9 August 1765, C.O. 5/540, pp. 415, 480.

41. Tonyn to Dartmouth, 15 May 1775, C.O. 5/555, pp. 147-150.

42. Leadbeater to Germain, 30 December 1777, C.O. 5/558, pp. 11-12; Cowan's Declared Account, 1782-87, Audit Office 1, bundle 1261, roll 151.

43. Council Minutes, 21 August 1775, C.O. 5/571, pp. 181-182.

mentary form. It lacked much of the bustle of other colonial capitals, particularly that which came from the meetings of a General Assembly, since none was summoned in East Florida until 1781. Since many of the expenses of the town, no less than of the province, were met out of the contingent fund provided by the annual parliamentary grant, which also carried the salaries of many of the colonial officials, the disputes over taxation which developed elsewhere were also absent. The meetings of the courts four times a year probably provoked the greatest civic interest, and these, through the presentments of the grand jury, sometimes took on a political tone which to some degree compensated for the lack of an Assembly: in fact this lack was one of the grievances which more than once was presented.

During the Revolution there was a much greater stir in the town. Some refugees arrived from Georgia or South Carolina, though not in any great numbers ; on the other hand the military forces were strengthened, the East Florida Rangers organized, and the militia occasionally mustered. There were constant rumors and alarms, and some talk of capitulation, though successive invasions of Florida territory from Georgia, weakly pressed by the Americans, were all repulsed.

After the capture of Savannah and Charleston by the British in 1779 and 1780 fears of attack from the north subsided, though the Spanish conquest of West Florida raised a new menace from the west. Meanwhile Governor Tonyn, scorning conciliatory tactics, fought a long and sordid political duel with Chief Justice Drayton, Dr. Turnbull and others whom he chose to identify as an American faction, though they may merely have been resisting his high-handed methods of gov-

ernment.⁴⁴ Drayton was suspended as chief justice, reinstated by the home government, and then again suspended. After the second suspension he resigned and eventually moved to Charleston. Dr. Turnbull was suspended from the sinecure of the secretaryship, his New Smyrna colony was broken up, and he himself kept in custody for a year until he left the province for South Carolina. In the last phase of its history, East Florida became the principal destination of the mass emigration of loyalists from Savannah and Charleston in 1782 and 1783, on the British evacuation of those cities. Then St. Augustine was at its busiest during the British regime. A mushroom new town of temporary cabins grew up beyond the lines, a press and a gazette were established, plays were given by an amateur troupe in the state house, and the Assembly was in session. Refugees and old settlers, regular soldiers, ill-equipped troops of the provincial regiments, Indians coming in embarrassing numbers to the last British post in the South to seek help against the expected measures of the hated 'Virginians'-all jostled each other on the narrow streets of the crowded capital. Then came the harrowing days of the British evacuation, and the arrival of the Spanish Governor and the Spanish troops and settlers.

As soon as the rule of Spain was reestablished, the marks of the British regime began to disappear, and within a generation there were hardly any traces to be found. The Minorcan colony, moved by the force of circumstance from New Smyrna, added a permanent element to the population of St. Augustine. A few of the British

44. A study of Drayton by the author will appear in a future issue of the *Quarterly*.

inhabitants stayed on under the new rulers.⁴⁵ No new public buildings had been added to the town by the British, save the frame barracks, and this was burnt down, except for the chimney stacks, in 1792.⁴⁶ The Franciscan barracks survived much longer, but they were only an adaptation of Spanish buildings. So was the parish church, which a traveler, Dr. Schoepf, reported in 1784 to be on the point of falling in ; when J. G. Forbes wrote, not a vestige of it remained. The bells and church pews (and also the fire-engine) had been sent with the loyalists to the Bahamas.⁴⁷ As for the state house, Dr. Schoepf described it also as half in ruins; it had never been completed, and the lack of an exterior coat of plaster caused it to crumble to pieces.⁴⁸ Equally transitory was the general impression of twenty years of British rule on the oldest city north of Mexico.

45. See Joseph B. Lockey, 'The St. Augustine Census of 1786,' *F.H.Q.*, XVIII, 11-31 (July, 1939).

46. Forbes, *Sketches* . . . 85; William W. Dewhurst. *History of Saint Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1881), 134.

47. Forbes, 87; Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, tr. Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia; 1911: original published in 1788), II, 230; Tonym to Sydney, 4 April, 1785, C.O. 5/561, pp. 353 *seq.*

48. Schoepf, II, 232; Forbes, 86-87.

SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS OF PENSACOLA, 1698-1763

by STANLEY FAYE

Spain knew toward the end of the seventeenth century that her enemy France soon would be colonizing the Mississippi valley. Wilderness guarded Mexico (New Spain) from an attack by any French soldiers who should garrison the future posts of Louisiana. In order that a hostile fleet might not sail against Spanish ports of the Gulf, Spain took steps to occupy the one still unoccupied Gulf port deep enough to serve as base for such a fleet.¹ So in April of 1693 a Mexican mathematician, Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, led an official expedition into Pensacola bay to investigate that harbor and its possibilities.

Don Carlos mapped the bay and chose names for its shores. He thought it to be the place known briefly in a previous century as Santa Maria Filipina ; to honor the Conde de Galve, viceroy of Mexico, he called it now Santa Maria de Galve. To honor himself he set the names Siguenza and San Carlos to the two points, on Santa Rosa island and the western coast, between which lies the entrance. To the sand spit within the bay, northeast of the high red bank on the mainland, he gave the name of a companion, Aguero. The bank itself, steep enough though little more than twenty-five English feet in height, he called the *barranca* of St. Thomas. In his report to the viceroy he recommended that a fort should be built on the bar-

1. Real cedula, June 26, 1692, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-21. Except as otherwise noted all texts and maps cited, whether published or in unpublished copy or original, have been consulted in the Newberry Library, Chicago, for the most part in the Ayer Collection.

ranca and two batteries on Point Siguenza to guard the bay against the world.²

War in Europe prevented Spain from acting on the surveyor's report until 1698.³ An expedition sent then by a new viceroy reached Pensacola bay in November with a few missionary friars, nearly three hundred infantrymen and a labor battalion of colored criminals to build "a fortification with wood in a place where it cannot be built with mortar and stone because there is not any." Within six days eighteen cannon (8-pounders and 10-pounders) peered out from the sandy crest of the bluff, where work already had begun on a fort nearly one hundred yards square that bore the name San Carlos de Austria.⁴ St. Thomas (too doubtful a name to bring good luck) was forgotten; another name created itself in the mouths of Mexicans. *La barranca* straightway became *las barrancas*, later simply Barrancas, or Barrancas Coloradas, the Red Cliffs of the still later British and the Red Cliffs of the Americanos.⁵

The channel that San Carlos should control held a middle course through the 3,000-yard-wide entrance between Barrancas and Santa Rosa island. Therefore it almost evaded the range of 10-pounder iron cannon. It could be barred only by cross-fire

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2. Irving A. Leonard, *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693* (Albuquerque, 1939), 154-185.
 3. Cf. memorandum, Consejo de Indias, Feb. 28, 1694, annotated into 1697, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-21.
 4. Montezuma to the king, Sept. 18, Arriola to the king, Dec. 1, 1698, and, in *Testimonio de Autos* accompanying real cedula of April 19, 1698, the following two letters: Frank to (Montezuma?), Feb. 19, Jordan to the king, Nov. 1, 1699, all four in Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-22; William Edward Dunn, *The Occupation of Pensacola Bay, 1689-1700*, in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IV (1925-1926), 3-14, 76-89, 140-154.
 5. The plural *barrancas* is a Spanish-Americanism with the same history and same meaning as the Anglo-Americanism *bluffs*. In Spanish-American place names, as in English, a descriptive noun quickly drops the preceding article.

of more efficient artillery, but the garrison did not build the two batteries that a mathematician had proposed for Point Siguenza. The military officers found Siguenza to be a point "of shifting sand at sea level, all watery and drowned so that no fortification can be set there; because in heavy rains it is drowned, and when the south and southeast winds do blow the sea drowns it likewise." Pending arrival of more guns the bay continued open to attack, and Fort San Carlos commanded only its own esplanade atop Barrancas.⁶

On the crest a hundred yards westward of San Carlos, and at greater distances toward the north, three dunes of sand dominated dangerously the position that the officers chose to defend.⁷ Felling of the pine forest that surrounded these mounds yielded materials for the building of the fort.

In design and construction San Carlos was a typical field redoubt of the period. On each side of a quadrilateral that an engineer officer traced on the crest, pine stakes some twelve inches thick were set deeply into the sand in two parallel rows perhaps six yards apart. Held in place by these sunken footings two rows of pine logs (each about nine yards in length and one foot thick at the base) leaned inward and upward and joined their tips, like the rafters of a gable, some twenty-five feet above the ground. Within the space thus enclosed, triangular in section, a terreplein or earthfill of sand was shoveled and poured even to the top; sand and timbers became a fascined embankment strong enough to resist the assault of heavy guns. At each of the four angles a rhomboid bastion, al-

6. Arriola to the king, Dec. 1, 1698, as cited.

7. Minutes, Junta de Guerra de Indias, Jan. 25, 1716, Audiencia, Mexico, 60-5-3; *Carta de la costa de Pensacola desde [!] Santa Rosa hasta Massacre, MDCCXIII*, AGI, 61-3-12.

most square, projected obliquely to give the defenders vantage for artillery fire upon any enemy who should approach the foot of the curtain, or wall.⁸ During nearly one hundred years the Spaniards of Pensacola were not to improve upon this method of defence except by use of an adventitious exterior ditch, which was wanting in the case of the first San Carlos.⁹

It was rather the interior of San Carlos that needed improvement. Within the line traced by the engineer the garrison and the criminals built Mexican huts of poles and thatched them with palmetto leaves that within a few days became tinder-dry. A spark was enough to ignite the thatch ; again and again a spark did so. On January 4, 1699, fire destroyed every hut and most of the supplies. In March the garrison's one vessel solicited in Havana and brought back food and equipment and also two iron 16-pounders instead of the desired brass guns, "culverins of the greatest range," with which San Carlos would not too well have defended the bay.¹⁰

Need for the best artillery had proved itself on January 27, when the long-awaited French expedition anchored off Pensacola entrance and justified the existence of San Carlos. Of the fort's four walls the two that would have been invisible from below did not exist, nor did any one of the four bastions. Of the two walls that were visible from below, the logs of one held their proper places,

8. Cf. Jeannette Thurber Connor, *The Nine Old Wooden Forts of St. Augustine* in this *Quarterly*, IV 103-111, 171-180 (Jan., Apr., 1926). Frank to (Montezuma?), Feb. 19, 1699, as cited; *Carta de la Costa de Pensacola*, as cited.

9. Digest of report of Juan Pedro Matamoros de Isla, in *Extracto de lo acaescido en las entradas y Poblaciones de Franceses*, Jan. 12, 1720, Audiencia, Guadalajara, 67-3-28.

10. Cordova Laso de la Vega to Montezuma, April 18, 1799, in *Testimonio de Autos*, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-22, as cited.

but the terreplein had not yet attained to much height. The fourth wall consisted only of slanting logs, but shovels had raised an exterior breastwork of sand, and fourteen of the fort's cannon showed themselves from behind wall and breastwork. The French officer who paid a visit to Barrancas saw artillery ready for use, and he knew that France and Spain were no longer at war-the sieur d'Iberville continued his voyage to a landing farther west on the coast. Three weeks later a respectable pile of sand lay within the second wall. Work continued on the other curtains and on the bastions.¹¹

Before the fort came to completion toward the end of the year the pine logs had begun to rot away. Storm winds of autumn had scoured out a shallow ditch not beyond but around the sunken footings of the wall. Sand was sifting out of the terreplein at the bottom and blowing out at the top.¹²

Indian warfare, increasing in the next two years, caused St. Augustine to withdraw the garrison from Apalache, its only western post; and the Mexican dependency of Pensacola remained as the only Spanish foothold on the northern coast of the Gulf. Friendly Indians came to the chapel that, after the fire, the friars had set up not many yards to the eastward of San Carlos and near to the hut that served now as hospital. Strakes of cypress bark may already have roofed the houses instead of palmetto leaves. No masonry had made its appearance except for the bake oven within the fort and perhaps a chimney for the friars. Fire from the chapel hearth spread one day in the winter of 1704-1705. All buildings both without and within the fort burned to the ground. The French

11. Pierre Margry, ed., *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l'Ouest et dans de Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale, 1614-1754* (6 v.; Paris, 1876-1886), IV, 96-97; Frank to (Montezuma?), Feb. 19, 1699, as cited.

12. Frank to the king, Jan. 13, 1700, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-22.

of Mobile, subjects of a Bourbon king as were the Spaniards now, sent aid. A supply vessel from Vera Cruz, coming with further aid and with pay for the garrison long in arrears, did not anchor in Pensacola bay until the morning of September 5. By night both vessel and cargo lay wrecked by a storm.¹³

An enemy threatened San Carlos more fiercely than fire and wind when in August of 1707 Indians attacked the Spaniards of Pensacola as they had attacked Apalache. Now the mounds of sand that dominated the fort sheltered Indian snipers.¹⁴ During two months a siege continued ; when at last the besiegers carried their British flag back into the forest the Spanish garrison was almost out of powder.¹⁵ Next summer the Indians came back,¹⁶ and in the following summers. On the mound toward the west a tall cross marked the graves of men. Succeeding viceroys of Mexico failed to send replacements enough to assure San Carlos its full strength of four companies. The soldiers were paid in July of 1710 ; their next pay day came at the end of June, 1712, when they received back pay for six months only.¹⁷

The army colonel who took charge early in 1711 despaired two years later of continued attacks by Indians and continued neglect by the viceroy. In reports made directly to the king of Spain he recommended that San Carlos should be abandoned and the channel guarded by a new fort to be built

13. Minutes, Junta de Guerra de Indias, Dec. 2, 1707, Audiencia, Mexico. 60-5-2.

14. Cf. minutes, Junta de Guerra de Indias, Jan. 25, 1716, Audiencia, Mexico, 60-5-3.

15. Albuquerque [!] to the king, Feb. 2, 1708, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-6-35.

16. Corcoles y Martinez to the king, Jan. 22, 1710, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 58-1-28.

17. Salinas Varona to the king, July 12, 1712, Audiencia, Mexico. 61-6-35.

on Santa Rosa island. Early in 1716 His Catholic Majesty decided to save money by removing the rotten timbers of San Carlos to Santa Rosa and building with them a new fort.¹⁸ The decision was not carried out. A year later the colonel of San Carlos begged for at least a little fort on Siguenza Point big enough for only fifty men but to be armed with eight guns of 18-pound and 24-pound ratings for defence of the channel, which he knew that San Carlos could not defend.¹⁹

Another commanding officer arriving in March of 1718 found as his fortifications only the old San Carlos, a square work with four bastions but without an exterior ditch or the parapet that ought to have stretched beyond it, with nine of its twenty-eight iron guns useless because their carriages were broken, and with only enough small arms to provide each infantryman with one musket. Instead of four companies assigned to San Carlos the garrison consisted of two. One-third of the men were not combat troops, but members of the labor battalion, for the most part mulattoes. Fourteen of these latter had been assigned permanently to repair of the timbers and sandbanks that formed the fort.²⁰

In December of that same year (1718) England declared war against Spain. In January of 1719 the Bourbon king of France joined England in war against his Spanish Bourbon cousin. In April Louisiana heard the news and began to prepare a naval expedition against Pensacola.²¹

Pensacola heard the news also. The fort that

18. Minutes, Junta de Guerra de Indias, Jan. 25, 1716, Audiencia, Mexico, 60-5-3.

19. *Extracto de lo acaescido en las entradas y Poblaciones de Franceses*, Audiencia, Guadalajara, 67-3-28.

20. Digest of report of Matamóros de Isla in *Extracto de lo acaescido*, as cited.

21. Charles Etienne Arthur Gayarre *History of Louisiana* (4 v.; New York, 1851-1866), I, 249-252.

Spain had not authorized for Santa Rosa the current commander built now without specific authority. This was only a bastioned stockade, and a little one at that, ²² set up hastily on Siguenza where the first storm of autumn would overflow it. The first storm came indeed in May personified by French soldiers from Louisiana, who landed on Santa Rosa and by a trick gained possession of the new stockade. With little more difficulty the invaders possessed themselves next day of Fort San Carlos and shipped the defenders off to Havana. Back came the exiles in August with Cuban reinforcement and again occupied their two forts. ²³ A second French expedition attacked by land and sea in September, and Pensacola bay a second time became a French possession. The Spanish commandant made his next official report not as an exile in Havana but as a prisoner in Brest, where on January 9, 1720, he could learn that a treaty of peace between France and Spain might be expected within a month or two.

Less expectation of peace had existed at San Carlos in September. Then, to prevent Spaniards from profiting through another descent on Pensacola bay, the French razed completely both the stockade of Siguenza and the fort of San Carlos before sailing westward. Of the buildings on Barrancas, within the fort and at the mission site, they let only three remain, one as a government house, one for Lieutenant Carpot de Montigny, who was

22. Matamoros de Isla to the king, Jan. 9, annexed to Elcorobarrutia (Consejo de Indias) to the king, Feb. 17, 1720, Indiferente de Nueva Espana, 136-4-6 ; [Jean-Francois-Benjamin Dumont de Montigny], *Plan de Pensacola et des deux forts Espagnols pris par l'Escadre de Mr. de Chamelin, le 9 de Septembre 1719*, Service Hydrographique (Paris), Archives, 138-9-6; William Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida* (London, 1763), 91.
23. Relation annexed to Valero to Elcorobarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-2-1.

to command for France, ²⁴ and one for the sergeant and the detachment of twenty-four soldiers who completed the French garrison. ²⁵

The officers of the departing force carried with them an idea of Pensacola bay different from that of the Spaniards. The Spanish king and his Council of the Indies, vaguely appreciating the defects of Point Siguenza and of iron artillery, had held nevertheless to the theory of protecting Pensacola entrance by cross fire from Siguenza and Barrancas. Now the French of Louisiana with an eye toward possibilities in the future considered the values of cross fire from points within the bay.

About an English mile to the eastward of Siguenza, west of south from Aguero on the main and distant from Aguero by some two or three hundred yards more than the distance between Siguenza and Barrancas, a small point backed by a beach ridge projected northward from the line of Santa Rosa's northern beach. Here or hereabouts a fort might be built. The channel, narrow in the entrance, broadened between the inner points into a basin of deep anchorage. The sand spit of Aguero was suitable only for a battery and would demand protection from attack by the landward side. The costs of a protective fort atop Barrancas, of a fort on Santa Rosa and of a battery on Aguero would be greater for construction and for maintenance than the costs of San Carlos. The result, however, would be defence, whereas in relation

24. Cf. [Jean-Francois-Benjamin Dumont de Montigny], *Memoire de L'officier Ingenieur, contenant Les Evenemens qui se sont passes a la Louisiane depuis 1715 jusqu'a present. Ainsi que les remarques sur les Moeurs, usages et forces des diverses Nations de L'Amerique Septentrionale et de ses productions* (MS.; 1747), f. 62; relation, Audiencia, Mexico, 61-2-1, as cited.

25. Dumont de Montigny, op. cit., f. 62. The number of houses appears as four in [J-B Le Mascrier, ed.], *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane . . . composees sur les Memoires de M. Dumont* (2 v. ; Paris, 1753), II, 28.

to the channel San Carlos had done no more than add variety to the landscape. These considerations may be perceived in the map of Pensacola Bay drawn by an officer of France.²⁶

A new peace had reigned nearly three years between France and Spain when on November 26, 1722, an expedition from Vera Cruz, joined later by the garrison from the temporary Spanish post of St. Joseph bay, came to relieve the French detachment. The resident French lieutenant and seventeen soldiers gave over to the new Spanish commandant the one ruinous cabin that remained to them, and the bake oven and lidless cistern that alone represented San Carlos. On the ground, covered or half covered by drifted sand, lay the barrels of twelve cannon of ratings from ten to eighteen pounds, most of them spiked or otherwise useless.

It mattered little that no fort existed atop Barrancas, for the Spanish officer had orders only to prepare for building a fort on Siguenza. Inspection revealed Siguenza to be an expanse of morass and semiliquid sand unsuitable as the site of a fort unless it might first be drained, impossible at the moment for fort or for human habitation. If a fort should be built inland on Santa Rosa it could not command the channel opposite Barrancas; nevertheless it must be built inland or not at all.

With his orders for a fort on Siguenza the Spanish commandant sought to reconcile the military values that French invaders had recognized. The site he chose was within one hundred yards of Santa Rosa's northern beach, three quarters of an English mile eastward from Siguenza, a quarter

26. Francois Liebaut, *Plan de la rade de Pensacola leve par M. de Vienne* [undated but containing data of 1719], Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris), Estampes, Vd. 22.

mile or more west of the little point lying almost directly south of Aguero. Long lines of dune and constant beach ridge protected this site from surf that a storm might otherwise sweep across Santa Rosa from the Gulf, but did not guarantee it from overflow. On the most northerly line of elevation, only a few feet above water level, the Spaniards framed cabins first of cedar timbers that they had brought from Vera Cruz, later of timbers salvaged with strakes of bark from the abandoned post of St. Joseph. From among the few trees that grew in this sheltered spot they chose two standing side by side on which to fix a lookout fifty feet high.²⁷

The commandant recommended to Mexico a square fort, about seventy-two English yards on a side, for the position that he had chosen, with eighty guns (or forty-eight at least), 18-pounders to face the bay and 12-pounders toward the land of Santa Rosa. He recommended a fascined wall like that of San Carlos; masonry, he thought, would sink into the sand. Materials for a fort of masonry would have to be brought from Vera Cruz, or else charcoal ovens and brick yards would have to be built on the bay ; the supply of good clay was

27. Roberts, *op. cit.*, 11 and plate t. f. p. 11; *Pensacola Harbor and Bar, Florida. Surveyed in 1822 by Major James Kearney, Topo. Engineer*, copy in collection of Julien C. Yonge, Pensacola; Wauchop to Casafuerte, Sept. 26, 1722, in *Testimonio de ordenes y providencias dadas por ocupar el presidio de Sta Maria de Galve o Pansacola. ano 1722*, and Wauchop to Casafuerte, Feb. 15, Feb. 27, 1723, in *Cartas originals que escribio Don Alexandro Wauchop, ano de 1723*, all in Audiencia, Mexico, 60-5-5; dictamen, July 5, 1761, in *Supor. Govno., Ano de 1758, Testimonio de los Autos fijos de el Coronel Dn Miguel Roman de Castilla*, Archivo General y Publico de la Nacion [de Mejico], Marina, 1761-1781. By what is apparently Wauchop's own error Wauchop's text of Feb. 15 quotes the distance from Siguenza as 1212 feet (about 1111 feet English), but comparison with the distance quoted (likewise in error) from Siguenza to the channel shows these figures to be really not in feet but in varas (about 33 inches English). The site chosen appears therefore as four thousand English feet east of Siguenza.

plentiful, he found. But this one fort, he said, would be useless; there must absolutely be another one somewhere on the main.²⁸

The Spanish government acted on only part of this recommendation. No fort was built beyond the channel; only in the course of time did eight soldiers and one noncommissioned officer garrison a new little blockhouse on the site of the present Pensacola called Fort San Miguel, which stood seven miles up the bay on the forested waterfront between San Miguel Creek and the inlet called later Bayou Cadet, as military protection for mission Indians who lived nearby. One-pounder and 12-pounder guns fortified the square stockade that overlooked the northern beach of Santa Rosa, to be built again upon a foundation of piles driven so far into the sand that wind and water could not too greatly weaken them.²⁹ Bark roofed cabins stood within the stockade, and others near on the beach ridge formed a village.³⁰

The thirty-year history of this fort and this village, both called Santa Rosa Punta de Siguenza, was told later in three words: *Storms, high tides.*³¹ Wars in Europe gave successive viceroys of Mexico excuse if not reason for failing in their duty toward Pensacola bay. By the year 1750 the carriages of Santa Rosa's heavier guns were in great part

28. Wauchop to Casafuerte, Feb. 15, 1723, as cited.

29. Yarza y Ascona to (Indias?), June 30, 1750, in *Testimonio de los Autos fijos a Consulta del Comandante de la Isla de Sta Rosa Punta de Siguenza*, Audiencia, Guadalajara, 104-2-11; dictamen, July 5, 1761, as cited.

30. Roberts, *op. cit.*, t. f. p. 11, *North View of Pensacola on the Island of Santa Rosa*. This view from the north is redrawn by the cartographer Thomas Jeffreys from a drawing made in a year unrevealed by a Spaniard who had visited Pensacola bay in the year 1743. It shows nothing of the dunes mentioned by the Mexican *dictamen* or the dunes and ridges shown by Kearney's map, both cited above. It sets the village west of the fort and shows the fort as a small single palisade.

31. Dictamen, July 5, 1761, as cited.

broken and the guns therefore unserviceable. In that year the two companies now forming the garrison consisted in all of sixty-two men, of whom only thirty-six were fit for duty. The labor battalion had been reduced to twenty-four.³²

On November 3, 1752, a tropical storm struck Santa Rosa. Surf beat against the protecting dunes as it had not beaten before within the knowledge of Spaniards. During three days the Gulf continued its assault. The beach ridges yielded in crevasses. When the hurricane ceased there were no constant ridges, there were no dunes, there was no village and there was no fort. Of all the buildings on Santa Rosa only the storehouse and the hospital persisted in being. The area was uninhabitable now as a village site.³³ Some of the residents sought refuge at San Miguel while part, at least, of the garrison, with provisions and supplies contributed by the French of Mobile,³⁴ dared to build a blockhouse for eight guns on a slight elevation a quarter-mile east of the former fort.³⁵ A new viceroy arriving in Mexico learned that official opinion was divided there whether to maintain the distant garrison or to abandon it.³⁶

The new viceroy, the Marques de las Amarillas, decided in the summer of 1756 to reestablish the presidio beside the mainland blockhouse in the

32. Yarza y Ascona to (Indias?), as cited.

33. Dictamen, July 5, 1761, as cited.

34. Livaudais to Amarillas, June 7, annexed to Amarillas to Arriaga, July 22, 1757, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 86-7-11.

35. Thomas Hutchins, *An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1784), 74, 76; Juan Jose Elixio de la Puente, *Plano de la principal parte del Puerto de S. Maria de Galves de Panzacola* (Havana, Nov. 22, 1768), Madrid, Guerra, L M 8a la, a, 14; Kearney, *Pensacola Harbor and Bar*, as cited.

36. Revilla Gigedo to Amarillas, Nov. 28, 1754, annexed to Revilla Gigedo to Arriaga Oct. 10, 1755, Audiencia, Mexico, 90-2-18.

place that should honor his name henceforth as San Miguel de las Amarillas, and thus the present city of Pensacola came into being. By royal order of December 23, 1757, the king of Spain crushed this usurpation and authorized the old name, Panzacola.³⁷ The viceroy ordered a square stockade for the presidio. At a point that knowledge in Mexico could not identify as the eastern hill he ordered the castillo of Santa Barbara, a fort of double stockade like the former San Carlos but big enough for five hundred men. To guard the channel at a point (the mouth of Bayou Chico) that not even the oldest inhabitants of Pensacola could recognize from his description he ordered a semi-circular battery to mount ten guns. On Santa Rosa he ordered an earthwork or blockhouse with a small detachment of men in order that no foreign prince by equivocation might assert title to an abandoned island.³⁸

After shipwreck off Mobile bay and loss of reinforcements and supplies in January of 1757,³⁹ a new commandant came to the place called San Miguel. There he traced a line of stockade within which during the next three years there rose a blockhouse, a church, a hospital, a government house, a storehouse, barracks for the troops and barracks for the labor battalion. A bake oven came

37. The fiscal (Rivadeneira) to the viceroy, March 12, 1762, in No. 488, *Panzacola, ano de 1760. Propuesta de Dn Manuel Leguinazaval*, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781.

38. Dictamen, July 5, 1761, as cited; Agustin Lopez, *Plan de la Baia y Puerto de Sta Maria de Galbe y del Presidio llamado Pensacola situado en la Isla de Sta Rosa* (Mexico, March 2, 1756), Madrid, Guerra, L M 8a 1a, a, 19; Feringan Corttes to Ortiz Parrilla, Nov. 24, 1761, in *Testimonio de los Informes del Coronel Dn Miguel Roman de Castilla [and of Feringan and Ytuarte]*, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781.

39. Amarillas to Arriaga, July 22, 1757, and annexes, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 86-7-11; Ortiz Parrilla to Cruilla, April 6, 1762, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781.

into use within the enclosure and, perhaps in the woods, charcoal ovens with a brick yard nearer at hand.⁴⁰ Preparing against these future improvements the commandant sent men in July of 1757 to cut logs at a distance of eight leagues by water. On August 26 he learned by messenger from Mobile that Talapoosa Indians had taken the warpath against Pensacola. Of soldiers transferred from Santa Rosa, of soldiers surviving shipwreck off Mobile bay, of criminals in the labor battalion and of civilians (twenty-five men) he could number a total of only one hundred and eighty fit for military duty. The stocks of Pensacola's muskets were broken. The storehouse treasured not more than thirty extra flints. The supply of gunpowder was scanty.

Cannon from Santa Rosa (fourteen of them with carriages almost unserviceable) and San Miguel's one-pounder field guns were quickly ranged in batteries. Labor during two days felled the woods to beyond musket shot. On August 30 the first shipment of logs arrived for the stockade; construction began on the same day. By the middle of September a single line of vertical pointed stakes extended on the east three hundred and sixty-eight English feet back from a point near the bayside, and a similar northerly wall stretched westward five hundred and twenty-eight feet. Men went out to

40. Relation of Eraso in *Ano de 1761, Testimonio de los Informes que expusieron los dos Capitanes de Infanteria Dn Santiago Benito Eraso y Dn Joseph Escobar*; Roman de Castilla to Ortiz Parrilla, Nov. 10, 1761, in *Ano de 1761, Testimonio de los Informes del Coronel Dn Miguel Roman de Castilla*, as cited, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781; *Plano del Puerto de Panzacola* (data of July, 1761), Madrid, Guerra, L M 8a 1a, a, 14 reproduced herewith; Lopez, *Plan de la Baia*, as cited. This brickyard may have been the one that the British maintained later eastward of the town and near Bayou Texar; cf. *Plano del Puerto de Panzacola* and Lopez, *Plan de la Baia*, as cited, and *Plano del Puerto de Panzacola* (1788?), Madrid, Guerra, L M 8a 1a, a, 127.

cut logs to be stakes for the westerly and southerly walls.⁴¹

In intervals of Indian warfare the single line of stockade came to completion, more than seven hundred English feet from east to west, enclosing all four sides of the presidio though protected only by demibastions (triangular projections for musketry) and therefore of questionable strength, with twenty-one cannon and seventeen small pieces (pedreros for case shot, falconets for round shot) to make defence within and without the circuit. Products of the brickyard, officially for benefit of government buildings, found their way into construction of the commandant's own house.

At a distance of seven or eight paces a village ringed the stockade about in a single line of dwellings occupied by civilians, officers and married soldiers. Some of these structures, like those enclosed by the stockade, sheltered themselves beneath strakes of cypress bark, which can be taken flexible and unbroken from the trees only in spring and in August, the seasons of the sap.⁴² June of 1760 brought another alarm of Indian warfare to disturb Pensacola at the end of the first season. The commandant ordered evacuation of the village. He took the residents within the presidio and housed them in what he called little huts or shanties. A council of war decided to raze all exterior structures, which the commandant had permitted to be built in the line of fire from the stockade.

This clearing of the esplanade might have been gained without labor. On August 12 another hurricane rushed upon Pensacola. More than half of

41. Relation of Roman de Castilla. Oct. 25. 1757, in *Superior Gobierno, Año de 1758, Testimonio de los autos fijos a consta de el Coronel Dn Diego Roman de Castilla*, AGM, Marina, 1761-1781.

42. Cf. [Le Mascrier], *Memoires Historiques . . . de M. Dumont* I, 50.

the stockade bowed to earth. Before the brick yard had collapsed every roof in Pensacola had flown away. The storm ceased. Work began on repairing the stockade. When time could have been spared for seeking new cypress bark the second season of the sap had passed. Pensacola's garrison shivered wet and roofless through the winter.⁴³

Cypress bark covered the barracks of the presidio when in October of 1761 an experienced Indian fighter arrived to take charge of Pensacola. In Texas this commander had built and defended the frontier post and mission of San Saba. When in the summer of 1763 the Treaty of Paris caused him to surrender San Miguel and Santa Rosa to a British garrison,⁴⁴ the newcomers saw little reason for admiring his handiwork.

If the blockhouse on Santa Rosa was not too bad to be improved for British use,⁴⁵ in the presidio on the main the barracks were but huts, the bark roofs were unsuitable to shelter British troops, and the stakes of the stockade were hurrying fast toward decay.⁴⁶ For eighteen years now the Pensacola that had eaten up Spanish money during sixty-five years was to cause unprofitable care and expense to the British Crown.

43. Relations of Roman de Castilla, Eraso and Escobar, as cited; Roman de Castilla to Ortiz Parrilla, Nov. 10, 1761, as cited.

44. *Papeles relativos al Coronel Diego Ortiz Parrilla, 1774 Audiencia, Guadalajara*, 104-6-17.

45. Hutchins, *op. cit.*, 76; Elixio de la Puente, *Plano*, as cited.

46. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (1940), 114.

(In the next issue the author will describe the fortifications of Pensacola during the second Spanish period, 1781-1821.)

SAMUEL A. SWANN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF FLORIDA, 1855-1900

by HELEN R. SHARP

The development of any community or geographic division is greatly influenced by those who promote its beginnings and further its growth. Among those who had confidence in the future of Florida was Samuel A. Swann, whose activities from 1855 to 1909 show that he was a valuable and conscientious supporter of the economic expansion of the state and of the city of Fernandina. His business interests were so varied and extensive in character that they present a cross-section of the development of Florida during the period in question, particularly in the opening of public lands for settlement.

In background and heritage, Mr. Swann was well fitted for these activities. He was descended from an early American lineage whose beginnings date back to 1630 when William Swann and his family migrated from England and settled on a large grant of land on the James river opposite Jamestown. Two generations later, a member of that family moved to North Carolina, and is referred to in the North Carolina historical records as one of the two most eminent men of his time. Samuel A. Swann is a member of this branch of the family. He was born May 20, 1832 at Pittsboro, North Carolina, the son of Frederick Jones Swann and Ann Sophia Green, and received the education and training usually accorded to those of his station.

The beginning of Mr. Swann's long career of business enterprise in the economic development of Florida was in November 1855, when, at the age of twenty-three, he came to Fernandina, from Wil-

mington, North Carolina, as accountant for Joseph Finegan and Company, a firm of contractors who were to build the Florida Railroad. In November 1859 he was married to Martha R. Travers, daughter of William Travers of St. Augustine.

In connection with this work as accountant Mr. Swann was also assistant secretary and treasurer of the Florida Railroad Company, a corporation chartered on January 8, 1853 to construct a railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Key, a distance of 155 miles. In accordance with the provisions of the Internal Improvement Act of January 6, 1855, the company was substantially aided by liberal grants of land made to it by both the state of Florida and the federal government through legislative acts.¹ The lands, located along the right-of-way, were granted to the railroads with the idea of using the proceeds from the land sales as a subsidy and also as security for bond issues.

Land was an important factor in the economic picture of Florida in the 1850's. With the collapse of the banks in the previous decade, the financial structure was greatly weakened and money was scarce. Vast sections of the state were neither settled nor opened up, and as these tracts held good possibilities of development, land was a resource which could be used as a security and as an element for expansion and financial reinforcement. Since the route of the Florida Railroad was through the central part of Florida, a portion of the state hitherto largely undeveloped, the opening of lands for sale along its right-of-way would promote the utilization of the resources of that section. The railroad would provide a means of transporting immigrants to the lands and would carry lumber, naval stores, and agricultural products to markets

1. Thompson, *Digest of the Statute Law of the State of Florida* (Boston, 1847) pp. 31-38.

and to the seaports for shipment. So land was the mainstay on which hope of economic development and stability was based.

The original promoters and stockholders of the Florida Railroad included David Yulee, president ; George W. Call, secretary and treasurer; George R. Fairbanks, Judge McQueen McIntosh, Judge I. H. Bronson, Philip Dell, John Parsons, Joseph Finegan, Archibald H. Cole, and Thomas O. Holmes, directors. The work of construction was begun at Fernandina in the summer of 1855. By April 1858 seventy miles of railroad was completed, and thirty additional miles, almost to Gainesville, was graded by subcontractors under Joseph Finegan and Company. In May 1858 the company sold its interest to E. N. Dickerson and associates, who completed the road to Gainesville in the winter of 1859, and pushed the track to Cedar Key early in 1861. The road passed through Nassau, Duval, Bradford, Alachua, and Levy counties, and also abutted the boundaries of Clay and Baker counties. The railroad company owned the land in alternate sections on either side of the right-of-way.

According to a pamphlet issued by the Florida Railroad Company, these lands had been tested for adaptability to settlement. ² It was found that they were favorable for the, growth of sea-island or long-staple cotton. On approaching the Gulf of Mexico, the company secured a considerable quantity of hammock lands well adapted to raising sugar cane. Such lands as were not favorable for sugar and cotton, or to the pasturage of cattle, were covered with a heavy growth of yellow pine which would provide lumber and naval stores. It is obvious that to open to development this previously inaccessible and sparsely settled part of

2. *Free Land Bonds of the Florida Railroad Company*, 1858, p.3.

the state and to provide a means of transportation for commodities and for passengers was an important step in advancing and expanding the state's economic interests. On those lands subject to overflow, a large part, consisting of prairie and cypress lands, was capable of successful reclamation. The prairies of the upper St. Johns river, the cypress of the St. Johns, the Ocklawaha, and the Suwannee rivers furnish examples.³

The total amount of land owned by the Florida Railroad Company was 650,000 acres in tracts which were contiguous to the railroad. At a sale price of three dollars an acre, these lands were valued at \$1,950,000. The holdings at Fernandina, which consisted of 3,500 acres had an estimated value of \$2,000,000. At Cedar Key, the other terminus of the railroad, the company owned one thousand acres of land valued at \$750,000. The road and equipment was appraised at \$2,325,000. The entire sum, amounting to \$7,025,000 was given as security for the \$1,500,000 railroad bond issue. The lands and town lots owned by the company were convertible into Free Land Bonds at par, and all proceeds were held as a special trust for the bonds. The bonds paid eight per cent interest semi-annually, and the principal was payable in 1891. The interest was to be met with funds derived from the land sales, and it was optimistically believed that if the railroads netted no income from the business, the interest was secure of payment from the land sale fund. According to Mr. Swann's accounts and records, the net proceeds of land sales up to September 1, 1856, was \$16,323.25.⁴ The net receipts from land sales from that date to March

3. *Florida Railroad Guaranteed First Mortgage Bonds and the Internal Improvement Act of the State of Florida*, Washington, D. C., John T. and L. Towers, printers, 1857, p.8.

4. Swann, Samuel A., *Florida Railroad Company Day Book*, Vol. 1, p.15.

1, 1857, was \$1,832.97 ; to August 31, 1857, \$4,104.78 ; to February 28, 1858, \$3,775.37; to March 1, 1859, \$14,160; and to September 1, 1859, \$16,614.⁵

It is obvious that through Mr. Swann's close contact with the Florida Railroad Company, especially in the phase of land sales, he gained a thorough working knowledge of the public land problem. This knowledge included the location of lands for sale, their extent and type, and the uses to which they could be most profitably put. This experience formed an excellent background for his later efforts in the field of public lands for Mr. Swann came in contact with three stages of the land problem in Florida: the ante-bellum phase of the land situation, the period of the Civil War, and the post-war era.

During the war period Mr. Swann's work with the Florida Railroad Company was temporarily discontinued. In 1862, when Fernandina was occupied by the Federal troops, many residents of that city went to the interior of the state for safety. Mr. Swann and his family were among those who left, and they settled in Gainesville, where their residence was a hastily erected log house of two rooms located on the site where the Presbyterian church now stands. For a short time after moving there, Mr. Swann acted as treasurer, bookkeeper and superintendent of the Florida Railroad Company. His physical condition forced him to resign, as his duties proved too arduous.

Blockade Running

Late in 1862, Mr. Swann became interested in blockade running which grew up as a result of the blockade instituted by the Federal navy. His connection with this was threefold: he was in-

5. *Ibid.*, pp.19-49.

terested directly in the ships and cargo, he acted as a broker in purchasing and selling for other persons, and he later managed the blockade running for the Confederate government in the Gainesville area.

In December 1862 Mr. Swann and others including D. S. Yulee, F. C. Barrett, Savage Brothers and Company, the Florida Railroad Company, and R. D. Meader invested in a ship, the *Silas Henry*, and a cargo of cotton and tobacco for the purpose of running the blockade.⁶ The vessel was valued at \$2,000 and the cargo, together with the export duties, amounted to \$923.50. Unfortunately, the investment was lost for the ship and cargo was fired and abandoned by the crew in Tampa bay to avoid capture, and was later seized by one of the Federal vessels.⁷

These shipping activities were extended during the latter part of January 1863 when the sloop *Elias Beckwith* was acquired. The original cost of the vessel was \$400, the expense of outfitting it was \$706.10, and the cargo of cotton was valued at about \$7,000.⁸ The individuals investing in the enterprise were S. G. Frierson, C. S. Friebele, A. T. Frierson, and E. A. Clark.

In March 1863 Mr. Swann sailed for Havana, Cuba, on the *Elias Beckwith*, to serve as a broker in various enterprises for private individuals. For the purpose of the adventure to Cuba he was advanced a sum of \$1,605.17 by those for whom the transactions were to be made. In addition to the staple supplies which were required by the Confederate government, Mr. Swann shipped back to Florida various merchandise throughout the spring

6. Swann, *Ledger 1862-1863*, p.1.

7. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Government Printing Office, 1894, Series 1, Vol. 17, p.351.

8. Swann, *Ledger, 1862-1863*, p.8.

of 1863. These articles included such items as a dozen gold pens valued at \$8.50; a dozen violin strings at \$1.25, bought for a Mr. Hedges; a pair of shoes at \$2.00; and a toupee at \$12.50 purchased for Dr. W. H. Stringfellow.⁹ Other goods brought in on the *Elias Beckwith* were muslin, linen, shaving cream, hairpins, starch, quinine, shirt buttons, combs, and morocco gaiters.

The shipping activities of the same men were expanded in March 1863 with the purchase of another vessel, the *Maria*, acquired at Key West, which was the location of the admiralty court and a maritime clearing house where prize vessels were offered for sale. At the end of March the *Elias Beckwith* was sold by her owners to J. D. Golding and Company of Havana for \$1050 and she was reconditioned at a cost of \$600.¹⁰ Mr. Swann received \$118.50 for his interest in the \$3,609.72 worth of invoiced merchandise in the ship, and a two and a half per cent commission of \$41.22 on the sale of the vessel. Early in April 1863 an interest of several thousand dollars was exchanged in the cargoes of the *Elias Beckwith* and the *Maria* by their respective owners. A brisk trade evidently continued through March, April, and May of 1863.

Mr. Swann concluded his stay in Havana in May 1863 and on his return went first to Mobile, Alabama. In Mobile the *Maria* was sold to a Mr. Stickney, the valuation placed on the ship being \$18,000 and Mr. Swann received a commission on the sale.¹¹ His journey back to Gainesville was by a roundabout route as the Federal forces held Pensacola and the adjacent areas, consequently he

9. *Ibid.*, p.15.

10. *Ibid.*, p.15.

11. Swann, *Ledger, 1860-1866*, p.56.

had to circle to the east and then down into Florida.

During 1864 Mr. Swann was appointed to the Sub Agency, War Department of the Confederacy, with headquarters at Gainesville. His work was to sell cotton and sugar and purchase food, supplies, and ammunition for the Confederate government. The vessels on which the cotton was shipped were obliged to run the blockade and the voyages were hazardous, requiring much planning and attention. The blockade running was done successfully from various points along the Florida coast in the latter part of 1864 and 1865. The ships *Comus*, *Phantom*, and *Francisca* operated out of Bay Port, the Florida from the Steinhatchee, and the *Ruby* from the Suwannee river to the Gulf. In February 1865 the plan for running boats along the Indian River was formulated, but was discarded as impracticable. However, by early spring 1865 these vessels had been captured by Federal vessels patrolling the coast. The latter part of April 1865 brought an end to the blockade running, for the war was concluded.

When Mr. Swann's work for the Confederacy came to an end he was faced with the problem of finding a place again in civilian life. He commented on the situation in a letter to Mr. D. McRae of Wilmington in June 23, 1865:

I notice professional and business men everywhere are racking their brain on the subject of the best means of plying their respective vocations. . . .

As I think there is still much uncertainty touching the future of the South, I am really at a loss to decide what I shall turn my attention to. But I think it behooves us all to seriously consider the future, and, while the

various avenues of business are opening, to so "adjust our pegs" as to secure to ourselves those advantages which our business education and experience entitles us to, and which if not soon controlled, will doubtlessly be secured by others. The resources of Florida will soon be opened up anew.¹²

With that belief in mind, he turned his attention to business. By early summer 1865 he was connected with the firm of Savage and Haile, importers and exporters, with offices in Gainesville and Jacksonville which shipped such staples as cotton and lumber. During 1866 and 1867 he was in charge of large shipments of cotton from the Jacksonville office. But he was very desirous of embarking on an individual enterprise in Fernandina and by the end of the summer of 1867 had moved to that city which became his permanent place of residence. Retaining a connection with Savage and Haile, he organized the firm of Swann and Brother which dealt with various types of shipments and supervised the operation of his brickyard which produced an excellent type of hard gray brick. The brick for the buildings at Fort Clinch was secured from this brickyard.

From 1866 to 1870 Mr. Swann was agent for the bondholders of the Florida Railroad Company. The company was in difficulties because of the precarious economic conditions growing out of the war. The accumulation of interest on the bonded debt was immense, and the payment of one-half of one per cent due the Internal Improvement Board as a sinking fund was several years in arrears. The state law provided that a default of sixty days on the payment of interest to the bondholders of the company and of the amount

12. Swann, *Letter Book, January-June, 1865*, p.376.

due the sinking fund made the railroad liable to seizure by the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. Consequently, the trustees seized the road and offered it for sale to the highest bidder for cash in November 1866. The sum of \$323,400 was paid for it, and the title of the road was conveyed to E. N. Dickerson and associates who were bondholders and creditors of the Florida Railroad Company. The first mortgage bonds were secured in the railroad and its franchise and the owners of these bonds received twenty per cent on their holdings when the company was liquidated. The second mortgage bonds were a second mortgage on the road but a first mortgage on the lands held by the Company. These lands were located in alternate sections along the railroad right-of-way, and the holders of the second mortgage bonds had to look to the lands for their portion. of return on their investment.

In order to relieve the situation, action was taken by the second mortgage bondholders of the railroad company on June 12, 1867. At a meeting of the group held at Fernandina it was decided to buy, at a low price, all the lands held by the company, to divide these lands equitably among the bondholders who agreed to that arrangement, and to sell the lands to realize some return on their bonds.¹³ Mr. Swann and Henry E. Dotterer were named agents for the bondholders. On June 1, 1868, the bondholders presented their coupons and bonds at the office of the agents in Fernandina and the lands were apportioned. A final meeting to complete the work was held in August 1868. The lands apportioned included about 600,000 acres in odd sections along the railroad. The even sections, comprising about 400,000 acres, were held

13. *Circular, Proceedings of the Meeting of the Bondholders*, June, 1867, Fernandina.

by E. N. Dickerson and later became the holdings of the Florida Land and Immigration Company for which Mr. Swann was also land agent.

The period of Mr. Swann's most important and extensive work in land transactions for Florida occurred in the 1870's and part of the 1880's. His interests in this field were varied for he was associated with Mr. M. A. Williams and for a time, Mr. Hugh A. Corley, in selecting, locating, and selling swamp and overflowed lands for the state of Florida ; he was agent for the Florida Land and Immigration Company ; co-partner with Mr. Williams in a land agency, Williams and Swann ; agent for the Florida Town Improvement Company, and perhaps most important, special agent for the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund in the sale of a huge tract of land.

The selection of swamp and overflowed lands for the state began in March 1871, when the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund approved a proposition submitted by Mr. Swann and Mr. Williams. They agreed to select, locate, and sell the state lands and to furnish all tract books and maps necessary. The compensation for this service was two cents an acre, to be paid, as the selections were returned to the land office, with a two per cent deduction for cash. In lieu of cash, they agreed to take the amount due in lands at one dollar an acre. The contract made by Mr. Swann and Mr. Williams with the trustees terminated on April 4, 1872, and the amount of land selected was 2,312,512.81 acres. They received \$19,349 in land deeds and certificates, leaving a balance of \$26,900.63 due them. A resolution was passed by the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund to allow them deeds for \$16,900 as demanded. It also conveyed to them the balance of 10,000 acres whenever the necessary tract books

and evidence of the success of their work was submitted. The balance due was not settled until 1880 for the lands had to be approved by the Department of the Interior in Washington, D. C.

To continue the selection, location, and sale of state lands, Samuel A. Swann, M. A. Williams, and Hugh A. Corley were appointed agents for the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund on July 14, 1873. They were allowed a commission of ten per cent on the first \$10,000 worth of lands they selected, eight per cent on the next \$5,000 worth, six per cent on the next \$5,000 worth, and five per cent on the balance, with no commission on the sales of land in tracts of 160 acres or less.¹⁴ The land selections from 1873 to 1877 when the contract closed, amounted to 1,552,098.63 acres, but only 896,915 acres were approved to the state by the General Land Office in Washington, D. C.

In connection with his land sales, whether for the state, private companies, individuals, or his own lands, Mr. Swann was interested in the colonization plan for selling the tracts. He considered this method advantageous because large tracts of land would be sold, a better selected group could be acquired, and a more stable population maintained; also settlement in groups could be made more attractive to the prospective purchasers of the land. He favored foreign as well as domestic immigration of the more desirable class.

A private land company interested in colonization was the Florida Land and Immigration Company for which Mr. Swann was land commissioner. The company owned about 421,000 acres of land in even sections along the line of the former Flor-

14. *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida*, published under authority of the Board, Tallahassee, I. B. Hilson, State Printer, Vol. 2, p.96.

ida Railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Key. In 1872 a plan for selling the land through land floats or warrants was formulated, Mr. Swann being instrumental in making the arrangement. The land floats represented forty acres of land and sold for fifty dollars. The purchaser was entitled to locate his land within two years after the purchase, on any division of the company's lands. In this way, the purchaser did not buy a specific portion of land, but the float secured to him any land he might choose to select. Rebates in transportation by both water and rail were offered the settlers. Branch offices for the sale of the floats were maintained in New York and Chicago, and authorized agents traveled through various sections of the country to promote the land sales. With the idea of placing the advantages of Florida before prospective purchasers, Mr. Swann carried on an extensive correspondence with various business concerns and private individuals in the North and West. The company was not a speculative concern, and precautions were taken to keep that status. Mr. Swann cautioned one of the agents, Mr. Oliver of New York, in June 1878, "Be sure to sell no float to anyone in Florida . . . object . . . to secure new settlers and not to encourage speculation in old residents."¹⁵ The holdings of the Florida Land and Immigration Company were apparently disposed of to a Northern concern by 1884.

Mr. Swann's comments regarding the condition of the lands through the state for settlement and the extent of land sales and development of the various sections through the period of the 1870's are interesting. Of the western part of peninsular

15. Swann, *Letter Book, March-July, 1876*, p.360.

Florida he wrote in August 1871 to Fred E. Sampson, Cincinnati, Ohio :

The lands along the "Wacassasca" some seven miles from the Keys on the "Suwannee River" are places as valuable as any in the country. The lands on the Keys are mostly in the hands of private parties and is not desirable except as isolated points of residence. There is no high land outside of the little town of Cedar Keys, on Way Key. You will see from map that the main land-several miles distant, is separated from the town by a salt marsh. ¹⁶

Concerning the Kissimmee river and Lake Okechobee sections, Mr. Swann wrote Colonel Finegan at Tallahassee in October, 1871:

The annual inundation is one of the causes of why there is no growth and although lands of this character may have been dry at the time of the survey, we will guarantee that there was plenty of evidence that in rainy seasons such lands are covered with water, or at least, that they are too wet for cultivation. The truth is that the whole of South Florida, not embraced in sand Hills and a few ridges and Hammocks, is subject to annual overflow and totally unfit for cultivation and moreover never can be cultivated without drainage. ¹⁷

By 1875 the settlement of the northern part of peninsular Florida was apparently increasing. Of this Mr. Swann wrote Mr. M. D. Rising of Starke, Florida :

Orange County seems to be attracting more attention than any other portion of the State

16. Swann, *Letter Book*, 1871, p.73f.

17. *Ibid.*, p.308.

and these lands are held at from \$10 to \$50 per acre for selected tracts. This Section is far more accessible than the Indian River Country, and more people are going there from all parts of the Country. The best State and United States lands have been culled out and selected by parties living there or who are holding out for speculation.¹⁸

Settlers were also locating on the west coast of Florida, for Mr. Swann informed Mr. Peter Papin of Port Royal, South Carolina, in October, 1875:

There is quite a settlement on the river; at Fort Myers and some twenty to thirty families between this point and Fort Thompson at the falls of the river. . . . The land immediately on the river and for some miles back is well timbered, soil in some places the best in the state. . . . There are no other improvements at Punta Rassa but the telegraph office and the warehouse and wharf for shipping cattle. This is the most desirable sort of country for cultivation of all products necessary to South Florida and for the shipping of cross-ties for the Cuban and Texas markets, for cattle, etc.¹⁹

Dade county in 1875 had been surveyed, but the lands had not been confirmed and given over, to the state by the United States government. However, settlement was made on the lands, as they were open for homestead entry. Mr. Swann explained this, stating :

In the meantime, they are open to Homestead entry and sold as such by the United States government only to actual settlers, There are also large quantities of United States

18. Swann, *Letter Book, September-November, 1875*, p.16.

19. Swann, *Letter Book, September-November, 1871*, p.183.

Government lands. . . . We however, have no control over United States Lands but are agents only for State and Improved lands. . . . In the general rush to this state, we know of no section more popular than the Indian River country, and in consequence the choice of United States selections immediately contiguous to navigation have been taken up. Government land can be entered for homestead at seven dollars per forty acres, and \$14.50 for eighty acres.²⁰

Land in large tracts was mostly given over to the timber and naval stores industries. Mr. Swann recommended this work to a business acquaintance and stated that, if he "contemplated going into mill or timber business (which now pays handsomely and is becoming the most important feature in Florida)", he should avail himself of some timber land immediately. He cited the Yellow Water and West Black creek area in northeast Florida as excellent :

Each section contains 640 acres and is divided into sixteen parts of forty acres each. These Sections will average in mill timber, from 700,000 to 1,200,000 feet to the section, and the timber containing so much larger proportion of heart than logs cut further north, will produce at least one third more merchantable sawed stuff than logs of the same size shipped from Virginia and North Carolina.²¹

In September 1871 Mr. Swann wrote to Mr. Upchurch at Callahan, Florida :

Turpentine is now selling very high—from sixty to sixty three cents per gallon and every

20. Swann, *Letter Book, June-September, 1875*, p.219.

21. Swann, *Letter Book, 1871*, p.84.

indication leads me to think it will continue to rule high for at least two to three years as the supply has so fallen off in North Carolina and elsewhere. Lands for turpentine and lumber are getting very scarce.²²

Tracts containing timber were often leased, the lessee being allowed to cut the timber or stumpage, as it was called. Mr. Swann was authorized to lease land belonging to the Florida Land and Immigration Company for stumpage. Of this he wrote in September, 1871, to Mr. Wiley Hicks at Waldo, Florida :

My instructions with regard to stumpage are these. The pine timber on any of these lands can be cut by parties applying for same, paying in advance \$1.25 per 1,000 feet on such sections as may be selected-estimating the section to contain the low average of 640,000 feet.²³

There were also a number of steam saw mills in operation throughout the state. Along the line of the former Florida Railroad from one to three good steam saw mills for each settlement were located at St. Marys, Port Henry or Old Town, Charles Bluff, Swann's Brickyard Bluff, German-town, Woodstock Village, King's Ferry, Orange Bluff and Coleraine.²⁴

In peninsular Florida, stock-raising was a coming industry. Of it Mr. Swann wrote in November 1875 :

Stock-raising, in the isolated counties of Polk, Volusia, Brevard, and Manatee together with the southern part of Orange and Sumter,

22. *Ibid.*, p.280.

23. *Ibid.*, p.131.

24. Swann, *Letter Book, June-September, 1875*, p.234.

is conducted on as successful (although not so large) a scale as in Texas, but the parties engaged in it are rough fellows, who lead a wild but rather independent life. Shipments are made principally from Tampa and Punta Rassa to Cuba but dealers frequently drive their cattle to points on line of railroad for shipment to this point and also drive across into Georgia. . . . Cattle men regard the vast area of wild lands in the Counties named as free to all and by common consent they divide thousands of acres between themselves and they move from point to point as fast as encroached upon by settlers.²⁵

Probably the most important undertaking to which Mr. Swann was entrusted was that of special agent for the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. His appointment to negotiate the sale of three million acres of state lands was approved by the trustees in April 1877. The circumstances compelling the sale arose from the results of a law suit brought by Francis Vose of New York, one of the first mortgage bondholders of the Florida Railroad Company. As previously referred to, the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund were forced in 1866 to seize the Florida Railroad and offer it for sale to the highest bidder. The road was sold for cash and the money was used to pay the holders of the first mortgage bonds. In liquidating the company, only twenty per cent was realized on each bond, and some of the bondholders refused to accept that settlement, among them being Mr. Vose who owned 195 bonds and who held out for full payment. A law suit was brought against the trustees by Mr. Vose and the case was heard in 1871 in the Fifth Circuit Court

25. Swann, *Letter Book*, *September-November, 1875*, pp.304-306.

of the Northern District of Florida. The court ruled in favor of Mr. Vose and issued an injunction forbidding the trustees from granting any state lands for internal improvements until the amount due Mr. Vose was paid.

As a result of the injunction, any efforts at internal improvements, such as the construction of railroads or drainage projects were at a standstill. Usually, any such work was subsidized by the state in lands which the companies could use as security or from which they could utilize the proceeds of the sales in getting a start. In order to relieve the situation, and to secure money to pay Mr. Vose's claim and other expenses, the Board formulated a plan to facilitate the land sales. The plan was to issue land warrants authorizing the holder to locate the quantity of land specified upon any of the unsold and unappropriated lands granted to the state. The warrants were issued for forty acres, 160 acres, and 640 acres, to the quantity of two million acres, of which one million was to be in warrants of forty acres and the other million in warrants of 160 and 640 acres.

On April 27, 1877 Mr. Swann was appointed special agent for the Board of Trustees for the negotiation of the land warrants. Instead of selling the land warrants, the lands themselves could be sold in quantities of not less than one million acres and not more than three million acres at no less than thirty cents an acre. For the sale of lands in large quantities, Mr. Swann's commission fee was to be three cents an acre. All sales were to be for cash.

To secure a market for the lands, Mr. Swann left for England about the middle of May 1877. After some negotiation he entered into a contract on August 17, 1877 with John T. Drew, attorney for Francis Vose, for the sale of three million

acres to Judge H. Fry and associates at thirty cents an acre. This contract was disapproved by the Board of Trustees on October 17, 1877. The rejection arose from the fact that use, as negotiable paper, of the bonds and coupons held by Mr. Vose was included in the purchase price. Since the sale of the lands, according to the court order, could be made only for cash, the contract was refused by the Board.

A project which had been the hope of many enterprising individuals at various times during the development of Florida was that of a ship canal across the state. Incorporated in the plan for the land sale to Judge Fry was an arrangement for a canal. The project failed, for the parties interested could not raise the money to finance it. The Board of Trustees was fortunate in having as its special agent a man of Mr. Swann's character, for evidence of his integrity is found in a letter of November 1877. In it he declared:

I am sorry you speak of *my* share in profits, etc. growing out of the Canal project, as I could *under no* consideration ever become interested directly or indirectly in anything outside of my legitimate commission to be paid by the State out of the sale of the lands. ²⁶

Although Mr. Swann made no sale of the lands during the time he was in England, he made a number of contacts which later proved valuable. A retarding influence affecting his efforts was the unfavorable economic and political conditions. The London press was also antagonistic to the sale of lands in the United States to English purchasers. This was due to an impression that no valid title could be made to the lands by the trustees unless

26. Swann, *Letter Book*, July-November, 1877, p.178.

the Vose decree was satisfied. Having found no immediate opportunity for selling the lands in Europe, Mr. Swann returned to New York early in 1878. While in New York, he publicized the undertaking and interested certain men through whom future negotiations were made. At the end of March 1878 he returned to Fernandina.

In August 1878 he negotiated with Benjamin J. Hilton of New York for the purchase of the three million acres of land and the organization of a canal enterprise. Difficulty arose because Mr. Hilton wished to secure a charter before completing the financial arrangements to pay for the lands. As Mr. Swann wrote Hugh A. Corley of Tallahassee in December 1878 : "But they-like Judge Fry and others meet you with the counter assurance that a *charter is absolutely necessary* for the raising of the funds." ²⁷ Consequently, the transaction did not materialize.

The terms of sale of the three million acres of land were modified by the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund in April 1880. A plan of deferred payments covering a period of two years was formulated. This plan was extended for another six months in March 1880. Mr. Swann's powers as special agent for the board were renewed, as had been done in 1878 and 1879. The board also provided that the three million acres of land could be sold in bodies of 10,000 acres instead of in tracts of 25,000 acres as formerly planned.

Important negotiations for the lands were carried on between Mr. Swann and James Hastings and associates of London. He had contacted Mr. Hastings while he was abroad and had interested him in promoting a sale among his English friends.

27. Swann, *Letter Book, December, 1878-March, 1879*, p.58.

In order to facilitate a transaction, the trustees had, at the request of Mr. Swann, delegated the power of attorney to Mr. Hastings for the closing of the sale. The arrangement was completed by Mr. Hastings and presented by him and Mr. Swann to the board in June 1880. However, it provided that six months were to be allowed for the investigation of the title and for such preliminaries as were necessary. Since the term of the trustees had almost expired and they were not willing to bind their successors to the carrying out of the contract, any direct action on it was delayed. As a consequence, most of the London men withdrew, and a new combination of prospective purchasers had to be assembled.

In January 1881 Mr. Swann presented to the board a further proposition from Mr. Hastings and his associates in which they asked for a renewal of the authority granted to transact the sale. This was acceptable to the board. On March 19, 1881 Mr. Swann issued Mr. Hastings a full power of attorney authorizing him to organize a syndicate for the purpose of selling the lands.²⁸ Steady progress toward perfecting the organization was made, and as Mr. Swann stated, “. . . a cable was sent by them April 11th accepting the conditions imposed by the resolution of the board referred to which was that the first or twenty per cent payment was to be made on or before July 1, 1881’.”²⁹

Mr. Swann, on May 21, wrote his London friends to complete their arrangements as soon as possible as propositions from others in this country were being made. Because of the apparent importance of these propositions, Mr. Swann went to New York in the early part of May 1881. He found that men in New York and Philadelphia were

28. Swann, *Letter Book, April-September, 1881*, p.428.

29. Swann, *Letter Book, April-September, 1881*, p.431.

making overtures for the purpose of purchasing the land. Also, the owners of the Vose claim had bought up nearly all the outstanding claims and thus, being owners of about \$750,000 worth of judgments, proposed to take the lands themselves.³⁰

In the meantime, however, Mr. Hastings and his associates had quickly perfected their financial arrangements and on May 16, 1881 had cabled Mr. Swann the word "Successful". Being in New York, Mr. Swann did not get the cable until May 24, and he then promptly forwarded it and the accompanying letter to Tallahassee requesting the board to wire him what action to take. He received no reply until May 31 when he had a dispatch from Mr. Corley stating, "Four million contract with Philadelphia parties accepted." This was a staggering shock to Mr. Swann and he was forced to suspend the contract with Mr. Hastings just as he had considered it successfully closed. Needless to say, Mr. Hastings and his associates were extremely disgruntled as they had spent time and money preparatory to purchasing the lands. The turn of affairs was a great disappointment to Mr. Swann for after all his successful efforts in making the sale he was deprived of his commission. On three million acres, this would have amounted to \$90,000 and on four million acres, would have been \$120,000.

The sale referred to by Mr. Corley was the contract with Mr. Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia which called for the payment of a million dollars for four million acres of land, Mr. Disston paid \$500,000 in currency except for \$15,000 in coupons. The remainder of the obligation he turned over to English and Dutch capitalists represented by Sir Edward J. Reed and Dr. Wertheim. With the payment of the million dollars for the

30. Swann, *Letter Book, January-June, 1881*, p.448.

lands, the Vose claim was satisfied, the litigation over the lands was concluded, and Florida could proceed without hindrance in its development and expansion. Regarding the sale, Mr. Swann commented in a letter to General Jackson of Savannah, Georgia, "I will add that I highly approve the sale made to Hamilton Disston and feel well assured that it will result beneficially to the State."³¹

Pending the negotiation with Mr. Hastings and his associates, and with the idea of putting through a sale of lands, Mr. Swann renewed contact, in New York, with Mr. William Little. Through him, a sale was effected and closed for a million acres of land at forty cents an acre. Mr. Swann then communicated with the trustees, and three days after hearing nothing from them, he received the certified checks for the cash portion of the lands purchased. He receipted them and telegraphed the trustees on May 27, 1881 that \$110,000 had been deposited in a New York bank. To this message, Mr. Swann received no reply and he wired again on May 31. In answer, he was informed of the sale of the lands to Mr. Disston. Mr. Swann then was obligated to notify Mr. Little and provide for immediate return of the money.

After the trustees had rejected the propositions made by Mr. Swann through James Hastings and William Little, another attempt at a land sale was made. During the time the board was further considering the Disston proposition, Mr. Swann was informed the plan might not materialize. Consequently, on June 14, 1881 he offered the board a contract from C. D. Willard who offered to buy four million acres of land at twenty-six cents an

31. Swann, *Letter Book, April-September, 1881*, p.435.

For an account of this sale see T. F. Davis: "The Disston Land Purchase" in this *Quarterly* XVII, 200 (Jan: 1939).

acre, net to the state, being \$40,000 in excess of any other bid and all payable in thirty days.³² This was rejected by the board since the other negotiation had been put through.

The negotiation of the Disston contract by the board was a tremendous loss to Mr. Swann in many ways. He had spent his time, money and effort almost to the exclusion of his other business interests for nearly five years with the idea of making a sale of the lands and receiving his commission of three cents an acre. It was a great disappointment to him, since he had effected two sales and the money required for payment was available. It is a matter of conjecture as to the outcome of his efforts had the cable from James Hastings reached him earlier in May. In view of the fact that he was authorized by the board as their special agent to make the land sale, and had conscientiously performed his duties, Mr. Swann felt he should at least receive an amount commensurate with his expenses. Consequently, he presented his claim to the board on July 11, 1881 but on receiving no satisfaction took the matter to court. However, a compromise was made, and in December 1883 the board allowed him \$20,000. This was a small compensation, for the amount realized by Mr. Swann individually was about \$4,000 for five years service.

When his work as special agent for the trustees was completed Mr. Swann turned his attention to his own private business. As early as 1877 he wished to concentrate his interests in local matters by selling what land he owned in other counties and investing in Fernandina property. This was accomplished for he disposed of much of his holdings. However, by the end of 1885 Mr. Swann

31. Swann, *Letter Book*, April-September, 1881, p.434.

and M. A. Williams became interested in a large tract of land between Fernandina and Gainesville and another in Levy county, a total of 309,000 acres for which they paid \$101,800 in two installments.³³ These lands included 36,000 acres in Nassau county, 6,000 acres in Duval county, 7,000 acres in Baker county, 33,000 acres in Bradford county, 17,000 acres in Clay county, 44,000 acres in Alachua county, and 157,000 acres in Levy county, containing large tracts of pine, cypress and hardwoods as well as hammock and agricultural lands.³⁴ Some of the tracts in Levy county were rich in phosphorus deposits which later proved valuable. In 1888 Mr. Williams passed away and Mr. Swann carried on the land sales together with Mr. Williams's son. Of the lands purchased in 1885, 100,889.44 acres were sold by April 1888. In 1891 Mr. Swann went to Europe to seek buyers for the lands remaining but his efforts did not result in any completed contracts. However, as much of the land he owned was heavily wooded, Mr. Swann sold a large quantity of timber for logs and cross-ties. He also leased some lands to turpentine dealers, but as he stated in a letter of November 1889 to Messrs. McNeil and Paxton, "I always feel scarey of you turpentine operators. My experience has shown that they are great trespassers-ruin one's timberland and generally get into trouble before they have operated three years."³⁵

Although Mr. Swann did not sell any extensive areas of his lands, he made a number of transactions of large tracts. These went mostly to lumber dealers in Detroit, Bay City, Grand Rapids, and other cities in Michigan. By the spring of

33. Swann, *Letter Book, September, 1890-May, 1891*, p.375.

34. Swann, *Letter Book, October, 1887-January 1881*, p.338.

35. Swann, *Letter Book, April-July, 1889*, p.467.

1901 his lands were reduced to scattered parcels, about 20,000 acres in all in Alachua, Bradford, Clay, Duval and Nassau counties, and 23,000 acres in the Gulf hammock of Levy county. Later, he succeeded in interesting men from the middle west in a tract of about 20,000 acres of the Levy county lands. He also owned property consisting of lots and ocean frontage in and about Fernandina.

Among the owners of property in and adjoining Fernandina were two land companies, the Florida Town Improvement Company and the Fernandina Development Company. Mr. Swann was land commissioner for both organizations. In 1901 the holdings of these companies were sold to Fred W. Hoyt for a total of \$94,000.³⁶ Mr. Hoyt contemplated building a railroad to Fernandina from some of the cities in Georgia and enthusiasm over the plan was high. Mr. Swann was greatly interested in the advantages it would secure for Fernandina, and took an active part in promoting the project. However, due to economic conditions and other railroad developments in Florida at that time, the plan was discarded.

The development and expansion of Fernandina was foremost with Mr. Swann. He had unbounded faith in its possibilities as a commercial and business center, as a seaport, as a winter resort, as well as being a pleasant and desirable place of residence. He was deeply interested in all civic matters and contributed generously of his time and money to all worthwhile projects for Fernandina. One of his contributions to the city was a reading room, as well as a gymnasium and kitchen for the young people, the latter two being furnished at his own expense. These facilities were located on the upper floor of his business building at the corner

36. Swann, *Letter Book*, August, 1901-May, 1902, p.101.

of Center and Fourth streets. The reading room and library has continued in its service. He also worked tirelessly for St. Peter's Episcopal church of which he was one of the founders. He served as warden for many years, acted in an advisory capacity, and was actuary of the Episcopal diocese of Florida. He also donated generously to the church. His private philanthropies were many and scarcely a favor asked of him was refused. He was not interested in seeking any public office nor in receiving public acclaim.

In January 1909 Mr. Swann went to Baltimore with his son and while there submitted to an operation for an illness from which he had suffered for many years. During the following summer he went to Greenwich, Connecticut, for a visit with his daughter, and on August 26, 1909 the life of one of Florida's most loyal and conscientious supporters came to its end.

A LETTER FROM INDIAN KEY, 1840

Indian Key Novr 8th 1840

Wm H. Fletcher Esqr.
Escambia County Flor.

My Dear Brother,

I could not write you by our last mail, and I regretted it very much, but the mail Boat having arrived some days before I expected her, & the captain being in a great hurry, allowed me *only* time to close the mail. I received your favor of Augt 13th by the return mail from Key West, *last month*, and I cannot but hope, that I have some gone to Key West by the mail, which I shall probably get when the packet returns- I am happy to say "that we are all in tolerable health at present- our little Amelia has been quite sick since I last wrote & still appears very puny but we trust she will soon become more hearty.

We are now the only family remaining on this island, & your sister the only woman nearer than Key West- Capt H--¹ has cleared out for good- took everything he had left, to Key West, about a fortnight since, to sell at Auction- his Negros- Boats- vessels & & I think I see his object, he is as usual very schemy, he is a good deal in debt & it was thought before the invasion, that he

Note - The writer was Charles Howe who was Inspector of the Port and Postmaster at Indian Key and a survivor of the massacre there three months before the date of this letter. He was also one of the two associates of Dr. Henry Perrine in his noteworthy horticultural enterprise. See this *Quarterly*, v. 38 (July 1926). Grateful acknowledgment is made for a copy of the letter to Dr. H. Bailey Carroll, Professor of History, North Texas Agricultural College.

1. This is Captain Houseman who had established a plantation and other enterprises at Indian Key before the massacre.

could not stand it more than a year or two longer-*had* mortgaged all his property on this island, to two different persons in Charleston, to the amt- of about \$16.000- they were sent to me to have them executed & I could not but feel sorry for the man, notwithstanding his unprincipled disposition- I never mentioned it to anyone, and I believe but one or two besides the clerk of the Co- Court knew of it- he cannot now pay 10 pr ct- and I doubt if he is ever able- he will pay more- - Mr- Goodyear who has been clerk to Capt- H--- for sometime past, kept open a small store, or Grog Shop, on the wharf ever since the destruction of the island, ² and was surprised when Capt H. came & informed him of his determination to take every thing to Key West & Sell out. Mr- G- said he thought he should return & open a store on his own acct- but I have not heard since he left, whether he intends doing so or not- I must now mention another very serious misfortune which I have recently met with- My Scho[oner] Chat & Edward was hauled up at the time of the attack here, within just 20 feet of my new House, as I believe I have before mentioned to you, the House burnt down & she did not take fire notwithstanding the wind blew this fire directly upon her- the Indians had previously striped of her sails awnings &--&-- and finding she did not burn, they set fire to her side just before leaving the island, but it only burnt a small hole, and did not injure her but trifling- I soon had her repaired and put in first rate order in every respect- new sails- Rigging- Awnings &&. Chas Stewart who had charge of her & Wm

2. This refers to the Indian attack of August 7, the murder of a number of the inhabitants, and the burning of much of the small settlement. See *Massacre at Indian Key . . .* a journal of Hester Perrine Walker, a survivor, in this *Quarterly* v. 18-42 (July 1926).

Wilson than took her & made a trip in the Bay & brought home a fine load of Turtle, - they again left her on the 6th Octor. & was to have returned on the 17th or 18th. but not coming at the time appointed, I began to feel uneasy, but waited until the 24th when I was confident something had happened, and addressed a note to Capt Rodgers of the U. S. Schc. Wave which vessel, was than lying here, expressing my fears concerning her fate & those on board, this Gallant & praiseworthy officer immediately started with the forces under his command and after searching for two days with his Boats in the Bay, discovered the Schooner ran ashore in the Mangroves, in Barnses Sound, *Striped* of all her sails, Rigging- Awnings- Turtle Netts- water Kegs- boats- in fact of every individual thing- & Scuttled in two or three places & had been set on fire but did not burn- she had on board about 50 Turtle, some of which would exceed 400th and the barbarous savages had even cut off the heads or more than half of them & they were in a very putrid State- they have all the Turtle overboard, cleaned her out- stoped up the holes where she was scuttled & got her off, and by means of a few Blankets which the men had with them, they managed to rig into a sail & come down here, where they arrived on the 28th- No tidings of the poor fellows on board, but we or course must suppose they were both Massacred by those deamons in human form- She was in a most deplorable state, but I have already had her repaired in the best manner, and have sent for new sails & Rigging, which I expect shortly, & intend again to put her in first rate order, and see if the Indians will get her the third time, as this is the second time they have had her in full possession & endeavored to destroy her, but without success- this last time I have

lost about \$500- She had 4 new Turtle Netts, and they were knitting another, altogether cost me about two hundred. her sails, Rigging, Small Boats- Awnings && cost me three hundred dolls- but I would not think of the loss, if the unfortunate crew were saved-I always have until the last two trips let Peter go with them, but unfortunately I wanted him at home for a short time & this is why he was not on board- I cannot but feel grateful to Capt. Rodgers for this benevolent act- for it is certain, I never should have got the Schooner, had it not been for him, and I am truly thankful that I have saved her. She now stands me in -about \$2.000- and I do not think I would take that for her this day- for I am sure I never should get another her equal-. The Indians are lurking all arround us, a few days since two Turtling Boats were chased by them in the vicinity of Sand Key, near Cape Sable- but they had a good breese & got out of their reach- & returned to Key Vacas and sent an express up here to inform the Troops they report that there was a large body of Indians on Sand Key, and that they had several of the Boats taken from this Key- my Rev- Boat for one, & some of Capt- Housemans were also seen- but I cannot but hope something decisive will be done this winter, as there is now a new General, who spares *none* but hangs them all by the neck- it is also reported here that the whole Squadron from Pensacola is ordered her[e] to cruise among the Keys & along the main- land this winter- whether it is true or not I cannot say- but we now feel as safe on this island & I believe we are more so than at any other place on this coast- for two reasons- 1st. there is no inducement for the Indians to come again. 2d we have a Good Guard of about 20 men & the prospect of more

very shortly, besides several armed vessels most of the time, and the assurance that this post will be kept up as long as the War continues- for this reason your Sister & myself have concluded "that it is best for us to remain here at least for a year or two to come- but . . . [one or two words illegible] know that your sister is very lonely in her present situation- no female associate less than 80 miles distance, and I am sometimes compelled to be from home for several days together, and I shall soon be obliged to send my three eldest children away for schooling, which will make it still more lonesome to her- we have therefore after due reflection, made up our minds, to *Solicit* & to *insist* on your Mothers coming to live with us- While you was single, we could not ask this favour, but as you now have a good helpmate, we do think you ought to be willing to let your mother come to us- that is, if she is willing- & I sincerely hope she will be, and you will please tell her from me, that she *must come*- We think this season of the year her passage will be so short, that she will not suffer much from sea sickness, and when she arrives at Key West, there will be no difficulty in getting a passage here, as there is opportunities almost any day. She will however stop at Mrs Mallorys, until a good one offers- or if I hear of her arrival I will . . . [one line illegible] *dollar Note* to defray her expenses, and should it not be sufficient, when she arrives at Key West, she is only to speak to Mr Mallory,³ who will advance her as much as she wishes, I will write him upon the subject I do wish most sincerely I could prevail on you & your Good Lady to accompany her. Your Sister & myself have both endeavoured to think of something you might do

3. Stephen R. Mallory, later U.S. senator from Florida, and Secretary of the Navy of the Confederacy.

to advantage, but the prospect appears dull & we are afraid to advise, but one thing I would say "that you shall have a home with us, if you can put up with our fare as long as we remain here, and then wherever we conclude to locate, we can all go together- - if I was sure the war would end this winter, of which I have now some faint hope, I would certainly advise you to come, for I believe we should find a spot in this country, that we could not help but be delighted with, and I think we could be a *help* to each other in getting underway- Tell your mother, that we have already commenced preparing for her reception and she must not dissappoint us, even if you cannot come with her- Your Sister writes her by this mail- - I hope when the mail Boat returns I shall have letters from you- - I must now close- Your sister & the children all join in kind Remembrance to you & family- Sincerely wishing you every blessing this world can afford-

I remain very truly your fr. & Brother

CHAS. HOWE

P.S. Nov-15 I cannot get a fifty dollar note and therefore am obliged to enclose 2 dubloons @ 17-\$34- 1 Sovereigns 5- the balance in paper which makes \$50-

FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

(continued)

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS PASSING BETWEEN JOHN
STUART, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
AND CAPTAIN HARRIES IN COMMAND AT APALACHE
(ST. MARKS), AND GENERAL GAGE, THEIR COM-
MANDER IN CHIEF AT NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 1764

Stuart to Gage

Apalache 29th September 1764

Sir

I had the honour of writing to your Excellency from Saint Augustine 19th July. Captain Lawrence in the Live Oak, having anchored off that Place with stores, I embarked in His vessel for this place and arrived here the 13th Currnt after a passage of 48 days, having sailed from Augustine the 28th July. It was upon our passage here that I received from Capt. Lawrence Duplicate of your Excellency's Letter of 19th June, had I received it when at St. Augustine I should have despatched talks to the Cherokees, from thence, requiring them to send parties to the Ohio, to intercept any supplies from the French at the Illinois, to the Delaware and Shawnese or any other disaffected Tribes, and to seize the persons and goods of the Traders which might probably have reached in time, but I this day despatch a messenger to them thro' the

Note - This series of documents has been edited with an introduction by Mark F. Boyd, see this *Quarterly* the issue of January last. Though they have been obtained from several sources, the series is unusually complete and together tells the story of St. Marks during the British occupation. It will be continued for several numbers. The documents herewith are from the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, and grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Howard Peckham, curator of manuscripts, for copies and for permission to publish them. *Ed.*

Creek Nation, with Talks upon that subject & acquainting them with Major Loftus's destination recommending to them in the strongest terms, to render him all the friendly Offices in their Power. The Cherokee Nation is at a great Distance from Fort Massiac which I take to be Fort Assumption situated near the confluence of the Cherokee and Ohio Rivers, and Fifteen Leagues from Fort de Chartres. Cannoes from the overhill Cherokee villages are generally 22 Days going down stream, so far. and by land it is a journey of 27 Days, which I look upon to be near 700 miles by land- the Cherokees have often brought Scalps and prisoners from it, and during the war between us and them went there for supplies and ammunition &ca. But the Chickasaws are much nearer to that Fort and by their situation much more capable of being serviceable to the Major, and, I hope, I shall be soon enough at Mobile, to obey your Excellency's Directions in giving him all the assistance in my Power; as I propose sailing tomorrow.

On my arrival I conveyed the leading men of Five Creek villages in the neighborhood of this fort whose names and distances your Excellency has inclosed. I transmit your Excellency a copy of what I said to them and their answer, during their stay here they drank freely and I endeavoured to discover their temper and disposition, and I find that their Uneasiness and that of their Nation proceeds principally from Jealousy on Account of their lands. As I understand Col Grant is arrived in His Government, I send this by an Indian who goes Express to Saint Augustine, with what information I am capable of giving him for his government in whatever he may have to transact with the Creeks on his arrival, amongst which a very Material, but I suspect a Difficult & delicate point will be the settlement of a Boundary

Line to their mutual satisfaction which I sincerely wish may be happily effected.

In justice to Captain Lawrence of the sloop Live Oak, I cannot omit mentioning him, as having great merit in his way ; he has been very indefatigable in marking out the Channel into this difficult harbour by placing buoys and stakes on the shoals -and I think His care and vigilance may always be depended on, I have the Honor of being with the greatest Respect

Sir Your Excellency's
most obedient & most humble servant

JOHN STUART

His Excellency the Honble Major Gen Gage
Commander in Chief &ca &ca &ca New York

Indian Talk by John Stuart

Copy to General Gage

Apalache 25th September 1764

Friends & Brothers

The Great King George

Your & our common Father has been pleased to appoint me his agent, and to entrust me with the management and direction of whatever concerns the Indians. As it is his gracious will & intention, so it is my indispensable duty to promote Harmony, Peace and Friendship between his white and red children. With this view I am now come to see you and as far as I can to remove any Obstacle to the Accomplishment of this Desirable end.

When with the Governor of Virginia, the Two Carolina's & Georgia, I met last year the leading men of your as well as of the other great Nations at Augusta in Georgia, I then, in the Name and by Order of the great King declar'd his gracious & benevolent Intentions towards you, and Ex-

plained the Motives that induced him to remove the French & Spaniards beyond the Mississippi. That the disorder and confusion, occasioned by their false insinuations and misrepresentations might be totally removed and succeeded by Peace & Good Order between the Indian Nations & his Subjects. That the chain of Friendship should be strengthened and brightened, by a plentiful and well regulated trade upon terms of mutual advantage and security. I now repeat the same to you, because the head men who are now here, were not at that meeting. And for the same reason I shall recite the Treaty that was solemnly entered into by the Deputies of the Respective Nations & Us. And I must acquaint you that your reaping the great advantages & happiness offered to you in his Majesties Royal Friendship & Powerful Protection will depend on your strict observation and performance of the Said Treaty by a peaceable and Friendly demeanor to the White People in General, by good treatment of your Traders whose lives and Properties must be inviolably Secured and protected, otherwise you cannot expect any will be permitted or so mad as to go amongst you.

I likewise recommend to you in particular, who reside in the neighborhood of this Fort, to behave like Friends & Brothers to the English who have succeeded the Spaniards in the possession of it and who are more able and willing to assist you in every respect, and you will upon all occasions find them when well used, kind & Obliging as Brothers ought to be.

I sent your Nation a copy of the King's Royal Instructions to his Governor concerning your Lands, which you may be assured will be strictly observed, nor shall they anywhere be settled beyond the limits established at the late Congress without your consent. I have no more to add but

to wish you plenty of Game, Peace & Prosperity,
that you may multiply, and your Children grow
up to be men & Women.

JOHN STUART

Chehayache's Response to Stuart
Copy to General Gage

Apalache 27th Sept. 1764

Chehayache, Head Warrior of Chescatalenssa
Return'd the following answer to the above Talk
Brother

I now see you are the Great Kings beloved man
come to smoke with us, we have shaken, hands to-
gether and my heart is glad. The Spaniards are
gone and you are now on the ground which we lent
them, we approve of it, and shall always hold you
fast as Brothers,

I heard the treaty read which our head Warrior
& you made at Augusta, and it agrees in every par-
ticular with what they told us.

You recommend to us to be upon friendly terms
with the White Men who live in the Fort. It is
our intention to live like Brothers with all White
Men and with them.

Harries to Gage

Appalache Sepr 29th, 1764

I have had the honour lately of receiving sevl
letters from Yr Excellency, amongst wch my leave
of absence, wch Lt. Pompellone's arrival the 25th
Instant enables me to embrace, and for wch I think
it incumbent on me to return my most grateful
thanks. my present condition on acct of my rup-
ture obliges me to take my servant with me to N.
York, and if agreeable to Yr Excellency's pleasure
will take him to England, otherwise shall leave

him with Lt. Lindsey of the 9th regiment, who I understand is on the recruiting duty at N. York. Capt Reynold of the 9th was allowed to bring with him his servant who was a grenadier from the Havannah to England. I am sorry, very sorry, if any part of my conduct shd meet with yr disapprobation since I left St. Augustine, it must proceed entirely from an error in Judgment. I thought it was not in my power to dispense with a positive order from my Commanding Officer, nor had I ever the vanity to put my Judgement in competition with Coll Robertson's, who is owned by all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance to be a gentleman of excellent good sence, therefore would not presume to say what was detrimental or not detrimental to the service for he might have reasons to determine him, wch he was no ways obliged to communicate to me: it is most certain if I had been invested with discretionary power I shd have acted after a different manner, as three officers then on board very well knew, whom I informed of this affair, & who acquiesced in my sentiments: I hope I shall not be so unhappy as to be any ways obnoxious to yr Excellency's displeasure. this fort is abt three hundred foot in circumference, with nine small angles, an inner & an outward gate, with a small stockade before the entrance into the garrison: there is no danger from the Savage Indians in attacking this place, the greatest is, lest any of the men shd be cut off when sent out in parties for wood and water, the artificers by digging a well within the garrison will be able to remove the greatest of the two evils. I believe at present there is not the least danger in any respect whatsoever, Capt Stuart Agent & Superintendent of Indian affairs can inform you more perfectly as to the disposition of the Creek nations, who has just finished his letter

to Yr Excellency. the outpost is of no other service than a protection to the working men at a quarry of stone [that] lies near it and is the first mark or signal discovered from the bay to point out this place. I am much concerned to inform Yr Excellency that three men deserted from this garrison the 24th of July last, viz: John Brown, a Scotsman, Joseph Tomblison an Englishman & Danl Canfield an Irishman draughted into this regiment from [the] Royal Scotch. I had no opportunity of informing either you or Major Ogilvie sooner. I suppose they are gone to South Carolina. great many repairs are wanting here wch Mr. Pamplellone will be now able to perform. with the greatest respect

I am Yr Excellency's
most obliged and obedt humble servt

JON. HARRIES

(This series will be continued in the next number.)

MANUSCRIPTS OF FLORIDA INTEREST AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH
CAROLINA

Guide to the Manuscripts in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina is the latest issue in the "James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science," published at the University of North Carolina. (Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. vii, 204 pp.)

The vast collection of Southern historical material brought together there by Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton is especially rich in manuscripts. Some of these relate to Florida or have a Florida connection, so this volume should not be overlooked by students of Florida's history. The following entries in the *Guide* are of Florida interest:

No. 11. Alexander-Hillhouse papers. One of a number of subjects listed is "... life in Florida in 1847".

38. James B. Bailey papers (1847-1885) 200 items. "Personal and business correspondence of Bailey, soldier, planter, and lawyer of Fort Clark, Florida, revealing social and economic conditions in Florida . . . monthly reports from East Florida Seminary at Gainesville 1871."

58. Bellamy-Bailey papers. (1799-1867) (7 items) "Genealogical data of those families of Florida and North Carolina. Sketches of Wm. Bailey (1790-1867) and of Abram Bellamy (1800-39)"

69. "Copy of letter from L. Bankhead U. S. A. . . . dealing with the Seminole War."

70. Five "papers relating to the estate of Joel C. Blake, planter of Miccosukee, Fla. (1852-64)"

105. Rev. W. B. Burke papers, including discussion of the yellow fever epidemic in Florida in 1888.

213. "Recollections of my Childhood", typed copy of a manuscript of Mrs. Marie Louise Morris Demilly (n.d.)

245. Five family letters written by R. B. Bradford, Caroline M. Brevard, James L. Rodgers, Robert A. Williams.

276. Jeremy F. Gilmer papers. "Official business papers and correspondence of Gilmer (1818-1883) as director of fortification construction, surveys, and river and harbor improvements along the Florida and Georgia coasts, 1850-58 . . . including construction of Fort Clinch on Amelia Island, Florida."

289. Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson Green, member of the legislatures of North Carolina, Florida, Texas, and California
332. Diary of Caroline Lee Hentz, 1836-60. Also of her son, Charles A. Hentz, Florida and North Carolina physician, 3 vols. 1845-60.

394. Letters of Thomas Kenan, 1837-66, contains letters of George I. S. Walker of Rocky Point, Florida.

404. Edmund Kirby Smith papers. 2,000 items (Very little connection with Florida)

425 Edward M. L'Engle Papers, 1834-97. 5,140 items. "Personal correspondence and business and legal papers of Mr. L'Engle, lawyer, business man, and captain in the Confederate Army. The ante-bellum material, almost all of which post-dates 1850, consists of wills, deeds, legal papers, and family correspondence dealing with personal and plantation affairs, the yellow fever epidemic of 1860, and the secession movement. The letters between L'Engle and members of his family during the Civil War discuss military affairs, the defense of Florida, and conditions at home. The post-bellum material consists primarily of L'Engle's legal and business papers and correspondence, which touch upon many phases of post-war economic life in Florida. There is a considerable amount of material relating to the Peninsula Telegraph Company, in which L'Engle was interested, and to the Florida Central Railroad, of which he was president. There are also references to the issue of state bonds, banking in Florida, and politics of the Reconstruction period. The collection includes newspaper clippings and bills and receipts. Among the correspondents are A. J. Creswell, George F. Drew, J. J. Finley, Hamilton Fish, J. L. French, Charles Hale, H. R. Hubbard, Sam Jones, S. R. Mallory, C. G. Memminger, and W. C. Roper."

440. W. J. Lutterloh papers. Some references to economic conditions in Florida during Reconstruction (?)

470. Mackay-Stiles papers. Includes references to negotiations with Indians in Florida.

476. A letter from Gen. Macomb, U. S. A., to Gov. R. K. Call of Florida concerning operations against the Seminoles by Florida volunteers.

643. Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton papers. Reference to the lumber and turpentine industry in Florida during Reconstruction. Also account book of D. H. Hamilton Jr., Hamilton and Co. naval stores, Madison County, Florida, 1865-66.

726. Letter of Nathan Towson, 1840, on Congressional appropriations for suppressing Indian hostilities in Florida.

770. "Letters to the Whitaker and Snipes families of Florida and North Carolina. Topics mentioned include: life and agricultural conditions in Florida, 1836 ; Whig-Democratic campaign of 1844; Civil War battles in which members of the families participated ; administration of the estate of Anderson Snipes; and a sketch of the life of William D. Moseley."

808. J. Freeman Young papers. 1846-1858. 54 items. Correspondence of Bishop Young, Protestant Episcopal bishop of Florida, with information on conditions of life in Florida, 1848, Van Buren politics, and Bishop Young's experiences as a minister travelling from state to state.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

FEDERAL ARCHIVES IN FLORIDA

This series of publications was described in the *Quarterly*, the issue of July 1940 (pp. 88-90). It is a WPA project. Each volume is an inventory of the archives of some department of the Federal government in Florida. Several additional volumes have now appeared: the departments of the Navy, Agriculture, Justice, Commerce, Labor, Farm Credit Administration, and Veterans' Administration.

The Navy volume (177p.) is nearly all devoted to the Naval Air Station at Pensacola (170p.) As the Navy Yard there was destroyed during the Civil War there are virtually no records prior to 1865, and very few are earlier than this century. But there are numerous log books, 1865 to date ; and a file of muster cards 1846 to date (1861-1865 missing). There are records of the Naval Reserve Aviation Base at Opa-locka (Miami) 1930 to date ; some of the Naval Station at Key West, with log books 1879-1936; and a few at Jacksonville and Jupiter of recent dates.

The *Department of Agriculture* (203p.) lists the records in Florida of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, bureaus of Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Engineering, Animal Industry, Biological Survey, Chemistry and Soils, Entomology and Plant Quarantine, Extension Service, Food and Drug Administration, Forest Service, Plant Industry, Public Roads, Resettlement Administration, Soil Conservation Service, Weather Bureau, and Office of the Solicitor. These are located in more than a score of towns throughout the State.

The *Department of Labor* (56p.) includes the

Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Employment Service ; the two are located in seventeen towns.

The records of the *Farm Credit Administration* (34p.) are in fifteen towns.

The *Veterans' Administration* records (28p.) are at Bay Pines and Lake City.

Department of Commerce (35p.) contains Air Commerce, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Fisheries, Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Lighthouses, Marine Inspection and Navigation. These are at Jacksonville, Tampa, Key West, Miami, Daytona Beach, and the several lighthouses.

Department of Justice records (43p.) are those of the Administrative Assistant to the Attorney General at Jacksonville, Miami, Pensacola and Tampa ; the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Jacksonville; and the Lands Division at Ocala and Tallahassee.

Department of the Treasury. While this number is in press another volume has appeared: that of the Treasury (240p.). This is an inventory of the records of the State Disbursing Office, Jacksonville; Coast Guard, nine locations from Jacksonville to Pensacola ; Bureau of Customs, fifteen locations ; Internal Revenue, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Key West, Miami, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Tampa ; Bureau of Narcotics, Jacksonville, Miami, Tallahassee ; Procurement Division, Jacksonville, Miami, Tampa ; Public Health Service, Apalachicola, Boca Grande, Fernandina, Jacksonville, Key West, Miami, Pensacola, Tampa; Secret Service Division, Jacksonville.

INVENTORY OF COUNTY ARCHIVES OF FLORIDA

Another volume of this series has appeared—that for Clay county—and in several particulars

it is an enlargement and improvement over former volumes.

These inventories were made and published by the Florida Historical Records Survey, of whose work it has been the most extensive and much the most valuable project. Inventories of ten counties have been issued and distributed gratis to public and institutional libraries.

The last one, Clay county, is a volume of 478 large (4to.) pages. It includes an accurate and comprehensive historical sketch (12 p.) with copious notes and references; a chapter on county governmental organization and records system (about 100 p.) which covers those of a typical Florida county and so is of much value; and a critical note on the housing, care, and accessibility of the records of this county, which doubtless is more or less typical of those of most of Florida. The second part is an inventory of the records of all county officials, boards, and agencies (317 p.) ; a detailed description of the functions of each official and body ; a bibliography ; and a full index (34 p.).

The project was under the direction of Mrs. Sue A. Mahorner, state supervisor, and the inventories were made by local personnel of the Survey. The volumes were written, compiled and edited by Dr. Dorothy Dodd, public records editor, and Charles D. Farris, compiling editor.

Inventories of Florida counties have been issued: in 1938 Charlotte, Collier, Duval, Flagler, Hendry; in 1939 Hardee, Okaloosa, Sarasota; in 1940 Pinellas; in 1941 Clay.

Similar inventories in nearly all other Florida counties had been begun and some were near completion when the work was suspended. It is to be regretted that a work of such definite value is unfinished. But any one wishing information on

county government or county records in Florida should consult the Clay county volume.

SPANISH LAND GRANTS IN FLORIDA

Sub-title: *Briefed Translations from the Archives of the United States Commissioners for Ascertaining Claims and Titles to Land in the Territory of Florida.*

Four of the five volumes of this publication were reviewed in some detail by Mr. F. P. Hamilton in the last number of the *Quarterly*. The fifth and final volume has now appeared. Its four hundred one pages contain an introduction by Dr. Louise B. Hill, the editor of the series, a list of governors of both Floridas 1763-1821, and one of other officials who are mentioned in the volumes, a glossary, the completion of the list of confirmed claims, and a comprehensive index of ninety-three pages. There are three indices: one of claimants, another of place names, and another of personal names. References in the first index refer to pages, those in the latter two refer not to pages but to claim numbers, hence each requires a search by the initiated, and perhaps a foregoing of the use of these indices by many others.

The introduction of fifty-nine pages is historically valuable and brings to note numerous facts, more or less related to these grants, of the British and Spanish periods in Florida, as well as the operations of the United States commissioners and courts.

The State Library Board, sponsor of the publication, has as agent for its distribution Everyman's Bookshop, Tallahassee, where copies may be obtained at one dollar a volume, or five dollars for the set.

THE RECORDS OF THE TERRITORIES NOW IN
WASHINGTON

Selected papers from the Federal archives relating to each of the territories in turn are being published in a series under an act and an appropriation of Congress by the Department of State. Dr. Clarence E. Carter, of its Division of Research and Publications, is editor; and the unique place as historical material already attained by the series is the result of his historical acumen and experience and of those of his assistant Dr. Edgar B. Nixon—for the editing must be highly selective from the vast accumulations in Washington.

Much of the material comes from the State department, as the administration of the territories was from that source. The Library of Congress has the papers of many of the presidents and innumerable other historical manuscripts, so it furnishes much; and the editor has gleaned a great deal from the files of the Senate and House of Representatives. Other documents come from the departments of the Interior, the Treasury, War, and many other departments and offices, some of which have been transferred to the National Archives.

Each volume (or volumes) comes close to being a documentary history of a territory, for the relation between the Federal government and that of the territories was so intimate that little occurred that is not reflected in the communications between the two. Hardly any of the documents selected had ever been published.

The title of the Series is *Territorial Papers of the United States*, and the last volume published (IX, of 1092 pages) is *The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812*. The international aspect of the period in that region gives this one an added interest. As with all of the series, historical notes and other

annotations for most of the documents help the reader towards his background.

Little or nothing has yet been included in the series relating to the region that is now Florida; but Volumes V and VI on Mississippi territory, and the present volume, contain more or less on the part of the Florida of that day westward from the Perdido river, even to the Mississippi. The exception is Pensacola, which then had nominal governmental relations with the Florida region west of it.

As the volumes are issued in the order of the creation of the territories in turn, that for Florida will not be reached for some time. We look eagerly for its appearance, for then only will any large amount of our territorial history be known. Territorial records preserved in Tallahassee are almost nil; Florida newspaper files of the period are rare; nor were private records preserved to any great extent—hence our especial interest in the forthcoming Florida volume.

PRESENT-DAY SEMINOLE INDIANS

The Seminole Indians in Florida is one of a number of publications compiled by workers of the Writers' Program, Works Progress Administration in Florida, under the direction of Dr. Carita Doggett Corse, state supervisor. It is an eighty-seven page book published by the Florida State Department of Agriculture, with the University of Florida as sponsor.

There is a brief historical sketch, but nearly all of the book relates to the modern Seminole. The compilers had the assistance of Mrs. Ethel Cutler Freeman of the American Museum of Natural History, Dwight R. Gardin, superintendent of the Indian agency at Dania, and others; but the work

is based largely on *Survey of the Seminole Indian of Florida* by Roy Nash (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1932, 88p.)

A map of the Everglades is included which shows the locations of the Seminole reservations and the sites of the twenty-nine Indian camps. Catlin's well-known painting of Osceola is reproduced, and there are seven reproductions of recent photographs of certain Indians and their mode of life.

THE FIRST SPANIARD BORN IN ST. AUGUSTINE

The St. Augustine Historical Society has issued a brochure of twelve pages: *Martin de Arguelles*, with a sub-title: *The First Spaniard Born in St. Augustine and the First European Child Born on the Atlantic Coast of the United States in a Permanent European Settlement*. This contains the evidence collected and edited by Mrs. Katherine S. Lawson, secretary of the Society, to prove the truth of the sub-title. Most of this evidence is from documents in the Woodbury Lowery collection of Florida manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

THE UNION CATALOG OF FLORIDIANA

An article in the last number of the periodical *Special Libraries* (New York. xxxii 160-162) describes the establishment of and the progress made on the **UNION CATALOG OF FLORIDIANA** at Rollins College, with which our readers are familiar.

The compiling of the **CATALOG** goes steadily forward; but, it might be said, is no nearer completion. There never was a time when more printed material was appearing pertaining to Florida (except the flood of fairy-tales of the boom period) ;

nor, perhaps, when such material of the past was coming to light in greater volume than now. So the **CATALOG** will never be completed. But that fact emphasizes its value : If it was a desirable tool or helpmate yesterday to researchers and to the general reader wanting to know what there might be on this or that Florida subject in which he was interested, and where it could be found-if it was needed yesterday, how indispensable it will be tomorrow.

NOTES

FLORIDA STATE ARCHIVES

The Florida legislature at its last session provided for a beginning of a department of archives in connection with the State Library, and Dr. Dorothy Dodd has been selected as archivist. She entered on this important undertaking on August 1.

No one else has had the same training and experience with governmental records in Florida. She was the active director of the Survey of Federal Archives in Florida, which carried her to these records throughout the State again and again. Later she was editor of the published inventories of those archives. For several years she has been public records editor of Historical Records Survey in Florida, and the publications of the county records described elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*, have been of her editing. Her historical training is extensive also. She received her A.B. and A.M. degrees from Florida State College for Women, and her Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Chicago. Much of her historical work has appeared in this *Quarterly*; and she has been treasurer of the Florida Historical Society since 1937.

THE CORNERSTONE OF THE CAPITOL

Miss Mary Lamar Davis of Tallahassee has sent us the following note copied from the Masonic records of Jackson Lodge No. 1 of Tallahassee:

Masons Lay Corner-stone of Capitol, Jan. 7, 1826

In the stone was deposited a copper plate on one side of which was the following inscrip-

tion "Behold, saith "The Lord God" I have laid in Zion, a stone, a tried stone, a precious "corner stone", a sure foundation--On the 7th day of January, A. L. 5826-A.D. 1826 was laid this foundation stone for a Capitol to be erected for the use of the citizens of Florida.

[Officers of the Lodge]

[Reverse] :

His Excellency, Wm. P. Duval, Governor

Colonel George Walton, Secretary

Individual officers Hon. Augustus B. Woodward

Hon. Henry M. Brackenridge

Hon. Joseph L. Smith

There was also deposited a glass jar containing coins etc.

The Brothers then proceeded to the Methodist Church and Brother David B. McComb delivered before them an appropriate oration after which the brethren partook of a splendid dinner prepared by C. Pinder for the occasion.

The Tallahassee Historical Society

The first meeting of the winter season of this active organization is to be held while this number is in press, on October ninth. The officers for this year are Dr. R. S. Cotterill, president; Mrs. John W. Henderson Sr., vice president; Miss Daisy Parker, secretary; Mrs. Harry E. Graham, treasurer. Dr. Mark F. Boyd is chairman of the program committee.

The Dorothy Walton museum at Pensacola, established by T. T. Wentworth Jr. and sponsored by the Pensacola Historical Society, is attracting many visitors. Numerous items have been added to its collection, and Mrs. Richard Walker, hostess, is giving radio talks each week on museum pieces.

The Madison County Historical Society has prepared and is publishing an annual, the second to be issued by that Society. Among other historical material, it will include biographical sketches of outstanding pioneer settlers, and articles written by high school students of Florida history.

The Memorial Historical Society of St. Petersburg is making an inventory of its museum with the aid of a WPA worker. During the twenty years since the founding of the Society a large collection has been brought together, and throughout the summer—as well as the winter of course—visitors are numerous. This summer they have come from twenty-eight states and Canada.

Program meetings and most other activities have been suspended by the local historical societies during the summer, but our January issue will include an account of their winter plans.

RESEARCH PROJECTS ON FLORIDA SUBJECTS

In the next number of the *Quarterly* there will be a list of unpublished books and articles relating to Florida, as well as projects in process or determined on, including theses in any of these categories.

The value of such a list is evident. Many are completed and are available for reference. The greater number of these are theses and are held in duplicate copies in the libraries of the universities of their origin, and hence can be had as a loan in certain cases. Another object in the publication of such a list is as a check on duplicate research and writing. Another is that the listing of a subject is an implied request for tips on obscure sources possibly unknown to the re-

searcher. This helpfulness among scholars is general, perhaps more so than in most pursuits, which is well, for few researchers have the opportunity for a thorough coverage of their field.

Should you know of any project on a Florida subject which perhaps is not listed, will you tell Mr. Watt Marchman, our librarian and the compiler, or the editor; for the value of the list will be in proportion to its completeness.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY

A life-size statue of Osceola, the Seminole patriot, has been presented to the Society by H. Norman Gallie of Eustis and is now in the Library. It is the work of Bernice West, one of our members, other work of whom can be seen in Rockefeller Center, New York, and who has lately completed a bronze of Theodore L. Mead, pioneer Florida horticulturist, for the Mead Botanical Gardens near Orlando.

Osceola has come to represent what is best of the Seminole character, and it is fitting that this reminder of him and his part in the history of Florida should have a place in our Library.

GOVERNOR JAMES GRANT

Biographical and other material pertaining to General James Grant, the first English governor of East Florida, and representing much research, have been presented to the Library as a memorial by Philip C. Tucker, attorney, of Bradenton.

Mr. Tucker became interested in General Grant in connection with a study he was making of Freemasonry in Florida, General Grant being an active member of that order. The material consists, in part, of correspondence with Sir Arthur Grant and A. Macpherson Grant of England and Scotland ; correspondence with several historical groups, here and abroad; copies of documents and letters pertaining to Grant and a copy of "General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 1720-1806", written by Alastair Macpherson Grant and inscribed to Mr. Tucker by the author. Also there are several ar-

ticles by Mr. Tucker on Freemasonry in Florida, published in *The Master Mason*, *The Tampa Mason* and *The Builder*.

The Society is grateful to Mr. Tucker for placing this material in our library for permanent preservation and for consultation by historians and students.

Mrs. Phoenix Clark Remsen and her son, DePuyster Remsen of St. Augustine, have placed in the Library for preservation and for reference by historians and students (as a permanent loan) a large family collection of letters, books, documents, newspapers and clippings, family albums and pictures, and many museum pieces of all kinds, nearly all of which pertain in some way to the history and development of the east coast of Florida. This is placed in the Library as a memorial to Mrs. Remsen's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Francis M. Clark of St. Augustine. Part of the material, because of its private and family nature, will be under seal and may not be used without the consent of Mrs. Remsen and her son, Mr. DePuyster Remsen.

Mr. Clark was an official of the St. Johns Railway between St. Augustine and the St. Johns river, and was active in the development of St. Augustine during the latter part of the 19th century.

The following articles from early periodicals have been given to the Library by Paul A. Hardaway of Pawtucket, Rhode Island:

J. D. Holder, "Along the Florida reef" *Harper's* February-July 1871.

"A Monthly Concert at Tampa Bay," in *Harper's* October 1862.

J. J. Headley, "The First Colonists of Florida," in *Harper's* March 1860.

Francis Parkman, "The Fleur-de-lis in Florida," in *Atlantic* August 1863.

H. B. Plant, "The Great Railway Systems of the United States," in *Cosmopolitan* October 1892.

Will Wallace Harney, "The Drainage of the Everglades," in *Harper's* March 1884.

G. W. Nichols, "Six Weeks in Florida," in *Harper's* October 1870.

Julian Ralph, "Our own Riviera," in *Harper's* March 1893.

Kirk Munroe, "Alligator Hunting with Seminoles," in *Cosmopolitan* September 1892.

Also several articles from *Frank Leslie's* 1874, 1881, 1882, 1883.

Colton's *General Atlas* (New York, 1857).

OTHER ACCESSIONS

Irving A. Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora* (University of California Press, 1929.) (exchange)

Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (University of California Press, 1939.) (exchange)

A. Hyatt Verrill, *Romantic and Historic Florida* (New York, 1935). Presented by Karl A. Bickel, Sarasota.

Photograph of General E. M. McCook, U. S. A. Gift of Mrs. E. M. McCook.

Comte de Castelnau, "Note on Source of Wakulla River in Florida." Typewritten copy, from Florida collection of Dr. Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee.

Comte de Castelnau, "Note on two itineraries from Charleston to Tallahassee." Typewritten copy, from Florida collection of Dr. Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee.

George T. Ward, "Eulogy on life of James Tillinghast Archer, 1859. Typewritten copy presented by Mary Lamar Davis, Tallahassee.

Wentworth's Magazine, June 1941. Presented by the publisher, T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Pensacola.

ARCHEOLOGICAL NOTES

The Society's committee on archeology is planning, as an immediate project, the publication of a bibliography of Florida archeology for general distribution. Hundreds of titles have been listed and as soon as necessary funds can be secured, these titles will be carefully checked and the bibliography prepared for publication.

Contributions from members of the Society who are interested in furthering the study of Florida archeology are welcomed.

Dr. Doris Stone, chairman of the Society's committee on archeology and member of the Middle American Research Institute of Tulane University, has been engaged in archeological investigations in Central America during the summer.

Dr. John M. Longyear, III, of Peabody Museum at Harvard University, a member of the Society's committee on archeology, left the United States early in September for El Salvador and Nicaragua to be engaged in archeological research for six months or longer.

Mr. William B. Goodwin of Hartford, Connecticut, another member of the Society's archeology committee, spent the summer completing a book he is publishing summarizing the results of his recent archeological investigations.

Mr. Charles D. Higgs of Fontana, Wisconsin, and Vero Beach, Florida, formerly an official of the Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago, is investigating an archeological site on the Florida east coast near Sebastian inlet. He was first attracted to the site by the remains of an old shipwreck partly buried in the sand on the beach.

Nearby he discovered an Indian kitchen midden of pre-Columbian culture, partly destroyed by the tides. Further investigation in the vicinity revealed evidences of a European settlement near the beach. Hundreds of fragments of Spanish pottery and crockery showing Moorish influence, and pieces of Spanish bottle glass were found, uncovered by heavy winds sweeping the shore. Portions of roof-tile, brick and mortar, three or more feet below the sandy, palmetto-covered surface, were excavated in an experimental hole sunk in one place. English trading pipes (of early 18th century) some in a good state of preservation, were found in abundance. Fragments of china of Chinese Ming period were also discovered. He has been careful not to disturb the site before its investigation by a trained archeologist. However, his interest stirred by his discovery, he is making a careful study

of this portion of the coast. With the assistance of leading libraries and museums of the United States he has identified many of his artifacts, but from all records and maps he has examined he has not yet found any reference to a European house or settlement at this site.

Mr. Higgs has turned over his entire collection of artifacts to the Society's library where they are now on exhibition.

Professor Alfred J. Hanna, president of the Society 1939-1940, and Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey, vice president 1936-1938, were married on July 5, last, in St. John's Episcopal Church, Tallahassee.

The American Association for State and Local History has issued the first number of its periodical *The State and Local History News*. Mr. Watt Marchman, our librarian, is a member of its membership committee and Dr. Dorothy Dodd is a founding member of the organization.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE STATE LIBRARY

For putting into effect the resolution adopted by the Society at our last annual meeting (page 108 of the July number of the *Quarterly*) for a program of closer cooperation between the Society and the State Library, conferences are being held with representatives of the State Library Board. Mr. Marchman, our secretary and librarian, attended a meeting of the Board on August 23, where a member of the Board was appointed to meet with representatives of the Society in September to decide on the method and details of cooperation. It is believed by the officers of the Society and the State Library Board that the steps now being taken will provide against future competition between the two libraries.

IN MEMORIAM

The Society sorrowfully records the passing of these members :-

CARL GILLETTE ALVORD, a native of Connecticut and an adopted son of Florida, was educated at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Yale. He soon, in his own words, "acquired a very keen and true appreciation of the qualities of Florida," and spent many winters "among the delightfully isolated beauties of the Florida keys" and along the waterways from Jacksonville to Miami, through which he became interested in the history of the region and then in the Society.

In 1938 he was appointed chairman of the Society's committee on maps, and contributed generously towards improving our collection of maps and charts. He attended meetings wherever they were held, and served on several committees for arrangement and program. He was liberal with contributions of time, money, and enthusiasm ; and was one of the founding contributors to the salary fund for the Society's permanent secretary and librarian.

MRS. MARY FRANCES BAKER, Florida botanist, of Winter Park, was the author of the text book *Florida Wild Flowers*. Her husband, Thomas R. Baker, was the founder of the Baker Museum of Natural Sciences at Rollins College. Mrs. Baker became a member of the Society in 1936 and was much interested in everything pertaining to Florida.

SYDNEY O. CHASE, a native of Germantown, Phil-

adelphia, came to Florida in 1878 and settled at Sanford which was then little more than a pioneer community. He was first employed by General Henry S. Sanford, for whom the town was named, on his extensive orange grove, and later was with J. E. Ingraham the future president of the South Florida Railroad. When he had saved enough he opened his own insurance business; but in 1884 he was joined by his brother Joshua C. Chase (president of the Florida Historical Society 1935-1938) and the two formed a partnership which was the beginning of the present Chase and Company, one of the largest growers and distributors of citrus fruit and vegetables, as well as supplies and fertilizers.

Mr. Chase was long a member of the Society, was actively interested in its work, and was one of the founding contributors to the salary fund for our permanent secretary and librarian. At the time of his death on March 31 he was a contributing member of the Society.

JERRY S. FOLEY, nationally known leader in the lumber industry, was a native of Lyndon Station, Wisconsin, and came to Florida, when forty years of age. At his death, on August 10, he was president of Brooks-Scanlon Corporation of Foley, Florida, chairman of the board of Foley Lumber Industries, a director of Atlantic National Bank of Jacksonville, and president of Bahamas-Cuban Company. Mr. Foley was interested in Florida's past as well as its present and was a contributing member of the Society.

MRS. FRANK P. HAMILTON was a daughter of Governor Francis P. Fleming who revived the Society in 1902 and was its president in 1906-1908.

They are descended from Floridians of the eighteenth century. Mrs. Hamilton had been interested in the Society since 1909, when, as Elizabeth Fleming, she and five other young women of Jacksonville in turn kept the Society's room in the Jacksonville Public Library open three days of the week.

EDWARD JAQUELIN L'ENGLE, president of the Florida Historical Society 1916-1920, a director for several terms, and a member since 1905, died on August 20 following a brief illness. He was a native of Jacksonville and a descendant of Francis Philip Fatio a resident of St. Augustine during the second Spanish period. He was graduated from Johns Hopkins University with an A.B. degree in 1892, then attended the law school of the University of Virginia, and was admitted to the bar in 1894. He was a charter member of the Jacksonville Bar Association and senior member of the law firm of L'Engle, Shands, McCarthy and Lane. There is a sketch of Mr. L'Engle in this *Quarterly* the issue of July 1940 (XIX 60). He was a contributing member of the Society at the time of his death.

Our Contributors

Charles L. Mowat is a member of the history department of the University of California, Los Angeles.

Stanley Faye attended the University of Chicago and the Faculte des Lettres de l'Universite de Toulouse. He is a corresponding member of the Academia Nacional de la Historia of Venezuela, and has contributed to a number of historical publications.

Helen R. Sharp received the A.M. degree, majoring in history, from Florida State College for Women.

Mark F. Boyd is a member of the staff of the International Health Division, Rockefeller Foundation. He has carried on historical research in the Tallahassee region for a number of years and has contributed numerous articles to this *Quarterly*.

To the reader:

If not already a member of The Florida Historical Society, you are cordially invited to come with us. There are no obligations except the annual dues of two dollars, and this includes the *Quarterly* which is sent to all members.