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THAT "ODD BEING," DE BRAHM

by CHARLES L. MOWAT

Among the many interesting and distinguished figures who in one way or another were connected with the small community of British East Florida during its brief history none is more intriguing than its first surveyor general, William Gerrard De Brahm. A man whose versatility of genius went beyond even that of the typical eighteenth-century dilettante : a surveyor, engineer, botanist, astronomer, meteorologist, student of ocean currents, alchemist, sociologist, historian and mystical philosopher ; he was also something of an eccentric in character, whose peculiarities are heightened for us by the odd ways in which his imperfect knowledge of the English tongue expressed itself in certain of his writings. About the career of such a man, moving on the margins of history, some obscurity necessarily lies, and none of the few brief accounts of him which exist tells his story in full or with complete accuracy¹. And probably it can never be told in full. But there are certain parts of his career on which a little more light may be cast, particularly his official connection with East Florida, his suspension from office, the time and details of his return to America from England in 1775, his subsequent doings during and following the American Revolution, and the disposition made of his "Report" and other official writings; it is with these that this study is primarily concerned.

1. *Dictionary of American Biography* (hereafter cited as *D.A.B.*) ; A. J. Morrison, "John G. De Brahm," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXI, 252-258 (July, 1922); Philip Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans* (DeLand, Florida, 1924 : Florida State Historical Society Publications, No. 2), 103. His name is given as above in the British government papers relating to him, but late in life he signed himself John Gerar William de Brahm.

De Brahm, a Dutchman by birth, began his career as a captain engineer in the service of the German Emperor, but lost his place and estate on changing his religion, and at the age of thirty-four emigrated to, Georgia in 1751, where he established the colony of Bethany near the Salzburger settlement of Ebenezer². In the 1750's he was employed on a number of works as an engineer-reconstructing the defenses of Charleston, erecting Fort Loudoun on the Tennessee river and fortifying Savannah and Ebenezer, and making surveys of the Georgia frontier³. Latterly he was Joint Surveyor of Georgia, from which position, according to Governor Grant of East Florida, he was removed because of his great unpopularity.⁴

With this varied experience in the South to recommend him, De Brahm received from the British government in 1764 the twin appointments of Surveyor General of the Southern District of North America and Surveyor General of East Florida⁵. The first position was an entirely new one, established by the British government at the time, following the Peace of Paris of 1763, when it was undertaking

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2. *D.A.B.*; De Brahm, Report, 4, 105-106 (see below, 6) ; letters of Count Seckendorf, December 1750, and Rev. Mr. Urlsperger, 28 June 1751, recommending De Brahm in the Colonial Office papers in the Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office, class 5, volume 374, K66 (hereafter cited as C.O.5/374 etc.), C.O.5/372, 182. For these and certain other references to De Brahm the author is indebted to the kindness of the late Professor John C. Parish of the University of California, Los Angeles. In all other citations of Public Record Office papers the transcripts or photostats in the Library of Congress have been used.
 3. De Brahm, Report, 4, 44-45, 127.
 4. *Ibid.*, 4; Grant to the Earl of Hillsborough, 23 April 1770, C.O.5/551, p. 51. The joint surveyor with De Brahm was Henry Yonge, appointed sole surveyor-general in 1764 on De Brahm's removal. He served until his death in 1778 when his son Philip was appointed to the office.
 5. His commission for the former position, dated 26 June 1764, is C.O.324/52, pp. 3940; for the latter, dated 13 June 1764, *ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

large new imperial responsibilities in North America, as shown by the nearly contemporaneous creation of special imperial officers in charge of military affairs, Indian affairs, the customs service and the post office in the American colonies.

As with the Indian and customs services, the whole of the British territory on the continent was divided into a northern and a southern district, the Potomac being the dividing line, and over each a surveyor general, responsible to the authorities in London and not to any of the colonial governments, was appointed to carry out the work of mapping and charting the land and coasts of North America.

It is of interest to notice that both the surveyors general, as well as several of the assistant surveyors, in this imperial service of land and coast survey, were of foreign birth. De Brahm's principal and best-known assistant, Bernard Romans, was a fellow Dutchman.⁶ The surveyor general of the Northern District, Samuel Holland, testified to his native land in his surname.⁷ Another engineer who made surveys of the Nova Scotia coast and elsewhere under the auspices of the Admiralty was of Huguenot origin, though born in England, the long-lived Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres.⁸ This tradition of catholicity in the British imperial service of the eighteenth century was, of course, further exemplified in the army in the persons, to name only three, of Generals Bouquet, Haldimand and Augustine Prevost, all at one time connected with Florida.

6. See the sketches of him in the *D.A.B.* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

7. See Willis Chipman, "The Life and Times of Major Samuel Holland, Surveyor General, 1764-1801," *Ontario Historical Society; Papers and Records*, XXI, 11-90 (Toronto, 1924).

8. See *Dictionary of National Biography* and John C. Webster, "Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres and the Atlantic Neptune," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, XXI, section ii, 21-40 (Ottawa, 1927).

For the expenses of the general surveys De Brahm was given a share in a sum, usually around 1800, appropriated annually by Parliament for the general surveys in North America," but he received no salary for this position. He depended, therefore, on his salary as provincial surveyor general of East Florida, provided for in the annual parliamentary grant for the civil government of the province, and on the fees derived from surveys made in connection with land grants in East Florida: the salary was 120, with 30 in addition for an assistant,¹⁰ an allowance which De Brahm treated as part of his own salary. The two positions were intended to be held together as a measure of economy, for the British government was then very parsimonious in the matter of colonial expenses. Samuel Holland also held the surveyor generalship of Quebec along with his responsibility for the general surveys in the Northern District. But the combination of the two positions, though advantageous on practical grounds as eliminating duplicate surveys, proved awkward in the government of the colony, as it left ambiguous the relationship between De Brahm and the governor, in this case James Grant.

For the general surveys De Brahm had, according to a report of his in 1769, two schooners, three boats, four "battoe," and three deputies, two mates and eight sailors.¹¹ To these assistants, however, should be added those employed in the East Florida provincial surveys, whom he also used at times in

9. The exact figures are given in Adam Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* (London, 1801), IV, *passim*, among the annual Parliamentary grants: for a memorial of De Brahm regarding his share, see C.O.5/144, pp. 273-274.

10. See the annual estimates for East Florida, e.g., for 1763-64, C.O.5/570, p. 9.

11. DeBrahm to Hillsborough, 23 September 1769, C.O.5/70, pp. 571-572.

the general surveys. In his "List of Inhabitants of East Florida . . . from 1763 to 1771," he named 35 persons as being at one time or another in his employ.¹² Romans, who quarreled with him and took credit for much of his work, while ridiculing the rest, claimed to have been made principal deputy surveyor for the Southern District.¹³

The making of the general surveys was carried forward amid several difficulties in the settled part of the interior of East Florida and on the east and west coasts of the province from 1765 to 1771, but De Brahm's plans to extend the survey to the Georgia coast and the Gulf of Mexico were not carried out. A sixty-ton schooner-rigged galley was built for the work in Florida in 1766, but was lost in a gale in January 1771. Other disasters at sea and sickness among the surveyors interfered with several of the surveying expeditions. Yet by 1771 the survey of the east coast had been completed, and the west coast had been surveyed from the tip of the peninsula as far north as the Bay of Tampa (Spiritu Santo). The St. Johns river was surveyed by water in 1766, and the environs of St. Augustine in the same year, as also the land from the capital across to Fort Picolata on the St. Johns. The land between St. Augustine and Cowford (Jacksonville), and between St. Augustine and the head of the St. Johns, was surveyed in 1768. Work was proceeding on the St. Marys river in 1770, when it was broken off because of sickness and the loss of an anchor.¹⁴

12. De Brahm, Report, 183-190.

13. Bernard Romans, *A concise natural history of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), 292-300; Phillips, *Notes on Life and Works of Bernard Romans*, 29, 27-30.

14. *D.A.B.; South Carolina Gazette*, 17 November 1776; De Brahm, Report, 260; De Brahm to Hillsborough, 8 March, 27 May, 24 June 1769, C.O.5/70, pp. 453-456, 469-470, 487; *idem* to *idem*, 1 November 1769, 22 September 1770, C.O.5/71, pp. 261-262, 529-535; *idem* to *idem*, 15 March 1771, C.O.5/72, pp. 383-384.

In much of this work De Brahm took part personally, though most of the work on the west coast was left to Romans and other deputies. The difficulties under which the work was done in this "unknown Zona" were graphically described in one of De Brahm's letters to the Earl of Hillsborough, the Secretary of State for American Affairs, in 1770, as including

... the most intolerable torments from insects in the Sommer & the boisterous winds blowing all the winter, the Shallowness of the Seas, Inlets & Rivers & the immense Tracts bordered with marches under water unaccessible by Sailing, rowing & wading never frozen, so as to have the advantage of those Seasons, & can hardly be ascertained even with perimetrical operations Such as are partly adtempted on the main within & partly from vessells outside moord at anchors, whose true Distance be secured first from terra Firma. these are methods only som tims practicable . . . ¹⁵

The results of these labors were communicated from time to time to the Board of Trade and the Secretary of State in letters, sometimes accompanied by maps, drawings and vegetable specimens, and were finally embodied in De Brahm's great manuscript "Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America." ¹⁶ Maps of his, besides those included in the Report, are to be found among the King's Manuscripts in the

15. De Brahm to Hillsborough, 22 September 1770, C.O.5/71, p. 534.

16. The different copies of this report and the distribution of them are discussed below, 19-21. The citations from it in this study are all from the copy in the Harvard University Library.

British Museum.¹⁷ There is also a prodigiously large map, printed by John Lewis and Samuel, Lewis, 1769, entitled "A Plan of Part of the Coast of East Florida including St. Johns River. . . by William Gerard De Brahm . . ." This, on a scale of one inch to 1-1/4 miles, shows the various land grants very clearly.¹⁸

The Report of the General Survey was much more than a surveyor's report. De Brahm explained in one of his dedications, addressed to the Board of Trade, that since he understood that he was to furnish "every Information that I think may tend to the forming a true Judgment of the State of that important part of His Majesty's Dominions," he had extended the historical sections to include "several branches of Philosophy," such as botany.¹⁹ It was in fact an account of the history, government, population, fauna and flora, and climate of the three provinces of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida, of which about half was devoted to the first two. The wide scope and great value of the section on East Florida, which still remains unpublished, has been fully described by Carita Doggett Corse in a recent issue of this *Quarterly*.²⁰ One chapter, however, the seventh, was published at the time. This contained the directions for navigators in Florida waters and a description of Cape Florida and its islands and channels, and was

17. A few are reproduced in Archer B. Hulbert (ed.), *Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps* (Cleveland, Ohio and Harrow, England, 1908-1916, (1st series), V, plates 35, 49, 50; 2nd series, I plate 36.

18. British Museum; Crown Collection, CXXII, 81: photograph in Library of Congress.

19. De Brahm, Report, 101.

20. Carita Doggett Corse, "De Brahm's Report on East Florida, 1773," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII, 219-226 (January, 1939).

published in London in 1772 as the *Atlantic Pilot*.²¹ Two further scientific works of his, *The Levelling Balance and Counter-Balance; or, The Method of Observing, by the Weight and Height of Mercury*, and *De Brahm's Zonical Tables for the Twenty-Five Northern and Southern Climates*, were published in 1774.²²

During his supervision of the general surveys, De Brahm made his headquarters at St. Augustine where he could also attend to his work as provincial surveyor general-work which eventually put a stop to the general surveys. He arrived at St. Augustine from Georgia in January 1765,²³ and became one of the leading figures of the community. After his departure some years later his elegant new house built of stone was put up for auction, as well as two tracts of land, totaling 1150 acres, in the country.²⁴ He suffered the loss of his first wife, whom he had brought with him from Europe, on 1 September 1765,²⁵ but he subsequently married again, for references are made to his father-in-law, John Row, formerly sheriff of Maryland, and to his brother-in-law, Seton Wedderburn Row, who in 1767 was described as a boy who had but recently come to the country, both of whom were made deputy surveyors.²⁶ His only child was married in St. Augustine in 1769 to the gallant engineer, Frederick George Mulcaster,²⁷ reputedly the natural brother of George III; but father and son-in-law

21. *The Atlantic Pilot* (London, 1772) has no author on the title page, but the dedication, to Hillsborough, is signed by De Brahm.

22. *D.A.B.*

23. *Georgia Gazette*, 21 February 1765.

24. *South Carolina Gazette*, 4 April 1771.

25. *Georgia Gazette* 3 October 1765.

26. De Brahm's case, June 1767, C.O.5/551, pp. 53-54; also letters of De Brahm in Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission (14th Report, Appendix, Part X), *Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth* (London, 1895), II, 182, 228, 229 (hereafter cited as *Dartmouth MSS*).

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

were invariably at cross-purposes from that time on.

The difficulties in which De Brahm was involved in his provincial work arose partly from an inevitable confusion between the provincial and general surveys, partly from his own cantankerous disposition which naturally clashed with that of the punctilious and autocratic governor, James Grant, and partly from the fact that the royal commission which he held for his provincial office, which was almost identical with his commission as Surveyor General of the Southern District, put him only under the orders of the King, the Treasury and the Board of Trade. This led him to argue that he was beyond the governor's control, though the governor, on the other hand, bore instructions regarding land grants, with which the provincial surveyor's office was principally concerned.

It was his task, as provincial surveyor general, to appoint the deputy surveyors and to issue a precept to a deputy surveyor to make a survey of any tract desired for a land grant on receipt of a warrant of survey from the governor, and subsequently to return the warrant of survey after the precept and a plat of the tract had been returned to his office. For the precept and the survey, as well as for certificates and copies, etc., various fees were authorized by the provincial Council, some of them to be divided between the surveyor general and his deputies. De Brahm, however, insisted on doing much of the surveying of tracts himself, which led the Council to reduce certain of the fees on the ground that they were intended to support the deputy surveyors, who were not salaried.²⁸

Here were the first grounds of dispute between

28. Grant's instructions to the Surveyor General, 1 February 1765, C.O.5/540, pp. 361-363; Surveyor General's fees, in Council Minutes, 20 June 1765, C.O.5/570, p. 25; Regulations to be observed in the Surveyor General's office, in Council Minutes, 4 January 1768, Audit Office 16/43, pp. 72-78.

De Brahm and the governor. Grant declared that De Brahm's insistence on making the land grant surveys himself, impeded as he was by age and infirmities, not only interfered with his responsibility for the general surveys, but delayed the settlement of the province by keeping prospective colonists waiting until he could attend to their warrants of survey. At one time he claimed that forty of these warrants were outstanding. On the other hand, De Brahm argued that several of his thirteen deputies were incompetent, and that Grant had illegally had several surveys made by them without obtaining the necessary precepts from him, to the confusion of his office and the detriment of settlers who suffered from the resultant overlapping surveys and lack of visible boundary marks. De Brahm's own conduct, however, suggested favoritism towards some of the deputies, and animosity toward others. The issue was brought into the open in June 1767 when he gave to Thomas Woolridge, the provost marshal, a precept directed to his relative by marriage, Seton Wedderburn Row, who was without previous experience of surveying, and had only just been, made a deputy, though Woolridge had asked (as Grant claimed he was entitled to do) for John Funk or James Delaire or any lawful deputy. On this occasion Grant sent over David Yeats, the well-trusted deputy clerk of the Council, to tell De Brahm that he was in error, but De Brahm refused to admit this, and soon afterwards came to see the governor, though he was then crippled with gout or rheumatism and had his arm in a sling. Even this personal interview failed to alter his convictions, and two days later, after continuing to deny Woolridge the precept he desired, he suspended Funk and Delaire and declared that he would do the "Field business" himself, with the help of Andrew Way, a drunken deputy whom Grant

had for a time turned out of office. Grant of course insisted that he could not suspend deputies from mere caprice, and demanded the reinstatement of the two in question. De Brahm remained obdurate, denying Grant's authority over him, but later seems to have climbed down on this matter.²⁹

Three years later De Brahm was again in trouble. Three charges were brought against him in the Council on 16 April 1770. One was that he had issued a precept for a Mr. John Heard to any deputy except Bernard Romans, thus in effect suspending Romans. The second was that he had refused to certify a plat regularly made by Romans for William Haven, Esq., and had overcharged Haven for a survey by billing him for mileage fees for 734 miles instead of 300 miles and for the 'discovery' of the tract in question, Carlos island, which De Brahm had never seen and which he 'discovered' only by the simple operation of referring in his office to one of the general survey maps made by his deputies (De Brahm's defense on this point was that Haven had traveled to Carlos island and elsewhere on the survey vessel). The third charge was over the exorbitant sum demanded by De Brahm for the maintenance of four runaway negroes who had been taken up by his deputies on the survey vessel. For these instances of overcharging and incivility he was censured by the Council, and Grant wrote home detailing the whole course of his official conduct, emphasizing his independent attitude, his obstinacy and his avarice over fees, and urging his replacement by Mulcaster.³⁰

The reply of Hillsborough, the Secretary of State,

29. De Brahm's case, June 1767, C.O.5/551, pp. 53-48 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 49); De Brahm to John Pownall, 1 September 1769, C.O.5/70, pp. 683-685.

30. Council Minutes, 16 and 17 April 1770, C.O.5/571, pp. 25-31; Grant to Hillsborough, 23 April 1770, C.O.5/551, pp. 49-51.

to this familiar tale of disagreement between colonial officials was to order De Brahm to appoint a deputy for his provincial work, and confine himself to the general surveys. Grant was authorized to suspend him from the provincial office if he made any difficulty in complying with these orders.³¹ When he received this order, De Brahm was in Charleston, whither he had gone when sickness and accidents had broken up the survey of St. Marys river on which he had been engaged in August 1770. He replied with a long letter in his defense, arguing, among other things, his need of the provincial fees to support the expenses of the general surveys, and the government's intention that the one office should assist the other, and charging that Grant's orders had deprived him of 841 in perquisites in the last three years. As for appointing a deputy, he stated that he had appointed three in succession, the current holder of the office being George Rolfes, appointed in October 1768.³² He thus assured himself that he was obeying Hillsborough's orders. To Grant, however, his departure from St. Augustine on the general survey in August, and his removal to Charleston, were in flat disobedience to orders, since he had left his office and papers in charge of his wife, and since Rolfes, who at the time of his departure had been absent from St. Augustine, was no surveyor at all, but a merchant put in as a nominal deputy so that De Brahm could receive the deputy's allowance of 30. He therefore suspended De Brahm as provincial surveyor, with the Council's concurrence, on 4 October 1770, and appointed Mulcaster to his place until the King's pleasure was

31. Hillsborough to De Brahm, 6 July 1770, C.O.5/71, pp. 265-266; Hillsborough to Grant, 6 July 1770, C.O.5/551, pp. 50-51.

32. De Brahm to Hillsborough, 22 September 1770, Charleston, C.O.5/71, pp. 529-534; Cf. his letter of 30 June 1770, St. Augustine, *ibid.*, pp. 357-360.

known.³³ This action was eventually approved by Hillsborough, but Mulcaster's appointment was left unconfirmed until De Brahm should be heard in his defense.³⁴ De Brahm was therefore recalled to England in July 1771. He had already put up for auction his house in Johnston street, Charleston, and his negroes, furniture, new and fashionable plate, and his schooner and a sloop.³⁵

By the end of the year De Brahm was back in London where he began to solicit the help of his patron, the Earl of Dartmouth, who succeeded Hillsborough as Secretary of State for American Affairs in 1772.³⁶ He had previously sent him, as a member of the Royal Society, a treatise on natural philosophy, and subsequently presented him with other fruits of his philosophical and scientific interests, such as a diagram of a "new invented copper Athanor" (an alchemist's digesting furnace), an "Essay upon the Apocalipsin on the time and times passed present and to come," and observations on the transit of Saturn.³⁷ Yet he was kept waiting in London a long time. It was not until August 1773 that he was summoned to attend the Treasury Board. One year later, however, he had his reward, for he wrote that, thanks to Dartmouth's patronage, Lord North had restored him to his provincial office. However, he decided to devote himself, on his return to America, to the general survey and authorized Mulcaster to act as his deputy in East

33. Grant to Hillsborough, 2 October 1770, C.O.5/545, pp. 45-47, 51; Council Minutes, 4 October 1770, C.O.5/571, p. 35 (the inconsistency in dates occurs in the original papers).

34. Hillsborough to Grant, 2 January 1771, C.O.5/552, pp. 1-2.

35. *Dartmouth MSS*, II, 79; *South Carolina Gazette*, 4 April 1771.

36. *Dartmouth MSS*, 79, 102, 120, 142, 477 (which should be dated 1772 and not ?1780).

37. *Ibid.*, 151, 183, 273; Cf. 216-217, 210, 381, 443.

Florida.³⁸ He never returned to the province himself though he kept the office and even managed, to Mulcaster's misfortune, to retain the salary³⁹ until 1778 when a new acting surveyor general, Benjamin Lord, was appointed by Governor Tonym.⁴⁰ Mulcaster had left the province on military service in March 1776.

De Brahm, therefore, made preparations in London to return to the general survey and in 1775 was assigned by the Admiralty the armed vessel *Cherokee* for this work. His departure was delayed until he had collected the necessary astronomical apparatus, and even after he had boarded the ship on 15 May they waited several days at Spithead until his watch was brought him by the watchmaker.⁴¹ He had with him his wife, a nephew of his own name from Germany, and the youngest Row.⁴² On 7 September 1775 they reached Rebellion Road, Charleston. Fifteen hours later his wife died; two days later she was buried in the town.⁴³ Mulcaster, his son-in-law, wrote from St. Augustine that sometime earlier, when in England, Mrs. De Brahm had broken open her husband's will and found that she was left nothing, as all his property was to go to his brother in Germany. She had got her father, Row, to make him alter it, but perhaps it was happy for the poor woman, he thought, that she died first.⁴⁴ Mulcaster had pre-

38. *Ibid.*, 165, 220, 228; Council Minutes, 21 January 1775, C.O. 5/571, p. 147.

39. Tonym to Germain, 26 June 1776, C.O.5/557, pp. 161-163.

40. Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida 1774 to 1785* (DeLand, Florida, 1929: Florida State Historical Society Publications, no. 9), I, 61, n. 73, II, 196.

41. *Dartmouth MSS*, II, 240, 241, 273, 287, 381; Continuation of Atlantic Pilot (manuscript in Harvard Library, see below, 22).

42. Mulcaster to Grant, 3 October 1775, Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives*, 4th series, IV (Washington, 1843), 331.

43. *Idem to idem*, 29 September 1775, *ibid.*, III, 834.

44. *Ibid.*, IV, 331.

viously written that De Brahm was already in a squabble, as the captain of the *Tamar*, one of the King's ships, had commandeered the *Cherokee*; he supposed, therefore, that he would come to St. Augustine, and hoped it would be soon as he was planning to send his children, Frederick and Fanny, home to England and did not want the grandfather to think that he had sent them away on purpose to prevent his seeing them. Mulcaster thought, however, that he might go to Providence in the Bahamas instead, in which case he might perhaps let him apply for the Florida surveyorship in his place: "but this is only conjecture, for you know what an odd being he is, and he might think even a resignation a feather lost from his plume."⁴⁵

Contrary to these expectations, De Brahm remained in Charleston. There is no proof that while there he was helping the Americans, as Governor Tonyn of East Florida charged, in fact, in December 1775 he wrote home from the Royal Observatory, Charleston, stating that he was continuing his observations undisturbed.⁴⁶ He did, however, marry into one of the leading families of the American patriots, for while there he took as his third wife, on 18 February 1776, Mary, daughter of Thomas Drayton and widow of Edward Fenwick. She was a sister of Chief Justice Drayton of East Florida, and, according to Tonyn, "one of the most furious Rebels in all America."⁴⁷

He next comes to light in St. Malo, Brittany, from which he wrote in August 1777 that he had been confined in Charleston until freed on 27 June 1777 under sentence of banishment for refusing to abjure

45. *Ibid.*, III, 834, 837.

46. De Brahm to Dartmouth, 8 December 1775, C.O.5/77, pp. 31-32.

47. D.A.B.; Tonyn to Lord George Germain, 26 June 1776, C.O. 5/557, pp. 161-163.

the King. He had sailed to Nantes in the American ship *Hancock and Adams*, in company with the *Lincoln*, alias *Marchal*. He had arrived on 12 August, and had had great difficulty in procuring a single chamber for himself and his family in Nantes. He recounted a conversation with American agents and some French and Spanish politicians.⁴⁸ Before the end of 1777 he was back in London,⁴⁹ where in April 1778 he gave a receipt for his salary as surveyor general of East Florida up to the preceding June.⁵⁰ In January 1780 he was writing from the little port of Topsham, near Exeter, acknowledging a recent order to prepare immediately to return to his provincial post in East Florida. He referred to a year's leave of absence granted to him to go to Europe for the recovery of his health when he was on the point of death the previous winter, and begged for an extension of his leave, as his poor health did not permit the voyage in the cold season (the year's leave of absence in the winter of 1778-79 must surely have been in effect to permit him to *remain* in England.)⁵¹ Later in the year he complained that he found himself superseded and his salary for 1779 withheld, but rejoiced

48. De Brahm to Germain, 25 August 1777, St. Malo, C.O.5/78, pp. 327-330; Cf. De Brahm to Dartmouth, 6 September 1777, St. Malo, *Dartmouth MSS*, II, 443, and *ibid.*, 456.

49. De Brahm to Germain, 24 January 1780, C.O.5/81, pp. 7-8.

50. De Brahm's Memorial asking for his salary, dated 28 October 1777, does not tell his whereabouts; his receipt is dated at London, 2 April 1778; both are in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 24322, p. 45 (Library of Congress transcripts). The Estimate of the Expense attending the General Surveys in North America for 1777 included 182-10-0 to "Mr. De Brahm for his support in Georgia, being under imprisonment by the Rebels" at the rate of ten shillings a day, and a payment of 91-5-0 to his assistant in the same predicament; C.O.5/78, p. 205; there is, however, no other evidence that De Brahm was confined in Georgia.

51. De Brahm to Germain, 24 January 1780, Topsham, near Exeter, C.O.5/81, pp. 7-8.

at the prospect of returning to the general survey.⁵² However, in 1782 he was still at Topsham, whence he wrote to Dartmouth saying that he intended coming to town to learn whether he continued in or had been discharged from the King's service; he enclosed a biblical pamphlet, "The Watchman," founded on Isaiah, XXI, 8.⁵³

Yet he was not destined to die in England, but to continue a wandering life in North America for some years longer. In 1784 his name appeared in a list, drawn up in Charleston, of persons whose sentences of confiscation and banishment were taken off.⁵⁴ A page of incoherent jottings among the papers of the East Florida Claims Commission which considered loyalist claims for compensation suggests that he had gone to Charleston in 1784 to collect his debts, had stayed there until about 1788, and had then gone to Philadelphia where he "instituted" some work in the German language; he had never taken the oaths in Carolina or Philadelphia.⁵⁵ He was, in fact, awarded 1,138-6-8 for his property losses in East Florida,⁵⁶ which proves

52. De Brahm to the Earl of Shelburne, April 1780, Topsham, in Shelburne Papers, LXXXVII, 24, in William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; printed in Randolph G. Adams, *Sir Henry Clinton Maps* (Ann Arbor, 1928), 109-110.

53. De Brahm to Dartmouth, 22 July 1782, Topsham, *Dartmouth MSS*, II, 479.

54. *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, 8 April 1784.

55. Pager in Treasury Solicitor Papers, 3662 (No folio number); see Charles M. Andrews *Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain* (Washington, 1912-1914), II, 268-269. This paper consists of a number of fragmentary sentences, often with words cut short or abbreviated so as to be incomprehensible, and is evidently a reporter's notes of testimony. It seems to date from 1788, and includes the names of Mary De Brahm, Gerard Debrahm (sic) and others. The whole is so fragmentary that the author's deductions from it must be accepted as only tentative.

56. D.A.B.

that, as far as the British government was concerned, his loyalty had always remained unimpaired. His last years were spent, evidently in Philadelphia, in philosophical and mystical studies, and perhaps in revising his topographical writings. He published four mystical works, one of which was the *Apocalyptic Gnomon Points out Eternity's Divisibility* (Philadelphia, 1795), which delineated three eras, the first, in which there was the first sounding of the voice of the Eternal female seed, the second, when there was the second sounding of that voice, the third era "inviting all men unto new birth in her manifested essence to prevent partial self-solution through Reason." In this last era reason was to be disowned, and the era was to end in a new earth through the Fire of Love.⁵⁷ His other works published at this time were *Time An Apparition of Eternity* (Philadelphia, 1791), of which Jefferson's copy is now in the Library of Congress;⁵⁸ *Zeits Rechenschaft* (Ephrate, Pennsylvania, 1794), of which the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, has a copy,⁵⁹ and *Sum of Testimonies of Truth* [Philadelphia? 1795], which is signed "John Gerar William de Brahm, The Attendant of the Lord Jesus Christ."⁶⁰ He died in or near Philadelphia, probably in 1799, as his will, dated 11 July 1796, was proved there on 3 July 1799.⁶¹

In 1798, when he was eighty-one years old, De Brahm put his papers in order and delivered to Phineas Bond, British consul-general in the United States, four folio volumes, three of which are extant, each bearing a prefatory note in almost

57. Morrison, *op. cit.*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXI, 257-258.

58. Morrison, 257; *D.A.B.*

59. Information gathered in John Carter Brown Library.

60. Joseph Sabin, *et al*, *Bibliotheca Americana* (New York, 1868-1936), no. 93574.

61. *D.A.B.*

identical words, written in De Brahm's hand, by then shaky but still legible. The note, addressed to the High Commissioners of the Treasury, recalled his commission to make hydrographical and historical observations of the Southern District of North America and stated that he had anxiously attended to the office and from time to time remitted "doublicates" to the Secretary of State for the American department. He continued,

the period of these Worlds empires distressed England, of course my Self an unprotected Single object (a grain in the magnitude of the British Empire am left unprovided from 1783 to 1798 in my 81 of age; in this state the original materials of my Office remain unrequested in my possession. I have this 1st day of the xith mo. 1798 delivered in the hand of Phineas Bond . . . four folio Volumes . . . this Surrender is made to and by their Lordships High Commissioners of the Treasury / their / Grateful / affectionate / and Faithful / John Gerar William de Brahm.⁶²

Three of the volumes so delivered and named by De Brahm the second, third, and fourth, eventually came into the possession of the Harvard University Library. The second and third of these, bound together and lettered "Brahm's Survey of East Florida, Carolina, Georgia, &c.," comprise a manuscript of his Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America; This begins with the prefatory note of 1798, already quoted, which refers to the *third* of the volumes delivered, and continues with a two-page address to the King, followed by a title page with the title "History / of / the three Provinces / South Car-

62. Prefatory sheet at beginning of the Harvard copy of De Brahm's Report.

olina / Georgia / and East Florida / when discovered, when conquered: when settled, their Climates: Boundaries . . ." and so in a long description of the contents. The volume contains 368 numbered pages, many of which are blank. The last 35 numbered pages are devoted to writings extraneous to the Report, namely an essay on religion, and a mystical and philosophical disquisition on Hercules in Latin, followed by an explanation in English. Several pages are misnumbered as follows: pp. 305-315 are followed by 296-304, which are followed by a second series numbered 305-315. In addition there are a few unnumbered pages inserted at intervals. There are addresses to the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations (the Board of Trade) on pp. 101-102, to Dartmouth on page 171, and a second address to the King on four unnumbered pages preceding 247. A second prefatory note, marking the beginning of the *second* volume delivered to Phineas Bond, precedes the address to Dartmouth and the beginning of the description of East Florida, which immediately follows it, and which contains eight chapters. Various manuscript maps and drawings are inserted throughout the text, as well as tables of land surveys and of thermometer readings in East Florida. All the text except the prefatory notes is in a round copyist's hand.

This volume is almost identical in content with the copy of the Report which is in the British Museum, entitled "Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America, Delivered to the Board of Trade and Plantations in three separate returns and sections . . ." This also has, as an inner title page, "History of the Three Provinces . . ." This volume (King's MSS., 210, 211), divides into two 'tomes,' the second beginning immediately before chapter 4 of the East

Florida section. It omits the extraneous material in the last 35 pages of the Harvard copy. It was apparently the copy of the Report prepared for the King, of which De Brahm stated in his address to the King (preceding page 247 in the Harvard copy) that he had presented the first tome comprising the accounts of South Carolina and Georgia and the first three chapters on East Florida, to His Majesty on 2 April 1773. Photostats of this British Museum copy of the Report are in the Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts.⁶³

Other copies of the Report were evidently made for the Board of Trade and the Secretary of State, judging from the addresses in the Report already mentioned. What became of these? Among the manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth is a *History of East Florida from its discovery in 1513 to 1771. In three chapters, with tables of Surveys*, dated 1772, which is evidently the first three chapters of the East Florida section.⁶⁴ Another copy of at least part of it was bought at a sale in New York in 1853 by Plowden C. J. Weston, who published, the portion of it relating to South Carolina. This copy had as its title *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrography of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida*, and a very lengthy subtitle similar to that in the Harvard copy.⁶⁵ It may be mentioned that in addition to Weston's publication of his text of

63. For the whole subject of the Report and its copies see Charles M. Andrews and Frances G. Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum* (Washington, 1908, 27-28; and letters from Andrews to the Librarian of Harvard in 1906 and 1907, attached to the Harvard copy.

64. *Dartmouth MSS*, II, 120; Cf. address to Dartmouth in the Report, 171 (Harvard copy), which begins "These Sheets which I have the Honor to deliver, into the Hands of your Lordship, comprehend a full History of Florida . . ."

65. Plowden C. J. Weston (ed.), *Documents connected with the history of South Carolina* (printed for private distribution: London, 1856), 156 seq. : see Weston's note on p. 157.

the South Carolina section, the Georgia portion of the Report, as given in the Harvard copy, was published by George Wymberley-Jones ;⁶⁶ both these were in very limited editions.

There remain the other two volumes delivered by De Brahm to the British consul-general in 1798. One of them, named by him the fourth, was entitled the Continuation of the Atlantic Pilot; and is now also in the Harvard Library.⁶⁷ This is a manuscript bound in the same manner as the Report, and is lettered Atlantic Pilot I. It contains 157 numbered pages, the first bearing below the title the words "Chapter Nine, The Causes, Directions and Effects of Currents, in the Atlantic Ocean . . ." Since the last chapter of the Report is chapter eight, this work seems intended to be a part of it. It consists of a brief account of De Brahm's voyage from England to Charleston in 1775, accompanied by a chart and various tables of daily observations. With similar observations made on his voyage from Charleston to England by a more northerly course in 1771 De Brahm attempted to chart the course of the Gulf Stream, which he showed to have both a northern and a southern branch. One wonders what was the other volume which De Brahm delivered in 1798—the first, by his reckoning. This remains, to use Professor Andrews' phrase, the "lost" De Brahm.⁶⁸

De Brahm himself is not lost, however, as far as his reputation is concerned. Bernard Romans criticized the *Atlantic Pilot*, published in 1772, speaking of the "havock of jumbling this Hercules

66. (George Wymberley-Jones (ed.), *History of the Province of Georgia*, by John Gerar William De Brahm (Wormsloe, 1849 ; 49 copies printed).

67. Prefatory note at beginning of Continuation of the Atlantic Pilot (manuscript in Harvard University Library).

68. Letter of Charles M. Andrew to the Librarian of Harvard attached to the Harvard copy of the Report.

makes" of the islands, channels and inlets at the southern tip of Florida.⁶⁹ Modern research is revealing De Brahm as something of a Hercules among students of ocean currents,⁷⁰ and a study of his surveys and his philosophical and mystical writings might raise his stature as a geographer and an original thinker also. Certainly the small community of East Florida, which contained a greater number of original minds than its size or infancy entitled it to, had no figure more noteworthy than that of its surveyor general.

69. Romans, *Concise History*, 296-300.

70. See Ralph H. Brown, "The De Brahm Charts of the Atlantic Ocean, 1772-1776," *Geographical Review*, XXVIII, 124-132 (January, 1938).

JOHN MILTON, GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA
A LOYAL CONFEDERATE

by DAISY PARKER

Research on the War for Southern Independence has reached a phase of investigation touching on the political, economic, and social activities of the leaders during and before its outbreak. This research has seldom brought, altogether favorable revelations of the conduct of many of the Confederates in their official capacity. *Statesmen of the Lost Cause*, by Burton J. Hendricks, the most recent work of this type, assuredly implies a question of the patriotic activity of many Southern political leaders. Specifically are the Confederate governors faced with the charge that they hindered the successful political and military operations of the Confederacy. An entire chapter is devoted to the Confederate governors as a cause of the collapse of the Southern armies because of their zealous, if unwise, custodianship of the rights of the respective states, or because of petty personal scores. Nor is this work alone in making this charge. Earlier works, as Owsley's *States Rights in the Confederacy*, and Moore's *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*, have stressed the role of Confederate governors and some other officials in the defeat of the South.

One Confederate governor, however, has escaped censure or reproach in those books and their prototypes. Governor John Milton of Florida singularly has been upheld as one of the most, if not the most, loyal and cooperative of them.

When fate made John Milton Florida's war governor, it was in keeping with the traditions of the Milton family. Governor Milton's grandfather, also John, was a captain in the Continental Army during the Revolution ; his father served in the reg-

ular army during the War of 1812, participating in the Canadian campaign. John Milton, himself, served in the Seminole War as captain of a volunteer Alabama company.

The Milton family, in fact, had scarcely more than settled in this country before the wars called them. John Milton's great grandfather, another John, was the son of Thomas, a deputy clerk of the Crown in Chancery, son of Sir Christopher Milton, brother of John Milton, the poet.¹ This John came to America about the year 1730, landing in Virginia, where he married Mary Farr. To them a son was born in 1740, who moved to Burke county, Georgia, some time before the outbreak of the Revolution.² When war came, he enlisted as an ensign in the Georgia infantry, on January 7, 1776, where he remained until July, 1782, retiring then with the rank of captain.³ During the Revolutionary years also Captain Milton served for a time as mayor of Augusta and as a member of the Committee on Georgia Affairs. When Georgia was overrun by the British, he was the sole member of the Committee left in Georgia, and he carried the Georgia records to North Carolina, from which place they were recovered safely years after the war.⁴ Another war experience of the captain was his capture at the Battle of Fort Howe and his imprisonment at St. Augustine, this adventure

1. Edward Foss, *Judges of England*, (London, 1874), VII, 225.

2. The Milton family has given this information. The author found a John Milton on the vestry of Christ Church, Alexandria, in 1783. (William Meade: *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, Philadelphia, 1900) II, 285. If this Milton were the John who came over in 1730, he would have been about seventy three years of age at the time of his vestry service.

3. Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historic Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*. (Washington, 1890) p. 394.

4. Ellis Merton Coulter, *A Short History of Georgia*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press: 1933) p. 160.

establishing early the Milton Florida connection.⁵

Captain Milton married Hannah E. Spencer of South Carolina, by whom he had many sons and daughters,⁶ one of whom, Homer Vergil, married Liza Jane Robinson of Georgia, and on April 20, 1807, in Louisville, Georgia, another John Milton was born who was destined to fight against the government his father and grandfather had fought so valiantly to establish and protect.

Only a few facts concerning John Milton's life before 1833 are ascertainable and only a few conjectures can be safely made, but the influence of his early frontier life can be discerned in Milton's character later. His membership in the Democratic party, his apparent hatred of Indians, his individualism and fervid belief in State Rights might be traced to that frontier influence. Nothing is known of his formal education, although it is probable that he attended the academy at Louisville, which had been established in 1796. There he possibly studied the prescribed curricula of Greek, Latin, English, and mathematics. By his twentieth birthday, Milton had read law in the office of Roger Q. Gamble in Louisville and had been admitted to the bar.⁷

Still in his early twenties, he moved to Columbus, where, apparently, he practiced his profession and entered politics. Here he ran for United States House of Representatives on a nullification platform and was defeated. His espousal of nullification in 1833 portends his subsequent championship of the cause and right of secession. In Columbus, for reasons unknown, Milton engaged in a duel, unfortunately killing his adversary. Judging by his

5. Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

6. Marriages, births, etc., were given by the Milton family from the family Bible.

7. The late William Hall Milton of Marianna furnished this information, as told to him by his father, William Henry Milton.

later acts as a legislator and governor, one cannot believe that Milton rushed into the duel on the mere drop of a glove or on some hasty insult.⁸

During his residence in Columbus, Milton married Susan Amanda Cobb of Cobbham, Georgia, daughter of Henry Willis Cobb and Obedience Dutiful Bugg, the latter of an aristocratic South Carolina family. Henry Willis Cobb was an uncle of Howell Cobb and Richard Cobb; thus by marriage John Milton was connected with one of the first families of the Confederacy. Four daughters of this marriage all died in youth, but one son, William Henry Milton, lived to serve the Confederacy in the Florida cavalry, and was the father of the late William Hall Milton, of Marianna, one-time United States senator.

About 1835 Milton moved to Mobile, Alabama, and with the outbreak of the Seminole War, he left his law practice to become captain of a volunteer Alabama company. At the conclusion of hostilities he moved to New Orleans where he maintained a law office on Canal street until about 1846.

On the untimely death of his first wife, Milton married Caroline Howze of Marian, Alabama, by whom he had two sons, Jeff Davis, and John, and eight daughters.

Why John Milton decided to move to Jackson county, Florida, is not entirely evident. On his maternal side he had numerous relatives, Robinsons, who had settled near Marianna about 1823, coming there directly from Ireland. The Robinsons were staunch and loyal Democrats, although not oratorical ones, whom a descendant describes as a "great bunch of Irishmen and politicians without a single speaker in the lot of them." It might be that they persuaded Milton to come and bolster the Democratic forensic opposition to the Whigs.

8. W. H. Milton furnished this information also.

That Jackson county in 1846 was a Whig stronghold is indisputable. One of the five wealthy cotton counties of Middle Florida with a well-to-do planter electorate, it naturally turned in Whig majorities, which continued until 1860. The earliest available records of elections in the county are of the 1841 election of territorial delegate to Congress.⁹ Although Levy (later Yulee), the Democrat, was elected by a comfortable total vote in the state, Jackson county gave him only 123 votes, while it gave Ward, a Whig, 213 votes and Downing, another Whig, 12 votes, the Whigs thus getting twice as many votes as the Democrats. In the 1845 election for United States Representative, Jackson gave Cabell, a Whig, 293 votes, and Brockenbrough, a Democrat, 98. Undoubtedly aware of such a record of Whiggery in the county, Milton came here to enter Democratic politics.

Although his name appears on the tax rolls of the county in 1845, no land possessions are indicated ; but in that year he did pay taxes on forty slaves.¹⁰ On the tax rolls of 1847 he is shown possessing 2480 acres of land ; in 1849, 3160 acres ; in 1855, 6334. In 1856, his real estate was listed at a value of \$38,360 ; in 1859, his acreage is listed as 7,326 with an evaluation of \$36,200. Milton's acreage, while at no time enormous in the modern conception of land holdings, set him apart in the more than well-to-do planter class of the Old South. Since one historian has estimated that in 1860 there were 663,000 farms in the thirteen Southern States, with only 4,576 having a thousand acres or more, Milton's ownership of 7,000 acres at the

9. *The Tribune Almanac for the Pears 1836-1868*, (New York, 1868).

10. He paid no personal tax that year in the county.

outbreak of the war place him in an exclusive class.¹¹

Likewise his slave holdings place him among the more affluent group of Southerners. In 1861 his slaves had increased to 52, and his average holding since 1845 was about 44. In 1860, the United States census showed that only 346,000 of the South's 8,000,000 whites owned slaves, one or more. Only one slave owner in the entire South had 1,000 or more; thirteen had from 500 to 1,000 slaves ; 2,278 held from 100 to 500; 77,000 held one slave only ; and 189,000 held from two to fifty.¹²

Concerning the Jackson county home of Milton, the best source of information comes from the published journal of a governess in the family, "Miss Jones", who was employed in 1861 and 1862.¹³ "Sylvania," the plantation home, as described by Miss Jones, was a "long, low dwelling, surrounded by a deep piazza reached by steps extending along the whole front." It was "a very pretty style of building, quite Southern" and "literally in a wood." The grounds around the house abounded in "dogwood, several species of plum, sassafras, and many flowering trees and shrubs" besides "verbena, oxalis, violets, white lilies, and azaleas."

The days were easy and gracious at Sylvania. Mrs. Milton, a tall handsome lady, whom Miss Jones described as "one of the most good tempered people in the Confederacy" was an efficient, fond, and just manager of her slaves. One is not surprised to find her in the scarcity of war will-

11. A. E. Parkins, *The South-Its Economic-Geographic Development*, (New York, 1938), p. 206.

12. Parkins, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

13. Catherine C. Hapley, *Life in the South*, (London, 1863) II, 305. Catherine Hapley chose to go under the name of "Miss Jones" in the South.

ing to give her last brandy to a dying slave child of a neighbor. The ten Milton children were "always smiling, amiable, and obliging, and were blessed with splendid dark, beautiful eyes." Of the girls, Miss Jones said, "They were as pretty and amiable a set of girls as one could see. . . ."

In his new home Milton did not devote his entire time to running his plantation, for on the tax rolls he reported returns from a law practice in 1846, but he did not enter politics until 1850 when he ran for the lower house of the legislature. One suffers the absence of records of Milton's campaign in the crucial year of 1850. What sort of speeches did he make to his wealthy, aristocratic, slave-holding constituents? Was he an extremist of the Southern Movement group? In all probability, he was not actively extremist, or Jackson would not have sent him to the legislature, for the county was still a conservative stronghold. In the election of members of the United States Congress in 1850, the same year Milton was running for the legislature, Jackson gave Cabell, a Whig, 362 votes, and Beard, a Democrat, 193. Personal qualities rather than political convictions may have been the reason why Milton was elected. Now in the prime of life at forty-three, he was a commanding personage. Blackheaded, broad-shouldered, clean shaven, resolutely molded of nose and chin, he was as forceful in speaking as in appearance.

Milton's activities as legislator belie any suggestion that he was elected on a radical or extreme platform. There were violent speeches and resolutions in the legislature elected in 1850, but John Milton was not the author of them. His capability was quickly realized as his committee assignments were choice, he being made chairman of the Militia committee, a member of the very important Judiciary committee, of the Committee on Indian Af-

fairs, of the Committee on Schools and Colleges.¹⁴ He was nominated for chief justice and for associate justice on the newly created Supreme Court, being very nearly elected in each instance.¹⁵

Indicative of a liberality and idealism in political administration not yet materialized, is a resolution introduced by Representative Milton concerning the appointment of state judges and lost by a tie vote.¹⁶ The resolution proposed that in the election of judges to the Supreme and Circuit Courts, the House and Senate should "elect Judges from the respective parties, irrespective of partisan considerations."

In a somewhat less vital and serious vein was a bill introduced by Milton which was entitled:

An Act to prevent any person or persons being made liable for the payment of any subscription or subscriptions to any newspaper or newspapers, any periodical or periodicals, or any document or documents, without said person or persons shall subscribe, or in writing request or order the same to be addressed to himself or herself or themselves.¹⁷

Either because of pressing problems on the Jackson plantation, opportunities for public service proving disappointing in Tallahassee, or for other reasons, Milton did not offer for reelection to the legislature. Nor did he return to public life until he entered the gubernatorial campaign in 1860. Why Milton ran for governor in 1860 rather than 1856 or 1852 is not explained by him in any statements left to us. Whig threats of victory were no longer present after 1850, so they could not have been the reason. Family or plantation urgencies may be the answer. Or he may have felt

14. *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, Fifth Session, 1850*, (Tallahassee, 1851) p. 20.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 310ff.

16. *House Journal, 1850*, p. 138.

17. *Acts. . . 1850, Ch. 379, 127.*

the need of a fair period of time to establish himself in Florida and to learn her problems. On the other hand, he may not have felt a need of running when there were such capable men as James E. Broome and Madison S. Perry to run.

The year 1860 with its ominous issues was an appropriate one for Milton to reenter the state political scene. His reputation as an extremist on State Rights and secession, however, did not make his reentrance too easy, judging from the circumstance that it was only on the twenty-third ballot "after a fierce contest" at the Democratic convention in Quincy, on June 4, that Milton was nominated for governor.¹⁸ Nor was carrying the election any easier than securing the nomination. Colonel Edward Hopkins, the candidate of the moderate Constitutional Union party, made a formidable opposition. When the votes were tallied in November, Hopkins polled 5,248 votes to Milton's 6,994.¹⁹

In addition to carrying on his campaign in the summer of 1860, Milton attended the National Democratic convention in Charleston. When the Democrats failed to adopt the uncompromising Southern views on slavery, he and other Floridians withdrew from the meetings along with other cotton states delegations. Home from the convention, it was characteristic of Milton that he was anxious for his fellow citizens to understand that the failure of the Northern and Southern Democrats to agree "was not due to petty wrangling between Northern and Southern politicians" but "to a profound difference of public opinion in the North and South."²⁰ In June, Milton attended the con-

18. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*. (New York : Columbia University Press, 1913), p. 54.

19. *The Whig Almanac of 1861* is used for election figures.

20. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

vention of the Southern Democrats in Richmond, which convention nominated John Breckinridge as Southern Democratic standard-bearer.

His term as governor beginning only in October 1861, he had no official connection with the secession of Florida. He attended the secession convention, in which, due to the illness of Governor Perry, he was the central figure at the signing of the ordinance of secession.²¹ On the evening prior to the signing of the ordinance, Milton addressed a torch-light procession before the old Capital hotel.

When he became governor of the Confederate State of Florida in 1861, John Milton assumed the task of administering a state in a confederation which was at war. His was the task to decide what obligation the state owed the Confederacy and what exactly was the relationship between the state and the general government. Governors in other states were facing the same problem and the comparison of their solutions to those problems and Milton's solution was to give Milton a secure claim to a unique place of honor in the annals of the Confederacy.

In a modern treatment of the war, the author begins: "There is an old saying that the seeds of death are sown at our birth. This was true of the Southern Confederacy, and the seeds of death were State Rights."²² Elaborating, the author maintains that "if the political system of the South had not broken down under the weight of an impracticable doctrine put into practice in the midst of a revolution the South might have established its independence." The leaders of the Confederacy, he explains, were unwilling that the Confederate gov-

21. See *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida*, January 3, 1861.

22. Frank Lawrence Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 1.

ernment should be allowed the freedom of control needed to wage the war; if they had allowed the government that freedom "it would have been almost an impossibility for the North to have been victorious. But the Stephenses, Toombses, Browns, and Vances could not wait until after the war to try out their theories and air their differences; they had not the ability to keep the ultimate aim in view, even in adversity, and to see over and beyond the present calamity into the far-distant future."

Although as ardent a theorist as any of the Stephenses, Toombses, Browns, and Vances, Milton could keep the ultimate aim in view. He could see that the "safety of the people and preservation of their rights under the Government of the free, sovereign, and independent States" demanded the "generous support of the State governments to the maintenance of the Confederate government." Not that he was a ready sponsor of a strongly centralized Confederate government ; one hardly expects that from a frontiersman and nullificationist. Disposed at first to bicker with Confederate officials concerning the Confederacy's power to raise armies in the State, he grew in understanding cooperation as the war progressed. When other governors were storming and threatening over conflicts with the Confederate government about local defense, conscription, exemption, foreign trade, and the like, Milton, still a firm State Rights adherent, was counselling : "It is best where it can be honorably done to avoid all conflicts and competition between the State and Confederate authorities for political power, or commercial privileges, at all events during the existing war."²³

23. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Series 4, III, 303.

Especially was the Governor's championship of conscription indicative of his willingness to waive the issue of State Rights to face a greater issue. The conscription acts probably caused as much anger and bitterness in the South as Sherman's march to the sea. Brown of Georgia, Vance of North Carolina, Rector of Arkansas, and other governors assailed the conscription acts and sought to block their operation in their respective States. Rector actually threatened secession rather than enforce conscription. Brown wrote, "No act of the Government of the United States struck a blow so fell as has been stricken by the Conscription Act."²⁴ Milton stood four-square behind conscription from the beginning. To the legislature in 1862, the Governor frankly admitted that there was room for doubt as to the constitutionality of the conscription act but "it was," said the Governor, "a judicial question, which should be decided, if at all, by the proper department of government."²⁵

In August 1862, Milton urged Floridians who would be subject to conscription not to hesitate to offer their services as volunteers "until liable to be made a conscript."²⁶ Nor would he have any part in exemption practices as did Brown or Vance, the former needing in Georgia at one time 1350 constables, 1350 justices of the peace, and 660 solicitors, and the latter needing in North Carolina 15,500 officials to administer state affairs.²⁷ And the governors of Louisiana, Alabama, Virginia, and other states were like offenders on a somewhat smaller scale.

Another instance in which the Florida executive showed his determination to cooperate with the

24. *O. R.* Series 4, I, 1156.

25. *House Journal*, 1862, p. 29.

26. *O. R.*, Series 4, II, 49-50.

27. Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*, (New York : Macmillan, 1924), pp. 83-113.

Confederate government was in regulating blockade running. Most of the Confederate states supplied their own troops. Supplies, for the most part, had to be secured in foreign markets, and blockade running became a necessary and lucrative enterprise. Most states depended on privately owned vessels for this trade, as did the Confederate government. As the number of persons equipped for such trading was few, enormous profits were extracted by the operators. In 1863, the Confederate government, in an attempt to protect itself from the exorbitant rates of the blockade runners, contracted to rent one-third of the space on each private vessel to import its supplies and export its products. The owners, aided and abetted by their state governments, tried to force the rent charges higher than those specified in the contracts. Hence on February 4, 1864, the Confederate government empowered Davis to regulate all private export and import trade with the provision that state-owned vessels could not be regulated. Armed with this authority Davis ruled that all ships must carry one-half their cargo on Confederate account.²⁸

Brown, Bonham, Vance and others tried to evade this order by having private owners transfer their titles of ownership to the states. Davis refusing to recognize such practices, Brown went into action, wiring the Confederate governors east of the Mississippi, asking them to join him in asking Congress to remove its restrictions on blockade runners.²⁹ In answer to the wire, Milton fairly read Brown a sermon, revealing therein very forcibly Milton's policy and philosophy of the states' part in carrying on the war. "I am not sensible of the political propriety," he wrote, "of the Governor of a State, or the Governors of States, asking Con-

²⁸. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy*, pp. 137-139.

²⁹. *O. R.*, Series 4, III, 303.

gress to legislate upon that or any other subject. My judgment does not approve of any direct attempt by persuasion or otherwise to be made by the Governor of a State, or the Governors of States; to influence the legislation of Congress." Reminding Brown that the activities of a state were neither curtailed nor regulated by Congress, Milton further curtly informed Brown that it would be better that the states relinquish their petty insistence to supply their own troops. "For," he wrote, "the Government of the Confederate States has better recognized advantages and superior facilities to provide for the armies in service than any one of the States and to supply wants of citizens not connected with the Army ; if their necessities can only be supplied by traffic with citizens of foreign nations, it is better to rely on individual enterprise than upon the respective State authorities."³⁰

His concern, alien to most of the Confederate governors, for the honor and respect abroad of the Confederacy prompted this opinion. The action of the states to supply their own troops would "embarrass Congress under the obligation imposed by the Constitution 'to provide for the common defense and carry on the government of the Confederate States.'" Concluding his letter, Milton summed up his own beliefs in regard to administering the war with, "It is best, therefore, where it can be honorably done, to avoid all conflicts and competition between the State and Confederate authorities for the political power or commercial privileges, at all events during the existing war. When the independence of the Confederate States shall have been achieved and recognized by other powers, and the aim of war shall have ceased, the rights of the States and the constitutional powers

30. *O. R.*, Series 4, III, 303.

of the Confederate Government will be adjusted by an intelligent, brave and free people, to secure the enjoyment of civil liberty to themselves and their posterity." ³¹

There was, however, one practice of the Confederate government to which Milton never gave his wholehearted support or approval. This practice was the impressment of private property for public use. He, nevertheless, did not deny the right of the Confederate government to impress property, although, he was continually at odds with the methods by which impressment was accomplished. In the two most important cases of impressment in Florida, that of Florida's one cotton mill in Monticello and of Senator Yulee's railroad in East Florida, Milton upheld the Confederate government. Never could he be put in the Toombs, Yancey, Brown, Vance category, who, to use their own words, thought "it far better for a free people to be vanquished in open combat with the invader than voluntarily to yield liberties and their constitutional safeguards to the stealthy progress . . . of executive usurpation toward the establishment of a military dictatorship."

It is a tragic circumstance of history that Milton was not to be present when the war "had ceased" and when "the rights of States" and constitutional powers of government were to be adjusted "by an intelligent, brave, and free people, to secure the enjoyment of civil liberty to themselves and their posterity." Although the adjustment was to be vastly different than that for which he had hoped, he could have contributed a calm and steady hand to that adjustment. But on April 1, 1865, word came to a shocked state that the Governor had died by his own hand at his home

31. *O. R.*, Series 4, III, 303.

in Marianna. It had been known for three weeks that the Governor was ill, suffering from the strain and tension of war, but no one had realized the seriousness of his illness.³²

Zebulon B. Vance, long after the war was over, made the statement that, "Few of our political leaders comprehended the situation [the war] at all when the troubles began . . . and . . . our leaders . . . did not grasp the magnitude of the struggle." Vance was not speaking of Milton, for he was one individual who did grasp the magnitude of the struggle and who was willing to sacrifice present to future peace, happiness, and prosperity, as he saw the situation. Had all Confederate leaders been Miltons, the history of the Confederacy might have been greatly different.

32. *Florida Union*, April 8, 1865.

RESEARCH PROJECTS ON FLORIDA SUBJECTS

Compiled by **WATT MARCHMAN**

This compilation of research investigations on Florida subjects has been undertaken with two principal objectives : (1) to review the extent of research projects on Florida subjects now in progress or recently completed and unpublished ; and (2) to make possible the elimination of duplication. It has been extended to include theses and dissertations for higher degrees completed since 1929 but still unpublished. In the selection of these one exception may be noted: all projects in education subjects such as classroom procedure, grading, or administration have been omitted. Theses on subjects of agriculture, botany, natural sciences, physics, chemistry, etc., have been listed under one heading, that of *Scientific Subjects, Natural Sciences, etc.*

This list is not exhaustive, and supplemental lists will be published in the *Quarterly* from time to time. The titles have been compiled with the cooperation of students, writers, librarians, and department heads of many of the leading colleges and universities.

Acknowledgment of assistance is gratefully made to all members of the Society and others who cooperated in returning the questionnaires; to Dr. Fred C. Cole, compiler of "Research Projects in Southern History" and to Professor W. H. Stephenson, managing editor of the *Journal of Southern History*, for permission to quote the Florida titles from Dr. Cole's compilation, published in that *Journal*; and to all librarians of colleges and universities who cooperated. The compiler is particularly grateful for the assistance received from

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An alphabetical arrangement has been adopted. Abbreviations are : contem. (contemplated) ; compl. (completed) ; prog. (in progress) ; print. (in press) ; art. (article).

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80. Study of newspaper articles relating to vocational agriculture in Florida. Thesis, Florida, 1932. Guy Cox

81. Study of one hundred thirty-eight windmills in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1931. Zach Savage
82. Study of potato cooperative marketing associations in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1931. C. J. Bolton
83. Study of the relation of grade and staple to, the price of cotton grown in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1930. Raymond Holt Howard
84. Study of supervised practice work in vocational agriculture in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1930. Harry Evins Wood
85. Study of the traffic of the Florida East Coast railway company. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Huber Dale Earle
86. Study on the breeding, management, feeding and marketing of swine in Sumter county, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. William Joshua Platt
87. Sugar industry in Florida. Thesis, *Florida. Prog.* Charles M. Jones, Jr., Gainesville
88. Survey of the consumption of electrical power in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1934. Claude Hagen Jernigan
89. Survey of the power and light industry of the state of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1934. John Wesley Wilson
90. Theories and principles of college campus planning with special application to the present site of the University of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1930. Robert Sheppard Yeats

CITRUS

91. An analysis of competition between California and Florida oranges in New York City, 1925-26 to 1938-39, Thesis, *California, Los Angeles*, 1940. Michael Allen Lescisin
92. Dade county and the citrus fruit industry of the state of Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1939. Lillian Evelyn Rosser
93. Economic study of the Lake Hamilton citrus growers' association. Thesis, *Florida*, 1934. Fred Nagib Farun
94. History of the development of the citrus industry in Florida. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1934. Jean Moore.
95. Narrative history of the orange in the Floridian peninsula. *Art. Compl.* T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville
96. Origin and development of the Parson Brown orange. *Prog.* Mercer Brown, St. Petersburg
97. Trends in the marketing of Florida citrus fruits. Thesis, *Florida*, 1929. Richard Moir Hutchings

EDUCATIONAL SUBJECTS

98. Academic and professional qualifications of the county superintendents of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1937. Henry Broward Miller
99. Brief history of Rollins College with special reference to the curriculum. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1937. Manning Cuthbertson Rider
100. Contributions of philanthropic foundations to the development of secondary education in Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1940. Ray Anderson Owen
101. County school census in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. Homer L. Jones
102. Development of commercial education in the public secondary schools of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1934. John H. Moorman

103. Development of education in Walton county, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. Orene Gillis
104. Development of the library in the secondary schools of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Bessie Amanda Norton
105. Development of public school education in Seminole county, Florida. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1939. Glenn Elisha McKay
106. Development of state control and support of public schools in Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1932. Rubert James Longstreet
107. History of the dramatic department of John B. Stetson University from 1899 to 1936. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1936. Margaret Louise Royall
108. History of education in Volusia county, Florida. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1933. John Jefferson Mires
109. History of the establishment of institutions of higher education in Florida. Thesis, *Rollins*, 1937. Watt Marchman, St. Augustine
110. History of public school education in Marion county, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Napoleon Broward Lovell
111. History of the public schools of Winter Park, Florida. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1940. Nelson Glass, Winter Park
112. History of white public school education in Key West, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1936. William C. Duncan
113. Participation of the state in the support of elementary and secondary schools of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1935. Andrew Douglas Rippey
114. Progress of free public school education in Sumter county, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. D. L. Cook
115. Proposed plan of teacher retirement for Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1937. George Peters Hoffman
116. Provision of educational opportunity for those of school age in Marion county, Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1941. Leo Henry Armstrong
117. Rise and development of the Orange county public school system. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1937. William Harrison Stephens
118. Rules and regulations adopted by boards of public instruction in counties of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1937. Theodore Reynold Jones
119. Schools of St. Augustine and St. Johns county, 17th to 20th centuries. *Prog.* 15 p. Alberta Johnson, St. Augustine
120. Social survey of the Stetson campus. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1930. Horace Benton Gray
121. Study of final authority in the high schools of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Nobie Higden Stone
122. Study of the kindergarten in Orlando and Winter Park, Florida. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1939. Dorathy E. Unruk Graham
123. Study of the schools conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida, 1866-1940. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. Sister Mary Alberta, S. S. J.
124. Study of the Sopchoppy junior-senior high school and its community with special emphasis on the last five graduating classes. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. Robert Davis Altman
125. Study of special school legislation in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1935. Thomas Chafer Prince
126. Study of the special tax school districts in Alachua county, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Horace Foaster Zetrouer
127. Study of teacher tenure in Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1936. Thomas Ley Alexander

FLORIDA RESEARCH PROJECTS

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FICTION, LITERARY SUBJECTS

128. Achille Murat. *Prog.* 300-350 p. Thomas Caldecot Chubb, Greenwich, Conn.
129. English books written by Floridians, residents and visitors. Thesis, Florida, 1929. Harold Rinalden Saunders
130. Florida in American fiction. Diss. *George Peabody. Prog.* Walter Scott Mason, Jr., *Miami*
131. Florida in fiction. Thesis, *Florida State College*, 1939. Mrs. J. Frank Miller, Jr., Tallahassee
132. Florida in fiction, since 1939. *Contem.* Mrs. J. Frank Miller, Jr., Tallahassee
133. Literary elements in the Florida newspapers of the pre-Civil War period. Thesis, *Florida*, 1936. Robert Meriwether Sanford

GENERAL SUBJECTS

134. Description and history of the Florida flags. *Prog.* W. N. Galphin, Fernandina
135. Early explorations of, Florida. *Prog.* Wyndham Hayward, Winter Park
136. Florida facts. *Prog.* Mrs. Franklin L. Ezell, Leesburg
137. Florida State Hospital (Insane). Thesis, *Tulane. Prog.* Mrs. Agnes R. Wilson. Miami
138. The Floridas and the disputation provincial of Havana. *Compl.* Art. D. C. Corbitt, *Candler*
139. The historiography of Hispanic-America (includes Florida history before 1821). *Prog.* 1000 p. A. Curtis Wilgus, George Washington
140. History of the Everglades of Florida. Diss., *North Carolina. Prog.* 600 p. J. E. Dovell, Orlando
141. Human landscaping of old St. Augustine, 1565-1842. *Prog.* 400 p. Katherine S. Lawson, St. Augustine
142. The James Alexander Robertson Memorial volume: a cooperative work of twenty scholars (several chapters on Florida). *Print.* Edited by A. Curtis Wilgus, *George Washington*
143. Old tales and trails of Florida. *Compl.* 375 p. Mrs. Myrtle Hilliard Crow, Kissimmee
144. Pirates and treasures of Florida. *Prog.* David O. True, Miami
145. Readings in Florida history: extracts from contemporary documents. *Prog.* Kathryn Abbey Hanna
146. The St. Johns river. *Compl.* 70,000 words. Robert L. Allen, DeLand
147. The St. Johns river (Rivers of America series). *Prog.* 300 p. James Branch Cabell, St. Augustine, and A. J. Hanna, *Rollins*
148. Second discovery of Florida, 1890-1914 (Flagler development). Thesis, *Georgia*, 1935. Walter Martin, Georgia
149. Steamboats on the St. Johns river: Florida transportation during the 1880's. *Prog.* 125 p. J. W. Sumerville, Washington, D. C.
150. Study of the state prison farm located at Raiford, Florida. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1930. John Thomas Jenner
151. Topographical terms in Florida. Diss. *Columbia. Contem.* E. Wallace McMullen, Jr., Clearwater

152. Two men on a horse: Andrew Jackson and Thomas Jefferson and relation to Quincy, Monticello and Madison, Florida. Narrative in three parts. Art. *Prog.* Mrs. Mary Hulley Beatty, Tampa

INDIANS OF FLORIDA

See also *Archeology and Military and Naval History*

153. Characteristic periods of Seminole costumes. *Prog.* Helen A. Wellington, *Iowa State*
154. The Indian tribes of Florida: a compilation of source material. *Prog.* 400 p. Edwin F. Walker, Los Angeles, Calif.
155. The Florida Seminoles of the Big Cypress Swamp. *Compl.* 100 p. Robert F. Greenlee, Ormond Beach
156. History of the Seminole Indians: Government relationships and their potential economic independence. *Prog.* 350 p. George H. Dacy, Coral Gables
157. The problem of Seminole Indian removal from Florida. Thesis, *Florida State College*, 1938. E. P. Hoffman (Mrs. W. J. Evans), St. Petersburg
158. Religious notions of the Southeastern Indians. *Prog.* Art. Robert W. Greenlee, Ormond Beach
159. The Seminoles in modern times. Thesis, *Florida State College*, 1939. Helen Amelia Webb, Brockport, N. Y.
160. The Seminoles of Florida. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1941. Eloise A. Lightfoot, Miami
161. Social organization of Indian tribes of southeastern United States. Thesis, *California, Los Angeles*, 1934. Jane Elizabeth Gabbert

LOCAL SUBJECTS

162. Building of Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine. Art. *Compl.* Verne E. Chatelain, Washington, D. C.
163. Growing with Miami: a daily newspaper series of articles reciting the history and status of Miami industrial or commercial activities and professions. *Prog.* E. V. W. Jones, Miami
164. Historic St. Augustine. Art. *Compl.* Verne E. Chatelain, Washington, D. C.
165. A history of Jacksonville, Florida, 1850-1902. Thesis, *Duke*, 1941. Emily Howard Atkins
166. History of Mandarin, Florida. *Prog.* Mary B. Graff, Mandarin
167. History of Palm Beach, Florida. Thesis, *Florida State College. Contem.* Mrs. Tillie Bradley, Tallahassee
168. Pensacola: biographical sketches of early settlers. Articles. *Prog.* T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Pensacola
169. San Agustin de la nueva Florida, alias Ceiba Mocha. Art. *Compl.* D. C. Corbitt, *Candler*
170. Story of old St. Joseph, Florida. *Prog.* F. W. Hoskins, Panama City.
171. Water supply of greater Miami. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. A. B. DeWolf

MILITARY AND NAVAL HISTORY

See also *Indians of Florida*

172. The Okeechobee campaign of the second Seminole War. *Prog.* William I. Fee, Fort Pierce

FLORIDA RESEARCH PROJECTS

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173. Seminole Indian war of 1818. *Prog.* Frank S. Jones, Bainbridge, Ga.
 174. The Seminole war, 1835-1842. Thesis, *Georgia*, 1940. Mrs. Helen Holden Schloenbock, Miami

POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

175. Administrative institutions in Florida, 1781-1821. *Compl.* 200 p. D. C. Corbitt, *Candler*
 176. Development of Florida through legislative action, 1845-1861. *Thesis, Florida State College. Prog.* Mrs. Mabel Hodgson, Tallahassee
 177. Election of 1876. *Prog.* A. H. Roberts, Tallahassee
 178. Florida constitution of 1885. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. Eldridge R. Collins, Fort White
 179. Florida in Federal politics, 1845-1861: statehood to secession. Thesis, *Duke*, 1940. James Bulger Mool, Coral Gables
 180. History of public land policies in Florida, 1819-1900. Thesis, *Duke*, 1941. Rudolph Evander Conoley
 181. Legislative regulation of Florida railroads from statehood to 1897. Thesis, *Florida State College*, 1940. Mrs. W. F. McCullough, Tallahassee
 182. The movement for the admission of Florida into the Union, 1819-1845. Thesis, *Florida State College*, 1938. Emily May Porter, Apalachicola
 183. Relations of Florida territorial government to the United States government. *Diss., Duke. Prog.* James Bulger Mool, Coral Gables
 184. Relationship between the Missouri Compromise and the Florida Purchase. *Prog.* 45 p. Elizabeth S. Brown, Bartow
 185. Secession movement in Florida, 1850-1861. Thesis, *Duke*, 1940. Evelyn T. Meredith, Miami
 186. Study of pardoning systems with special reference to Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1932. Loris Rood Bristol.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

187. Brief history of St. James' Church, Ormond Beach. *Print.* 12 p. John F. Stanton, Ormond
 188. The Church of England in British East and West Florida. *Prog.* 350 p. Rev. Edgar Legare Pennington, Jacksonville
 189. A history of Florida Baptists. Thesis, *Stetson*, 1938. Gordon Crawford Reeves
 190. Site of the settlement and slaying of Fr. Segara and seven Jesuit companions near Frederickburg, Va., 1570-1571. First settlers of Virginia (then Florida). *Prog.* Michael Kenny, *Spring Hill*
 191. Story of early Methodism in West and East Florida, 1821-1845. *Prog.* F. W. Hoskins, Panama City

SLAVERY, THE NEGRO

192. Guide to the manuscript collections by and relating to the Negro in depositories in the United States. *Prog.* Arnett G. Lindsay, Washington, D. C.
 193. The law of manumission and its interpretation by the courts of the South Atlantic states. Thesis, *Duke*, 1932. Mary Jeannette Lark

194. Negro life in Gainesville: a sociological study. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Edward Loring Miller.
195. Plantation slavery in Middle Florida. Thesis, *North Carolina*, 1938. Katherine Chatham, Bartow
196. Preliminary study of the legal status of the Negro in Florida. Thesis, *Florida State College*, 1927. Thelma Bates
197. Slavery and secession in Florida, 1845-1861. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. Sydney J. Weinberg
198. Slavery in Florida: a study. Thesis, *Duke*, 1937. Audrey Peacock Lott, Perry

SOCIAL, CULTURAL STUDIES

199. Conch town: study of the Bahamaian natives of Riviera, Florida. *Compl.* 35,000 words. Veronica E. Huss, Jacksonville
200. Cracker country (in American Folkways series). *Prog.* 375 p. Stetson Kennedy, Gainesville
201. The Greeks of Tarpon Springs, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Gordon Williams Lovejoy
202. History and status of labor in the citrus industry of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. Allison Clay Kistler
203. The Jews in Florida. *Prog.* Leon Huhner, New York, N. Y.
204. Plantation life in Middle Florida, 1821-1845. Thesis, *Florida State College*, 1940. Mrs. T. W. Appleyard, Tallahassee
205. St. Augustine stories.: episodes in the history of St. Augustine. In Braille for blind children, 14-18 years of age. *Prog.* 25,000 words. Katherine S. Lawson, St. Augustine
206. A sociological study of Gainesville, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1937. Edgar Cornelius McVey
207. Some aspects of mortality in Florida, 1921-1930. Thesis. *Florida*, 1932. Albert Claude Blanchard
208. Stavia: a culture pocket in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1937. Harrison Jean Laney
209. Study of Florida cracker dialect based chiefly on the prose works of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. William Joseph McGuire, Jr.
210. Study of mothers' assistance with special reference to Alachua county, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1932. Mrs. Velma Bonacker
211. Workmen's compensation in Florida. Thesis, *Duke*. 1941. Marvin O. Harrison

SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS, NATURAL SCIENCES

212. Additional notes upon rana sevosa. Art. *Print.* Coleman J. Goin, *Florida*, with M. Graham Netting, Carnegie Museum
213. The Amphibia of Florida. Art. *Prog.* 200 p. Coleman J. Goin, *Florida*, with M. Graham Netting, Carnegie Museum
214. The Amphibia of Florida : Progress report on a survey, Art. Abstract in *print.* Coleman, J. Goin, *Florida*, with M. Graham Netting, Carnegie Museum
215. Anastrepha of Florida, with special reference to wing pattern variation in anastrepha mombin-praeoptans sein. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Martha Harriet Foster

216. Biology and life history of the palm-leaf skeletonizer (palm-leaf miner) *homaledra sabalella* (Chambers), an insect pest of the palms. Thesis, *Florida*, 1929. John Thomas Creighton
217. Biota and environmental conditions of a northern Florida sink-hole pond. Thesis, *Florida*, 1935. Homer Todd Townsend
218. Brucella infections in man and animals in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Edward van Laer Lipscomb
219. Bryogeography of the mosses of northern Florida. Diss., *Michigan*, 1941. Ruth Schornherst. *Florida State College*
220. Calibration of experimental equipment and apparatus in the new hydraulic laboratory of the University of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. James F. Shivler, Jr.
221. Certain legumes of major importance of North Central Florida with special reference to the cultivated species. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. Orville W. Struthers.
222. Chemical analysis and physical tests of some Florida clays. Thesis, *Florida*, 1929. Walter John Sciutti
223. Comments on *amyda aspera* and other turtles. Art. *Prog. Coleman J. Goin, Florida*, with Rogert Conant, Philadelphia Zoological Gardens
224. Comparative study of the plankton and chemistry of the water of four aquatic habitats at Welaka, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. E. Lowe Pierce
225. Contribution to the knowledge of the opiliones (phalangida) of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1931. Norman West Davis
226. Contribution to the taxonomy and ecology of the water-beetles of Florida. Diss., *Florida, Prog.* Frank N. Young
227. Contribution toward a knowledge of the crayfishes of Florida with special reference to their ecological and geographical distribution. Diss., *Florida*, 1940. Horton Holcombe Hobbs, Jr.
228. Contribution toward a knowledge of the mayflies of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. Lewis Berner
229. Drawfishes of the Gainesville region, with special references to their life histories and ecological distribution. Thesis, *Florida*, 1936. Horton Holcombe Hobbs, Jr.
230. Dytisoidae of Alachua county, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. Frank Nelson Young
231. Ecological survey of the dermaptera and orthoptera of the Welaka area, Putnam county, Florida, with notes on the habits and life histories of the species. Diss., *Florida, Prog.* James J. Friauf
232. Effects of cold storage on certain native American perennial herbs (Part II). *Print.* 15 p. Herman Kurz, *Florida State College*
233. External anatomy of the Florida walking stick, *anisemerpha bupresteides stoll*. Thesis, *Florida*, 1935. Kent Smith Littig
234. Foraminifera of the Marianna limestone of Florida. Thesis, *Northwestern*, 1939. Joseph John Graham
235. Geographic and ecological distribution of the reptiles and amphibians of Florida. Diss., *Florida*, 1937. Archie Fairly Carr
236. Guide to the identification and study of the Florida snakes. Thesis, *Florida*, 1937. Heyburn Dale Smith.

237. Habitat distribution of the spiders of the family lycosides in the Gainesville region. Diss., *Florida*, 1938. Howard Keefer Wallace
238. Hepaticae of the Gainesville region. Thesis, *Florida*, 1933. Thomas Morton Little
239. Identification of the leading citrus rootstocks by microscopical and chemical examination. Thesis, *Florida*, 1930. Marshall T. Deonier
240. Investigation for a low cost cooling system for Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1940. John Montague Redgrave, Jr.
241. Key for the determination of Florida craneflies with records of their geographic and seasonal distribution. Thesis, *Florida*, 1936. Raymond Edward Bellamy
242. Leaching of nitrogen from certain Florida soils after the application of nitrogen fertilizers. Thesis, *Florida*, 1938. Nels Benson
243. Mayflies of Florida (ephemeropters). Diss., *Florida*, 1941. Lewis Berner
244. Mint oils in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1931. Lovell David Hiner
245. Neoteny in Florida salamanders. Art. *Print*. Coleman J. Goin. *Florida*, with A. F. Carr, Jr., *Florida*
246. Notes on watersnakes. Art. *Compl.* 8 p. Coleman J. Goin, *Florida*, with A. F. Carr, Jr., *Florida*
247. Nutritive range of copper in some typical Florida soils. Thesis, *Florida*, 1933. Maoma Frances Hill
248. Occurrence of hemolytic streptococci in the milk supply of Gainesville, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1930. Norman Wightman McLeod
249. Oecological investigation of the marsh rabbit of the region of Gainesville, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1935. W. Frank Blair
250. Pharmacognostical study of members of the genus mentha indigenous to Florida. Diss., *Florida. Prog.* George M. Hocking
251. Plankton and carbondioxide-oxygen cycle in Lake Wauberg, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1934. Archie F. Carr
252. Plant associations of the Welaka area, Florida with special reference to their correlation with the various types of soils. Diss., *Florida, Prog.* Albert M. Laessle
253. Preliminary survey of mammal population of the Welaka area, Florida. Thesis, *Florida, Prog.* Joseph C. Moore.
254. Relation of nitrogen sources to potato production in the Hastings area, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. B. W. Hundertmark
255. Salamanders of the family sirenidae. Diss., *Florida, Prog.* Coleman J. Goin, *Florida*
256. Search for hafnium in Florida minerals. Thesis, *Florida*, 1930. Arnold Walker Dean
257. Seasonal occurrence and population of flies in the University area. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. John Howard Girardeau, Jr.
258. Spectrographic study of certain Everglades soils with special reference to the growth of sugar cane. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. Robert E. Caldwell
259. Studies in coagulation. V. The action of ferric sulfate on Florida waters. Thesis, *Florida. Prog.* Thomas K. Todsen

260. Studies in the propagation of the tung tree, *aleurites fardi*, hemsl. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. Harold Garrett.
261. Studies in reproduction of marine molluscs. *Prog. Mrs. Nelson R. Perry*, Sanibel
262. Study of attitudes toward forest conservation in Duval county, Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. W. Fred Cobb
263. Study of certain properties of the hardpan soils in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1929. Linton A. Richardson
264. Study of ecology of the region of Sanibel, Florida. Art. *Prog. Mrs. Nelson R. Perry*, Sanibel
265. Study of the flora of Key Biscayne, Dade county, Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1938. Birdie McAllister
266. Study of the food habits of quail in peninsular Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. Albert Middleton Laessle
267. Study of mallophaga found infesting some Florida birds. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. Jack C. Russell
268. Study of some parasitic and predatory insect enemies of aphids in Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. J. P. Toffaleti
269. Study of various ground covers in Florida and their adaptations to use in Florida gardens. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. Joseph M. Crevasse, Jr.
270. Survey of the vegetation of Osceola county, Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1939. Mary L. Singeltary
271. Taxonomic revision of the genus citrus with special reference to the cultivated species. Thesis, *Florida*, 1929. Earl L. Lord
272. Taxonomic status and ecological variations of certain Southern pines. Thesis, *Florida*, 1941. Wilbur B. DeVall
273. Textural and color characteristics of some important red and yellow soils of the middle coastal plain of Florida. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. High Dukes.
274. Ticks of the Gainesville area. Thesis, *Florida*, 1929. Edward Thorpe Boardman
275. Toxic limits of calcium cyanamid applications on citrus and the factors causing toxicity. Thesis, *Florida*, *Prog. Guilford T. Sims*
276. Utilization of dried grapefruit meal as a feed for growing swine. Thesis, *Florida*, 1939. Raymond Merchant Crown
277. Vegetation, geology and soils of Florida : ancient and recent dunes. *Prog.* 250 p. Herman Kurz, *Florida State College*
278. Vegetation of Pine Island, Dade county, Florida. Thesis, *Duke*, 1941. Frances R. Elder

MARSHALS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR DISTRICTS OF FLORIDA, 1821-1865

Adair, Alexander	Ala.	Middle Dist. of Fla.	Mar. 3	1827-confirmation
Allen, George D.	Fla.	Southern Dist. of Fla.	Sept. 21	1865-recess
Beard, John		Eastern Dist. of Fla.	Nov. 1	1842-confirmation
Blair, Samuel	Fla.	Eastern Dist. of Fla.	Oct. 26	1831-recess
Blackburn, Elias E.	Fla.	Northern Dist. of Fla.	Mar. 30,	1853-confirmation
Browne, Joseph B.	Mass.	Southern Dist. of Fla.	May 25	1840-confirmation
Camp, John G.		Middle Dist. of Fla.	May 22	1841-recess
Clapp, James C.	Fla.	Southern Dist. of Fla.	Apr. 3	1861-recess
Duval, Samuel H.	Fla.	Middle Dist. of Fla.	Sept. 25	1837-confirmation
Eastin, Thomas	Fla.	Southern Dist. of Fla.	Sept. 22	1832-recess
Evans, Charles	Fla.	West Florida	Oct. 28	1839-recess
Exum, James W.	Fla.	West Florida	May 28	1829-recess
Forbes, James G.	N. Y.	Terr. of East & West Fla.	May 18	1821-recess
Gautier, Peter W., Jr.		Western Dist. of Fla.	Feb. 23	1838-confirmation
Gautier, Peter W., Jr.		Apalachicola, Florida	July 7	1838-confirmation
Gordon, Adam	Fla.	West Florida	May 26	1828-confirmation
Hanson, John M.	Fla.	Territory of Florida	May 27	1824-confirmation
Magruder, Alexander	Ky.	Northern Dist. of Fla.	Sept. 27	1865-recess

Moreno, Fernando J.	Fla.	Southern Dist. of Fla.	Mar. 16	1853-confirmation
Myers, Robert	Fla.	Apalachicola, Florida	Apr. 8	1843-recess
Myrick, John T.	Fla.	Northern Dist. of Fla.	Mar. 19	1850-confirmation
Randolph, Thomas Eston	Fla.	Middle Dist. of Fla.	Aug. 4	1831-recess
Ramsay, Henry G.	Fla.	Western Dist. of Fla.	May 21	1839-recess
Read, Leigh		Middle Dist. of Fla.	May 22	1840-confirmation
Remington, Joseph	Fla.	Northern Dist. of Fla.	Mar. 31	1863-recess
Robertson, Benjamin	N. C.	Territory of West Fla.	May 7	1822-confirmation
Sanchez, Joseph S.	Fla.	Eastern Dist. of Fla.	Oct. 10	1837-confirmation
Sebree, William	Ky.	West Florida	Jan. 6	1823-confirmation
Smith, Waters	Fla.	Territory of East Fla.	Mar. 3	1823-confirmation
Stone, Lackland M.	Fla.	Southern Dist. of Fla.	Mar. 4	1830-confirmation
Walker, Minor		Middle Dist. of Fla.	Apr. 14	1841-recess
Wilson, Henry	Fla.	West Florida	Nov. 27	1827-recess
Wilson, Henry	Fla.	Southern Dist. of Fla.	May 26	1828-confirmation
Willis, George		Western Dist. of Fla.	July 7	1838-confirmation
Worthington, Wm. G. D.	Fla.	Territory of East Fla.	May 3	1822-confirmation

Note-This list was compiled by Judge J. B. Whitfield of the Supreme Court of Florida from data now in the U. S. government records in Washington,

FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

LETTERS AND REPORTS PASSING BETWEEN THE COMMANDERS AT APALACHE (ST. MARKS), GOVERNOR GRANT AT ST. AUGUSTINE, GENERAL HALDIMAND AT PENSACOLA, AND GENERAL GAGE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT NEW YORK, 1766-1767.

Swettenham to Gage

Apalachie 13th Janry 1766

Sir,

I arrived here the 9th of December 1765, together with Ensn Wright & Mr. Doyson-Surgeons Mate, to the Hospital, to relieve Lieut. Pampellonne, Ensign Hawkins and Mr. Jenkins, Surgeons Mate, to the 9th regiment. We had a journey of three hundred & odd miles; through the Creek nation, the Indians seem to be very quiet, & well disposed at present, if I had a few Baubels and some Rum to give them: I would make them very servisable, but their is neither presents nor much provision, till a Ship comes; they are a People that won't trust, & as they know, there is little to give them, they will not come near the Fort. I inclose your Excellency a return of the State of the Garrison, Artillery, & Ordinance Stores, as likewise, one of the Barracks Signed by Sergt Dunbar, who conformable to your orders to Lieut. Pampellonne, was appointed Barracks Master to the Garrison, the tenth of October 1764. he has ever since acted in that capacity & begs of me to ask your Excellency what Salary

Note-This series of documents has been edited with an introduction by Mark F. Boyd (see this *Quarterly*, the issue of January 1941). Though they have been obtained from several widely scattered 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 in this instalment are from the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan and from the Public Archives of Canada, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made. *Ed.*

you choose to allow him, & on whom he is to draw for it: You will see by the Return of the Barracks, that they are very much out of repairs, they are so very bad, that when it rains, the men can't keep anything dry in their Rooms. If there is not something done to them ; in a short time, they will entirely go to ruin; Mr. Moncrieff, the Engineer told me when I was leaving St. Augustine, that he intended to come here, in a few months but if he should not, & if your Excellency will allow me, whatever sum you may think it worth ; I will endeavour to get them put in some sort of order. The Fort in my opinion is in very good condition, and I think with ammunition, provision & sixty men, it might hold out any time against any number of Indians. Ensign Hawkins, Mr. Wright's predecessor, was appointed in consequence of an order from Colonel Robinson, a Commissary for this Garrison. Mr. Wright now acts in that capacity, & he would look on it as a particular favour, if your Excellency would inform him what salary he is to receive & on whom he is to draw for it.

I am Sir,

Your Excellencys most obedt.

Most Humble Servant

George Swettenham Lieut : 9th Regt.

[W. L. Clements Library]

Gage to Swettenham

New York June 10th 1766

Sir,

I received your letter of the 13th January, with the Return therein mentioned, and am sorry to find that Your Barracks are so much out of Repair, As You are in the District of Brigadier Taylor, You will report to him every thing relative to Your Post, who will give Necessary Orders, for

Repairs of Barracks &ca. As the Commissary and Barracks Master General must fix the allowance, given to the Commissary and Barrack Master at Your Post, this belonging particularly to their Departments, I shall speak to Colonel Robertson to write about the Barrack Master; With respect to Your Commissary his pay was fixed at One Shilling Sterling pr. Day, but as he is under the Commissary General of East Florida, he is the Person who must be spoke to, and who must Settle that Affair, from the time he was appointed Commissary General of the. Province.

I am glad to find that the Savages are peaceably inclined and hope they will continue so.

I am, Sir, &ca

Lieut. Swettenham, Appalachie

[W. L. Clements Library]

Pampellonne to Gage

St. Augustine June 21st
1766

Sir,

I had the honour of receiving your two last letters the one of the 19th Novbr & the other y 26th April both on the same day. The happiness I felt in meeting with your Excellencies approbation, I cannot in words sufficiently express, as also your obliging terms relative to Mr. Magra's affair, in which your desire I would send in the charge to the commanding officer of the Regt. I have some accounts of his by me, but imagining they would be of no great service to me have never sent them, one of them is a receipt from Mr. Fish of this place, for the sum of one hundred and five mill'd Dollars for freightage of the clothing from Georgia to this post. Others are relative to some disbursed on the said account. In regard to what he got

from me I can assure your Excellency that had I not advanced him some, the cloathing of the Regt run a risque of being totally spoilt, by the time it would have arrived at Pensacola. I had all the Bales put on shore at Providence in order to be opened and air'd and was obliged to hire People to repack them in the same manner. I paid in the same place six Dollars for the use of a large flat, which I employed, in carrying the Bales to and fro' from the schooner, and which I have charged to my Contingent account. It is deliver'd in to Brigadier Taylor, who in his Return from Pensacola will I hope be pleased to consider of it.

By Your Excellencies Letter of the 26th of April I find Governor Grant is displeas'd at my having chartered a vessell to bring me provisions from Pensacola. I am very sorry, Sir, I should offend any person, but dare venture to assert that every officer who had been of my standing in the Service would have acted in the same manner for the good of that Service. If your Excellency will please to consider the situation the men were in, your opinion of this affair will still I hope happily continue in my favour. As it is necessary for me to begin somewhat higher than my own time of commanding, hope my letter will not be too tedious to your Excellency. After Capt. Harries's unfortunate accident and before the arrival of a vessell from Major Ogilvie, the men were in great distress, at her coming they got some present relief but were always at short allowance, till such time as Capt. Lawrence and myself arrived there. The Provisions got from the Live Oak and the few I brought in the transport, were judged by Ens Hawkins, who acted as commissary, to be sufficient for the Garrison for nine months. The men having for a long time before my arrival, been at four or five Rations per week, I advis'd with Mr. Hawkins, and allow'd

them full rations for about seven weeks at the expiration of which time I reduc'd it to six and from that to five without them feeling any want as the Indians were continually bringing in fresh provisions, which I encouraged in them to the utmost of my power, sometimes by the delivery of a few trifling presents to them, sometimes by giving them some Rice or Bread, which was their general Cry and on which subject I received a letter from Your Excellency in which you was pleased to approve of my giving them some now and then. As I constantly sent a Regular return of what Provisions were in the store both to Governor Grant and my Commanding Officer, they could not fail of knowing how the Garrison stood effected, and therefore sending a Supply before that ran out. The vessell the Governor sent from hence had unfortunately a passage of eight weeks, from whence I had just reason to imagine some Accident had befell her, besides Sir, not knowing she had sail'd, could not form any judgement when she might be expected. The Best part of the Months of July and August we were at very short allowance and oblig'd to live upon clams and oysters, it not being the seasons for Indians to hunt. The Men being constantly oblig'd to be in the water in that hot time of the year it threw many of them into sickness. About the beginning of the month of August a vessell came in from Pensacola with some goods for the Interpreter, at that time there was in the store a Barrell of Flour and one of Pork, but having luckily brought me a Barrell of Pork and a Cask of Rice, which I had wrote for, for my own use, I threw them into the King's store, judging that my private interest was of no weight when so many were concern'd. therefore charg'd the same as I was. I further bought from the Master of the vessell a Barrell of Pork and half

FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

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a cask of rice he had to spare. Some time before this happen'r Ens Hawkins came up to me to inform me of the shortage of the provisions, and to consult about methods of procuring some. We then fell upon the scheme of sending the Interpreter into the Nation to buy Corn from the Indians and with that view gave him some things out of the present goods, but not having any strouds by me was oblig'd to take a piece from him for which he charged me thirty Dollars, an also seven more for his trouble in going up. The latter, Sir, I don't think he has by any means a right to, being paid by his Majesty, and also the only person I could send upon such an emergency, besides his speaking the language. Your Excellency I hope will be pleas'd to take it into your consideration. Toward the latter end of August, the provisions growing shorter and the men grumbling very much, I began to consider of chartering the above mentioned vessel, but upon consulting with Mr. Hawkins, deferr'd it till the last day of the month, hoping the vessell might appear in sight by that time, but none coming charter'd her on ye 1st of Septr. at the same time making this agreement that if the said vessell should meet with her before she had got out of the Bay the Charter party was to be null and void. About ye 8th and 9th of the same month the vessell appeared in sight from this place. At the return of the vessell I chartered I rec'd a Letter from Governor Johnstone who having rec'd intelligence that I had got a supply, sent me none, at the same time disapproving of my conduct, and informing me that he would enter his Protest against it and therefore I could have good cause not to pay him. A secon'd letter I rec'd from him seems intirely to confute the first. I refer your Excellency to the two Letters which I inclose. There was no demurrage Sir in the Case.

Had any sinister accident happened I should in all probability have incurred your Excellencies displeasure for not having done what I did. It would have rendered me very unhappy from the goodness you have been pleased to show me of which I shall always retain the most grateful remembrance. I beg your Excellencies pardon for troubling you so much, but hope from your wonted goodness you'll excuse it. I remain

With the most profound respect

Yr. Excellency's Most obedient and oblig'd
humble servt

James Pampellonne

[W. L. Clements Library]

A FARE ROLL OF THE DETACHMENT OF THE 9TH REGIMENT APALACHE

1st Oct. 1766

Robt. Bates, Sergt	Willm Humphries
James Hart, Corporal	Alexr Harkless
Richd Buttler, Drumr	Willm Karnathan
Hugh Alford	Timy Larkin
James Brien	John Mackie
John Bailey	Willm Manlie
Joab Basset	Saml Moodey on comand
John Blackham	James McDonald
Willm Chatham	Willm Paul
Willm Craddock	Isaac Price
Joseph Chilcott	Simd Rowland
Thos Cock	Willm Todd
Daniel Dibble	John Tomnshend
John Fisher	John Welsh
Conrod Froddinburg	Saml Williams
Benjn Grigg	Willm Warloys Gunner Artillery
Thos Griffiths	Willm Martross do

[Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Series, vol. 17, p. 92]

Note-The roll checks closely with the report of item 47. It shows a distinct reduction in the force as reported in the enclosure to item 32.

Grant to Jenkins

31st December, [1766]

Council Chamber St Augustine

Sir,

Ensign Wright the present Commanding Officer

at St. Marks Appalache informs me in his letter of the 27th ultimo (which I lately received by express) that the fort was much damaged the 23d of October last in a Hurricane which begun at four in the Morning and continued with great violence till nine the water rising twelve foot higher than it dos in Spring tides Mr. Wright mentions that he saved with some difficulty the ammuni- tion and the Greatest part of the Provision. The Et. Florida Schooner sails in a few days with a supply of Provisions for the Garrison of St. Marks it would be imprudent to leave that Fort in a defenceless state for any time as it is situated in the center of a powerfull Indian Nation I must therefore desire you to order Mr. Moncrief the Engineer to proceed with the two Ordnance carpenters who are upon the establishment of this Province on board the Et. Florida Mr. Moncrief is to put the Fort of St. Marks in a state of defence against any attack which may be unexpectedly made by Indians and he is to make such repairs in the Magazines as he shall think necessary for the Preservation of His Majesty's Stores & Provisions whatever expence is incured for the service which I have pointed out shall be paid when Mr. Moncrief returns the repairs of the Barracks and any additions which may be thought necessary for the security of the Fort must be posponed [!] till a report has been made to the Commander in Chief of His Majestys Forces in America, as my instructions is only to provide for the safety of the troops upon the present emergency, it would be improper to put Government to any expence by hiring other artificers in room of those of the Ordnance you will therefore give directions to postpone the work which the two carpenters are employed upon till their return to this place.

When Mr. Moncrief has completed the service which he is now ordered upon, he may either return with the artificers by the East Florida or by land as he shall think proper.

I am, Sir, Your most humble servant
James Grant.

A true copy

[Signed] Wm. Jenkins.

[Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Series, vol. 17, p. 305]

Jenkins to Gage

Sir:

I was Honored with your Excellencys Letter of the 2st November. The Corpl and seven recruits for the 9th Regiment arriv'd here on Fryday last. Lieut Swettenham of the 9th Regimt came here the same day Express from Pensacola he was sent by the Brigadier in a vessell belonging to Mr Henderson which was to have cald at St Augustine but met with bad Whouther [*sic*] at Sea and put into Charles Town in Distress.

I recv'd a Letter from Ensign Wright the Commanding Officer at Apalach dated the 27th November by Express, acquainting me that on the 23d October at four o'clock in the Morning, they were alarmed with the Water Dashing against the Fort Gate, being much higher than they ever had seen it there, the Wind was Easterly, but soon came to the Southard, and blew very hard, at 9 o'clock the Water was Six Foot high in the Fort, and about 12 Foot higher than the Common Spring Tides. He Says that had not the Wind Changed to the Westward at 9 o'clock, he believes the Fort would have been Washed down. The Outward Fort Gate was washed down, the Picketts round the Fort were wash'd away, the Inward Fort Gate was Forced open The Front of the Bumproofs ruin'd

and most of the Doors and Windows Wash'd away, the greatest part of the bark blown of [f] the Mens barracks, Two Centry Boxes broken to Pieces, the Blacksmiths Fire place wash'd away, Ten Thousand shingles Wash'd away, and several Chord of Wood Wash'd away. The Indian presents all Damaged and one Cask of Rice and half a Cask of Peas.

I received a Letter from His Excellency Governor Grant Dated the 31st December, a Copy of which I send you Inclosed, desiring that Mr Moncrief the Engineer might be sent with the two Carpenters who are upon the Establishment of this Province to Repair the Damage done to the Fort. I have sent Mr Moncrief with the two Carpenters and a Soldier belonging to the 9th Regiment who is by Trade a Mason on Board the East Florida who sail'd with Twelve Months Provisions for that Garrison. I have the honour to be

Sir, Your Excellencys

Most Humble and Most obedt Servant

Wm Jenkins, Capt 9th Regimt

St. Augustine

Jany 13th 1767

[W. L. Clements Library]

Gage to Haldimand

New York March 20th 1767

Sir :

* * * * *

Capt. Jenkins of the 9th Regt. has acquainted me in a letter from St. Augustine of 13th Jany that the Post of Appalachi had been near overflowed by a surprizing high Tide; and that great damage has been done to the Fort. Gov. Grant applied to Capt. Jenkins upon this occasion that Engineer Moncrieffe and some artificers might be sent to put the Fort immediately in a state of Defence,

but leaves the Repairs of Barracks and other matters, which Report should be made to me. You will be so good to look into this affair, but do as little as possible in it. And if you know any use in this post to the Service you will acquaint me of it.

I am with great Regard,
Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,
Thos. Gage

to Brigdr. Genl Haldimand.

[Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Papers]

New York April 30th 1767

Gage to Grant

Sir,

Captain Jenkins of the 9th Regiment has acquainted me of the Danger that has threatened the little Post of Appalachie, and of the Damage it has Sustained by the Extraordinary rise of the waters. I hope everything has been done for its' immediate Security in the manner You have directed; And I have wrote to Brigadr Genl Haldimand, concerning the State of the Barracks, and other Repairs that may be wanted. Upon all the Enquirys I have made concerning the use or Importance of that Post, the Reports made me are that no Traders resort thither, or were there any accounts of Settlers going there. You will be the best and properest Judge of these matters, and I would therefore beg the favor of You to acquaint me of what use You conceive that Place at present to be?, or whether You think it worth the Expence of Maintaining? The present Plan is to retrench Expences, and to Collect Scattered Troops as much as possible.

We hear frequently of Numbers of Settlers Embarking for your Government, but no accounts that

your neighbors have any prospect of Increase: I Heartily wish every thing may proceed agreeable to your Intentions, Having the Honor to be with great Regard,

Sir

&ca

His Excellency Govr Grant
St. Augustine
[W. L. Clements Library]

Haldimand to Gage *Transl. from the French*
Pensacola, April 31 [sic], 1767
By Mr. Sullivan

Sir :

* * * * *

For several months there has not been any news from the Apalachees, I shall send an officer there as soon as it is possible, to find out the condition of the post, and to prevent their making any use- less expense. I am not yet sufficiently informed about its importance to give you my opinion about it, but at any rate I believe that an officer and twenty are sufficient there, and I shall withdraw the rest here at the first opportunity.

* * * * *

[Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Papers]

Haldimand to Gage *Transl. from the French*
June 16, 1767 [In reply to his
letter of May 1st.]

Sir:

* * * * *

Lieut. Pittman left on the 12th for the Apa- lachees with the surveyor (Mr. Gauld) who is em- ployed by the Admiralty to draw up the chart of

these coasts. I hope that they will be back soon and that I shall be able to send you an exact statement of that post, and that you may judge of its usefulness by their report. * * *

[Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Papers]

RETURN OF THE GARRISON OF APALACHE BELONGING TO 9th REG OF FOOT
JULY Ye 8th 1767

Companies	Officers Present				Non commiss'd		Effective Rank & File					Since last Return							
	Captain	Lieutenant	Ensign	Surgeons Mate	Sergeants	Drummers	Fitt for Duty	Sick Present	On command	Recruiting	On Furlow	Total	recruited	Dead	Deserted	Discharged	Recommended	Join'd	Removed
Genl Whitmore...				1			1	1	1			3							
Lieut Col. Taylor							4					4							
Major Ogilvies...			1				1	1				2							
Capt. Harris's...			1		1	1	14		26			40							
Capt. Algwards...							1					1							
Capt. Jenkins...							1	4				5							
Capt. Peytons...							6					6							
Total.....			2	1	1	1	28	1	32			61							

N. B. Capt. Harris absent Oct. ye 5th 1764 by leave of Gen. Gage.
Lieut Swettenham absent Octb. ye 2d 1766 by his Majestys leave
The one on command Genl. Pensacola. The one on command Major's, Pensacola
One Serjt. Capt. Harris's on command, Pensacola. Of the above 26 of Capt. Harris's Company, 18 on command Pensacola; 8 at St. Augustine; the 4 of Capt. Jenkins's on command 3 at Pensacola.
1 at St. Augustine. ... The two Artillery fitt for duty
1 man of Capt. Harris's Company sent on command to Pensacola since the above was wrote.

JAMES WRIGHT
Ensign in the 9th Regt. Commanding at Apalache

[PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA, Haldimand Series, Vol. 17, p. 138.]

Wright to Haldimand

Fort St. Marks, Apalacha

July 9th 1767

Sir,

I was favoured with yours by Mr. Pittman and all expresses sent here for St. Augustine I shall be able to forward at all times of the year provided there be horses and saddles allowed. I was obliged to send my own this last time, as to the communication from here to Pensacola Mr. Pittman can inform you better than I can, I wanted to send to Pensacola after the Flood but could not get an Indian to go.

Ensign Moncrieff, Engineer, was sent here last Jany. by His Excellency Governor Grant but he did nothing to the Barracks which are in very bad repair, the Guard house is irreparable, the cisterns leaky. The oven small and badly situated. When Mr. Sinnolt came here, there was no other place for him but a very damp casement. I have sett four men to work to put the room next to mine in tolerable repair for him till I have the pleasure of receiving your orders.

I have the honour of inclosing you the returns of the state of the Garrison, Barracks, Barrack Tools, Artillery, Stores, and Provisions stores &c.

Doctor Dyason has informed me that one of the men is so bad with a cairus bone that he despairs of curing him here with the medicines he has here and he fears delaying of it till medicines could come from St. Augustine, would be attended with fatal consequences I thought proper to send him by Mr. Gall. [Gauld]

The cloathing belonging to the party of this Regiment at Pensacola have been here some time and I am afraid will be spoild before I have an oppor-

tunity of sending it as we have not a dry place to keep it in.

I am Sir, Your most obedient servant
James Wright

[Addressed :] to Frederick Haldiman Esq.
[Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Series]

Haldimand to Wright

July 29, 1767

Sir,

I take the opportunity of Mr. Barrow a merchand of this place, who sailes for Appalachia, to answer your letter of the 9th of July, delivered to me by Mr. Pittman ; who acquaintes me likewise of the bad situation of your barracks, and gard house, since there is a positif order not to be at any expence about, untill I receive proper directions from the Commander in chief, you will therefore keep them in the best order you can without expence, and by what I here of the situation of your post, you can with a little industry make it comfortable and prevent the casernat spoiling. You will likewise, make as much Garden as you can since the Provisions runs a great risk before they arrive at your post it would be an advantage, if your peoples, by dint of the green an roots they may raise and the fish they may kill, could leave [live] with only apart of the rations they would spare, and leave [live] in a more wholesome manner ; you could likewise breed hens, pigeons &c. which would be a great resource for you and your party, in short it is necessary in this part of the world to be industrious and by that means prevent your people to leave [live] to much upon salt provisions besides that digging gardens in the proper season is a very wholesome exercise for them.

FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

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The sick man you send is in the hospital and will be taken care of.

I send the return of the number of clothing wanted for the party of the 9th quartered here, you will be pleased to send them by the return of the vessell. I have likewise desyred the master of it, to balast sayd vessell, with stonnes and to take as much of it as he conveniently can, as it is by way of a tryall, and for H. M. Service, you will be pleased to assist him with sufficient nombre of men to load and for the future never to let any of these stones be carried away, except by my orders.

Mr. Sinot the Indian Comisary having proper directions from Mr. Steward [Stuart] the Superintendant about regulating the trade and other Indian matters, you will give him all asistance he may be in want of; and keep prisonner in your fort any person he should find necessary to have arrested ; he requiring it to you in writing.

[unsigned]

[Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Series vol. 17, p. 311]

NEW BOOKS

THE FIRST GENTLEMAN OF AMERICA

Branch Cabell: *The First Gentleman of America*. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942.) 309 p., bibliography.

Except to the few who will picture what they read or consider its implications, history solely from the record is dull. So if it is to be read by more than those few, something must be added to the record. What it takes, and more, has been mixed-in with the skill of a master-hand in *The First Gentleman of America*.

This is a tale of a young Indian of the Virginia region and of his godfather, Pedro Menendez de Aviles, founder of St. Augustine; hence it is historical fiction. But, of necessity and doubtless from choice too, there is little history and much fiction.

Unlike the true historical novel, it does not picture a period ; rather, it is a picture in detail -a study, with its full measure of wit and humor and discernment, of the characters of those two men-especially of that incomparable Spaniard and incomparable Roman Catholic, Pedro Menendez. Unreal and unhuman Menendez becomes real and human, if still inhuman. But some might prefer their own guess as to what he really was, or leave him the visionary character history makes him.

The author, part-time a resident of St. Augustine and a member of the Florida Historical Society, has inscribed his volume to A. J. Hanna, our past president.

FABULOUS FLORIDA

Ruby Leach Carson: *Fabulous Florida*. (Manfred, Van Nort & Co., Dallas, Texas. 1942.) xvi, 249 pp. illus., maps. \$2.50.

The purpose of this book is told in the sub-title : "Florida's story for children," and this object is never lost sight of. The author is an instructor in Florida history in the University of Miami; and contacts with teachers in elementary and grammar schools, who studied the State's history under her have enabled her to tell Florida's story in a way most likely to kindle the interest of children, while her own historical training and first-hand knowledge of Florida's history insures the accuracy of the narrative.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN FLORIDA:

Florida Christians, Disciples of Christ, by Ellwood C. Nance. (The Rollins College Press, Winter Park, 1941) 314 p. illus. \$2.50.

This volume is a history of that denomination in Florida, or it is more a history of each of its numerous churches throughout the State, with separate biographies of many of its members. The author came to Florida in 1930 as minister of First Church, Tampa, and is now Dean of Knowles Memorial Chapel and Professor of Biblical Literature at Rollins College.

Compendio Historico de la Florida which has recently appeared is a text-book history of Florida in Spanish with vocabulary, written and published by Professor Charles Amzi Vannoy of Florida Southern College.

* * *

DR. JOHN GORRIE

Outside of Florida there has been scant recognition of the pioneering work of Dr. Gorrie in refrigeration, and his statue in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington is no exception, for that was put there by Floridians. There seem to

be two reasons for this: because his work was done in Florida and not in the North, and, though he was a pioneer, he was not the first to make ice through mechanical means. His goal was rather air-conditioning than the manufacture of ice—though he was successful in the latter. Today, with the rapid growth of air-conditioning, past due recognition comes to Dr. Gorrie as the foremost pioneer in that field.

Much is unknown of his life and work, but the model of his ice machine, on which he received a patent, is preserved in the Smithsonian Institution. What is known today is recorded by Dr. Edward Jelks in *Annals of Medical History* (v. 3, no. 4, pp. 387-390), by Dr. H. Marshall Taylor in *Southern Medical Journal* (v. 28, no. 12, Dec. 1935), and in an unpublished thesis (Stetson University 1938) by Ruth. E. Mier.

At the instance of the John Gorrie Junior High School of Jacksonville a resolution was adopted by the legislature of Florida (approved June 3, 1941) bringing to the attention of the publishers of *Encyclopedia Britannica* the unwarranted omission of Dr. Gorrie's biography from that publication. As a result this will be included in the next edition.

THE PALM BEACH COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This is now one of the most active local historical societies in the State. Quarters have been given the organization by the Society of the Four Arts, and under the leadership of its president, Dr. Edmund LeRoy Dow, shelves and showcases have been arranged, and the accumulation of an exhibit of Florida and especially of Palm Beach historical material has been begun.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Society is being held in St. Augustine on March 5, 6, and 7 while this number of the *Quarterly* is in press. A full account of the program and the business meeting will appear in the next number.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

During the past quarter members and friends of the Society have been generous to the Library, which is growing steadily. The following are some of the noteworthy donations:

Past president and Mrs. C. H. Curry, for the White family of Quincy, have given us all of the Pleasant Woodson White papers, 1829-1884, including original letters, letterbooks, documents, etc., together more than six hundred items. There are more than 1400 copies of letters in the letterbooks written by Judge White. Much of this material is of historical value and relates largely to his activities as head of the commissary supply department for Florida during the last years of the Civil War.

Paul A. Hardaway of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, has added the following to his numerous earlier gifts:

American Almanac, 1848. Contains many references to Florida.

Ledyard Bill, *A Winter in Florida* (N. Y. 1869)

Ben La Bree, ed. *The Confederate Soldier in the Civil War* (Louisville, Ky. 1895) A source book on the war.

Mary Burt, ed. *The Lanier Book* (N. Y. 1904) References to Florida from Lanier's writings.

Edward King, *The Southern States of North America*. 4 vols. (London, 1875) Contains much Florida material.

Samuel Butler, *An Atlas of Antient (!) Geography* (Phila. 1844)

Map of the Plant System of railroads in Florida (1893)

Winslow Homer, *On the Homosassa River*. Florida (color print)

Excerpts from periodicals also from Mr. Hardaway):

From Harper's New Monthly Magazine:

The Ancient City (Dec. 1874, Jan. 1875)

Home Observations in Florida (March 1878)

Treat, *Carnivorous Plants in Florida* (Sept., Oct. 1876)

The Ocklawaha (Jan. 1876)

The Landscape of the South (May 1853)

Harney, *The Florida Pioneers* (a poem, Jan. 1876)

Nordhoff, *Light-houses of the United States* (March 1874)

Parkman, *The Spaniard and the Heretic* (Atlantic Monthly Nov. 1863)

Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Fleur-de-Lis at Port Royal* (Atlantic July 1863)

- Projected Florida Ship Canal* (Scientific American, July 1880)
 Learned, *On the Ocklawaha* (a poem, Century 1887)
 Holder, *Game Fishes of the Florida Reef* (Century 1891)
 Dix and MacGonigle, *The Everglades of Florida* (Century Feb. 1905)
 Stephen, *Florida Key* (a poem, Christian Science Monitor. Dec. 28, 1941)
 Haines, *The End of the Reef* (Century Aug. 1905)
 De Leon, *The New South* (Harper's Jan. Feb. 1874)

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, vols. 1-7 (1918-1924)

These volumes, presented by Dr. R. J. Usher, librarian of the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library of New Orleans, give us a nearly complete file of this outstanding historical periodical, and one which contains much Florida history.

Austin Miller of Jacksonville has given the Library a large number of views of St. Augustine, 1870-1890, most of which we did not have.

Mrs. Florence Hudson of Orlando has given the Library twelve prints in color of Florida scenes (1890)

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