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THE FLORIDA BANDITTI, 1783 ¹

by JOSEPH B. LOCKEY

East Florida was ill at ease on receiving, in the spring of 1783, news of the retrocession of the province to Spain. The necessity of abandoning homes in a land to which government and people alike were attached, together with the uncertainties, vexations, and difficulties of finding new homes elsewhere presented to all a dark picture of the future. In the midst of these apprehensions some of the settlers at least were troubled by the depredations of a group of lawless men whom Governor Patrick Tonyn described as banditti. These individuals had recently come into the province from the Carolinas and Georgia, where some of them had served in the revolu-

Note - This article comes in substance from the manuscript of the Introduction to the first volume of the author's "Documentary History of Florida. East Florida 1783-1785" now completed. Dr. Lockey, who is a native of Florida, and who began his teaching as principal of the high schools of DeLand and Pensacola, was Inspector of Instruction in Peru for five years and has published several volumes relating to Pan-Americanism. He was lecturer on diplomatic history at Johns Hopkins University, and president of the Pacific branch of the American Historical Association. For the past twenty-five years he has been Professor of History at the University of California. The fact that that University sponsored through many years the securing of the materials for this research in Florida's history is further evidence of the cordial spirit of cooperation which has always been felt and shown by Florida's and California's culture and scholarship. - *Ed.*

1. This paper is based mainly on photographic reproductions or transcripts of materials in the following archives :
Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, (Seville) (AGI :PC)
Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo, (Seville) (AGI :SD)
East Florida Papers (Library of Congress) (EF)
Public Record Office. Colonial Office (London) (PRO :CO)
The abbreviations used in the footnotes are enclosed in parentheses.
Most of the documents referred to, together with many others, are included in a volume now ready for publication on East Florida covering the period from the beginning of 1783 to the end of 1785. A similar volume on West Florida is in preparation.

tionary forces; but for one reason or another they had abandoned their former allegiance and sought safety across the southern border. Here they fell into the evil practice of attacking the persons and properties of the residents, especially along the lower reaches of the St. Johns river. The leader of the band was Daniel McGirtt and his chief lieutenant an individual by the name of John Linder, Jr. These two men Tonym characterized-a little severely perhaps-as "murderers and assassins."²

To protect the settlers from being despoiled, Tonym put a troop of light-horse under the command of Lieutenant Colonel William Young and instructed him to bring the marauders to justice. Young arrested McGirtt and one or two others and imprisoned them in the fort in St. Augustine; but as Tonym desired to end his administration with leniency, he instructed the attorney-general not to bring them to trial. Before further action was taken the prisoners escaped and were still at large, hiding in swamps and other places of concealment, when the Spanish Governor Vicente Manuel de Zespedes, arrived to take over the province. Forgetting his idea of clemency, Tonym urged upon Zespedes the necessity of rigorous action against the banditti. To assist in the undertaking, he offered the services of the light-horse, which, he suggested, might act under the orders of Zespedes in conjunction with such troops as he himself might be able to provide.³

But Zespedes chose to try a different procedure. He was just as desirous of beginning his administration as Tonym was of ending his, by acts of clemency. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation calling upon all those who had disturbed the public peace or committed capital crimes, to apply in person to the

2. Tonym to Zespedes, July 5, 1784, EF:b40.

3. *Ibid.*

authorities in St. Augustine for permission to depart with their property under a safe conduct to a place of refuge beyond the confines of the province.⁴ This proclamation was issued on July 14, 1784, two days after the formal transfer of sovereignty from English into Spanish hands. The next day five of the proscribed men took advantage of the proclamation and sought permission to emigrate to Louisiana. The most prominent of the five was Major William Cunningham, a native of Virginia. He had served in the revolutionary forces in North Carolina, but had turned Loyalist and was now a refugee in Florida. He, it seems, was in league with Daniel McGirtt, though Tonym did not regard him as the worst of the outlaws. The others who sought permits to emigrate were, William Mangum, John Linder, Sr., William Collins, and Belay Cheney. All had slaves and horses, and all, with the exception of Cunningham, had families;⁵ and all, it may be added, except Cunningham, seem to have left the province under the terms of the proclamation.

Thus, the first results of the plan were promising. With good understanding and full cooperation between Zespedes and Tonym the province might soon have been rid of the worst of its trouble makers; but their stay was in effect much prolonged by misunderstandings and lack of cooperation between the two governors. Unfortunately, they differed in temperament and in the conception of their separate spheres of rights and duties. By the treaty of retrocession the British were allowed eighteen months from the date of ratification (September 19, 1783) to settle their affairs and withdraw. The period was later extended for some months by agreement. In

4. Zespedes to Bernardo de Galvez, July 16, 1784, incl. No. 2, AGI:SD Legajo 2660.

5. *Ibid.*, incl. No. 3, Statement of William Cunningham and Other Americans, July 15, 1784, AGI :SD Legajo 2660.

consequence, Tonyn and a few of the British settlers did not retire from the province until the end of 1785. In the interval there was much friction and discord of which the lawless element took full advantage.

The first serious clash between Zespedes and Tonyn came about in connection with the proclamation of July 14. They were unable to agree on a lenient procedure on the one hand or on a severe one on the other. Zespedes understood however that his own plan would not be interfered with; that is, he understood that Tonyn would order Colonel Young to stand on the defensive and by no means to attack the outlaws now that they had been promised by public proclamation an opportunity to leave the province under a safe conduct.⁶ But Tonyn did not countermand his instructions to Colonel Young. Consequently when this officer, shortly after the issuance of the proclamation, received word that the outlaws were gathering on the St. Marys river with the supposed object of robbing the plantations—especially Tonyn's—on the west side of the St. Johns, he set out to apprehend them.⁷ "In my pursuit," wrote Colonel Young, "on Tuesday night [July 27] at Daniel Melyard's house I fell in with Linder, James McGirtt, George Phillips and William Whaley, and some negroes, all armed; and on my surrounding the House, those villains broke out of the House, and I fired on them and killed Linders waiting, man, and took the said Whaley prisoner, and the others made their escape into a very large swamp, so that we could not apprehend any more of them; but I got Linder's fine Horse called sweet

6. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, August 9, 1784, EF:b40.

7. Young crossed the St. Johns at the mouth of Julington creek. On the west side is McGirts creek which flows into the St. Johns near this point. Compare P. D. Gold, *History of Duval County* (St. Augustine, 1929), p. 53.

Willy, which is the fastest Horse for running a distance in the province, or in Carolina, and all their Saddles, Bridles and Cloaths, even their Hatts and Shoes."⁸

After an incident of this sort, following so closely on the heels of the proclamation, it is not strange that more of the outlaws did not risk going to St. Augustine in search of a permit to emigrate. It seemed to them that Zespedes must have been a party to the attack and that Tonyn still possessed the real authority in the province.

That such doubts did exist in their minds is shown by a report made a week after the event by Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Fernandez whom Zespedes sent with a detachment of dragoons to make a reconnaissance of the area of disturbance. Arriving at Colonel Young's camp the day after the attack, Fernandez discovered that no one in the camp - Young himself being absent-had heard of the proclamation. Fernandez was as yet ignorant of the attack on the outlaws, and he was told nothing about it by anyone present. After waiting in vain for Young's return, the officer went on with his dragoons to Daniel McGirtt's farm, which was in the neighborhood. There he learned for the first time of the attack and there he talked with Whaley, a mere boy, whom Young had released after tying him to a post-so Whaley asserted-and beating him in an effort to force him to tell where McGirtt's and Linder's horses were. Fernandez learned also that the men on the river were saying that the proclamation was of no use to them, that they were still being molested and abused, and that no respect was being shown the governor's authority. The officer convinced them however that they ought to remain at peace. But he "thought it necessary to leave a dragoon at McGirtt's habitation

8. Young to Tonyn, July 30, 1784, PRO :CO 5/561.

as a safeguard."⁹ A safeguard against Tonyn's armed forces!

It seemed doubtful now to Zespedes that he could entirely rid the province of its evildoers by lenient means.¹⁰ That he did not from the beginning adopt Tonyn's plan of a vigorous pursuit was due perhaps as much to his lack of a suitable force as to his desire to begin his administration with acts of clemency. If he had accepted Tonyn's proffer of Colonel Young's light-horse, he might have subjected himself to the censure of his government on the ground of using British arms in Spanish territory. To allow Tonyn to do what he himself could not do would not have improved matters: the use of armed force was properly the act of the sovereign, and the sovereign was now Spain. That Tonyn disregarded this legal objection was probably due to his growing exasperation against the banditti and to his genuine concern for the property of British subjects. But in the face of the well-grounded opposition of Zespedes, he could not carry his plan to a successful conclusion. Nor could Zespedes in the circumstances hope for the immediate success of his own plan.

Meanwhile the banditti reaped the benefit. For months they were left undisturbed. At last, early in 1785, Zespedes decided that he could safely undertake to chastise the ringleaders. Accordingly he had Daniel McGirtt, William Cunningham, Stephen Mayfield and three others arrested and imprisoned in the fort at St. Augustine.¹¹ And now Tonyn urged leniency. "I think it possible," he wrote Zespedes, "if these unhappy men were transplanted into an-

9. Fernandez to Zespedes, Aug. 2, 1784 (translation in) PRO: CO 5/561.

10. A few however had gone to the West, to the United States, and to the British dominions. See Zespedes to J. de Galvez, Oct. 20, 1784, EF:b323A.

11. Zespedes to J. de Galvez, Oct. 20, 1784, EF :b323A ; Zespedes to B. de Galvez, Feb. 9, 1785, AGI:SD Legajo 2530.

other country, that there is yet a ray of hope, that upon proper reflection of their past wicked courses, a reformation might be effectuated. . . . Motives of humanity and commiseration, passions that will creep into the human mind, have been impressed on me by the very decent Mrs. McGirtt, praying to have her husband transported to a British government ; a similar memorial has been presented to me by the friends of Major Cunningham, and I have engaged to address Your Excellency upon these matters, and to solicit your compliance in gratifying their wishes contained in the prayer of the petition." ¹²

In replying to this letter, Zespedes took advantage of the opportunity to heap coals of fire on Tonym's head. He reviewed the whole course of his policy respecting the outlaws, reminded Tonym that the arrests had been made on information that he himself had provided, expressed regret that he could not accede to the recommendation in favor of Cunningham and McGirtt-especially McGirtt, in consideration of his unhappy and decent wife-and finally declared that the only thing he could do would be to dispatch the recommendation and petitions to Havana, to which place he was about to send the prisoners under a decree of exile subject to the superior decision of the Conde de Galvez. ¹³

In accordance with this plan the prisoners were embarked for Havana late in April, 1785. By that time Galvez had left for Mexico to assume the duties of viceroy. The papers-the recommendations, petitions and a record of the judicial proceedings in St. Augustine-followed him, and his decision was promptly rendered. First, the exile decreed by Zespedes was approved; second, the prisoners were to be given their liberty with permission to emigrate to

12. Tonym to Zespedes, Feb. 26, 1785, PRO:CO 5/561.

13. Zespedez to Tonym, Apr. 11, 1785, PRO:CO 5/561.

any part of America not Spanish ; and third, they were to be permitted to remove their families and property from East Florida. ¹⁴ As soon as the vice-roy's decision was known in Havana, a few weeks later, the prisoners were liberated and given passports for Providence. Mayfield, it appears, reached his destination and we hear of him no more; but McGirtt and Cunningham contrived to change their course and land secretly on the coast of Florida. They were again apprehended, and finally both were transported to Providence-Cunningham late in 1785 and McGirtt early in 1786. ¹⁵ Whether William Cunningham had now made his final exit is a question, but as for Daniel McGirtt, he had definitely not done so. Florida had not yet seen the last of him.

Two years after the banishment, Zespedes was handed the following note from Lord Dunmore, formerly governor of Virginia, but now governor of the Bahama Islands.

The bearer Mr. MacGirtt goes from Hence to St. Augustine in a sloop named the *Mayflower*, to settle his private affairs.-he is a British subject, and as such, I beg leave to recommend him to Your Excellency's protection. ¹⁶

Perhaps McGirtt did have some private affairs to settle, but it is more probable that he had some secret scheme to promote. Suspicious of his aims, Zespedes kept him under guard ; but out of respect for Lord Dunmore permitted him to have an interview, in the presence of witnesses, with his agent, Francisco Sanchez. Then Zespedes shipped the exile back in the *Mayflower* to Nassau. ¹⁷ If Zespedes enter-

14. Troncoso to Zespedes, Nov. 7, 1785, EF:b1A.

15. Troncoso to Zespedes, Nov. 7, 1785, EF: b1A; Zespedes to Troncoso, Jan. 7, 1786, EF:b21 H2.

16. Lord Dunmore to Zespedes, Feb. 16, 1788, EF:b208.

17. Zespedes to Dunmore, Mar. 17, 1788, EF:b208.

tained suspicions of Lord Dunmore also he managed to conceal them.

What McGirtt's secret object may have been can only be inferred from the course of events. A few weeks after he was returned to Nassau, Zespedes had reports that British interlopers from the Bahama Islands had landed on the Florida coast at the mouth of Indian river.¹⁸ Still later, news came that William Augustus Bowles had arrived at the same point with a considerable body of men. Daniel McGirtt may have been with one or the other of these parties.

What Bowles' object was and whether Lord Dunmore was among his backers cannot be discussed in this paper. It must suffice to say that the enterprise was a lawless one and that it involved a march across country to Apalache, which, it was reported, was to be seized. As the Bowles party proceeded toward its destination and as the character of the intrusion became apparent, a number of the deluded participants deserted and making their way to St. Augustine surrendered to Governor Zespedes.¹⁹

It has been asserted that McGirtt played an important part in Bowles's undertaking.²⁰ This may be true, but the available documents do not confirm such a view. If he was in the party at all he may have been among the deserters who surrendered in St. Augustine. The only thing that can be asserted positively is that he was in St. Augustine soon after

18. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, Apr. 25, 1788, AGI:PC Legajo 1395 Doc. 30. See also Lawrence Kinnaird, "International Rivalry in the Creek Country," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Oct., 1931), X, 79-85.

19. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, Oct. 11, 1788, AGI:PC Legajo 1395 Doc. 22; same to same, Nov. 24, 1788, AGI:PC Legajo 1395 Doc. 31

20. G. R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1871), p. 247; J. L. Williams, *Territory of Florida* (New York, 1839), p. 192; W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida* (Deland, 1929), I, 179.

the deserters arrived and that he was later sent to Havana under arrest. The letter giving this last information, dated February 24, 1789,²¹ is the end of the documentary trail. Perhaps the authorities in Cuba at last sent him away, or let him escape, to his old home in South Carolina where, it is said, he died, presumably, a short time after his return.

Lorenzo Sabine,²² among others, asserts that the death of Daniel McGirtt occurred in South Carolina. There is no reason to doubt the truth of this assertion. Nor is there any reason to doubt that McGirtt was, as Sabine contends, at first a zealous Whig of essential service to the popular cause; that, whipped by the sentence of a court-martial, he sought vengeance by harrassing the inhabitants of South Carolina and Georgia for several years; that hunted, as men hunt the wolf, he fled to the woods and swamps; and that the peace put an end to his depredations in the states of the South. Sabine's assertion that he continued his lawless career in Florida is, as we know, correct; but his statement that he was "cast into a dark, damp room or dungeon, and kept for five years" can be true only in case the imprisonment began in 1789; for we know that before that time no long period of imprisonment occurred. If he was held in Havana for five years, he would have been released in 1794. It is more likely, however, that Sabine's "five years" signify nothing more than the sum of the in-and-out periods of imprisonment of which we have documentary evidence. In this case the hunted man may have gone back to his native home to die around the year 1789.

Joseph Johnson,²³ adds some data of a somewhat

21. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, Feb. 24, 1789, AGI:PC Legajo 1395 Doc. 38.

22. See his *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864), II, 65.

23. *Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South* (Charleston, S. C., 1851), pp. 172-174.

more colorful nature. According to him, McGirtt was a respectable young man of the Kershaw District in South Carolina. A practised hunter and an excellent rider, he entered the revolutionary service as a scout. He took with him a favorite mare on which he felt safe from pursuit when engaged on dangerous missions. This "elegant animal," called Grey Goose, was coveted by one of the officers whose efforts to get possession of her led to a quarrel and charges of insubordination on which McGirtt was tried and sentenced to whipping. He received one application of the punishment and while lying in prison awaiting a second he managed to escape. Recovering Grey Goose he rode away, proclaiming vengeance against all Americans. Johnson's account of McGirtt's exploits in Florida, and of his return to South Carolina is essentially the same as that of Sabine; and his statement regarding the time of the return and death, like Sabine's, is vague.

Mrs. McGirtt was held in high esteem in South Carolina as well as in Florida. She was a "very amiable lady," says Johnson; and he adds that she "ever received the Kindest attentions from her relatives and friends, notwithstanding the misdeeds of her husband."²⁴ But Johnson gives the impression that she did not follow her errant spouse to Florida. That she was in the province is clearly to be inferred, from the correspondence between Tonyn and Zespedes already referred to. Moreover, at the time of the deportation of the outlaws to Cuba, Zespedes specifically states that she was in St. Augustine and that two of her sons were with her. She earnestly sought permission to accompany her husband in exile. Feeling obliged to deny her that privilege Zespedes (always inclined to clemency) consoled her by telling her in advance of the viceroy's decision that

24. *Ibid.*

McGirtt's property would not be confiscated.²⁵ When McGirtt was banished the second time, in 1786, not only Mrs. McGirtt but the whole family-Zespedes now says large family²⁶ - accompanied him to Nassau. From there Mrs. McGirtt and the children probably went by water to some point on the coast and thence to her girlhood home in the Sumpster District. There they awaited the outlaw's return.

How much of the ill-gotten gain the McGirtt's were able to save and remove from the province no one knows. But they had a capable agent in Daniel McGirtt's old friend Francisco Sanchez. With his aid and the kindly good-will of the governor, it is probable that they had, at least money for expenses, slaves for service, and horses for transportation.

Francisco Sanchez deserves further mention. He was born in Florida under the old Spanish regime. At the time of the British occupation he was about seventeen years of age.²⁷ Of all the Spanish inhabitants then in the province, he alone-at least as far as we have any certain information-decided to cast in his lot with the newcomers. That very fact marked him as a youth of daring and initiative. Industrious and energetic as well, he prospered, maintaining throughout good relations with the government and people of the province.

When Spain entered the war against England, in 1779, the situation of Francisco Sanchez became difficult and it grew steadily worse until Zespedes arrived to take over the chief authority. In these later years Tonyn had come to regard Sanchez with particular rancor. "This person," Tonyn wrote Zes-

25. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, Apr. 28, 1785, AGI:SD Legajo 2530.

26. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, Jan. 12, 1786, EF:b41 B4.

27. He was 40 years of age in 1786 according to the St. Augustine Census of that year. See J. B. Lockey, "The St. Augustine Census of 1786", *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 23.

pedes,²⁸ "owes everything he possesses to the indulgence of the British Government, under which he rose from a State of obscure poverty to a degree of affluence seldom attained." And Tonym went on to say that Sanchez had connected himself with McGirtt and his gang, had secretly supplied them with arms and ammunition, furnished them with provisions from his plantation, and found means to "convey away" a number of Negro slaves formerly the property of McGirtt, but later forfeited to the King. By eluding the vigilance of the civil magistrate he had escaped punishment until the arrival of Zespedes, out of respect for whom Tonym had ordered the prosecuting officer not to proceed with the case. The proofs of guilt were many, but Tonym selected only one for the information of Zespedes - a letter to which nothing, in Tonym's opinion, could be added "to shew more fully than it does, the baseness of his practices, and the ingratitude and malignity of his heart." The letter, it may be said, hardly justifies a denunciation so fierce.

So dark a portrait of Francisco Sanchez requires further scrutiny. It may be admitted that his associations with the outlaws were probably not altogether innocent, and it is certain that his life in other respects was not without blemish ; even so, it does not follow that he was as evil as Tonym made him out to be. Like some others who fell under the English governor's displeasure, Sanchez was perhaps more sinned against than sinning. At any rate he deserves a hearing. His own justification,²⁹ written in great detail, ought to be weighed against the burning indictment pronounced by Tonym; but to do that would take us beyond the limits of this paper. It must suffice to say that the balance of justice

28. July 5, 1784. EF:b40.

29. Dated Mar. 8, 1785. It is found in EF:b305.

seems to incline in favor of Francisco Sanchez.

It ought to be remembered that this accused man was loyal and useful to the Zespedes administration in its time of need ; that he contributed by his accumulated means and industry to the general well-being of the province ; and that his descendants, some of whom rendered important services to the United States, reside in the state of Florida today. It is worthy of remark also that the descendants of Francisco Sanchez are among the few who can trace their ancestry back beyond the period of the English occupation.

James McGirtt, frequently mentioned by Tonym as one of the "infamous and detestable characters," was a brother of Daniel McGirtt.³⁰ Sabine, who refers to him briefly, gives Georgia as his place of origin.³¹ It is probable however that Georgia was merely a stage on his way to Florida from South Carolina. He too seems to have been a deserter from the revolutionary forces. The British rewarded him, says Sabine, with a commission as captain in Brown's Florida Rangers. It appears that he was never on Tonym's list of proscribed men; in fact, though Zespedes investigated his connection with the banditti, he found no fault with him.³² But he had close associations with the outlaws, and, as already indicated, he was among the group attacked by Colonel Young on the night of July 27, 1784. He managed however to evade arrest. Moreover he was not among those who sought voluntary exile. He remained in Florida, and, as far as we know, he was in later years a good citizen ; indeed he and some of the rest might have been free from censure under

30. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, Apr. 28, 1875, AGI:SD Legajo 2530

31. Op. cit., II, 65.

32. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, Apr. 28, 1785, AGI:SD Legajo 2530

more favorable circumstances. His name and the names of his wife and children appear in Hasset's Census of 1786 for St. Augustine. The father was put down as a native of Carolina, fifty years old. His occupation was stated as farmer, and his religion as Lutheran. The mother, Ysabela Sanders, was seven years younger, a native of the same state and of the same religion. The children - Jayme, Juan, Esacarias, Daniel, Rovertto, and Maria-ranged from twenty to ten years of age.³³ James McGirtt received a number of land grants and on one of them, near the St. Marys river, he settled in 1795.³⁴ He died a few years later. There is evidence to show that some of the children were converted to the Catholic religion.³⁵ Presumably they remained in Florida, though the census of 1830 seems not to list any one of the name of McGirtt.

A word must now be said about the Linders. John Linder, Sr., as we have already said, was among those who were granted permits to emigrate to West Florida or Louisiana. Two of these-William Mangum and William Collins-we have no further trace of. Another, Belay Cheney, whom Zespedes regarded as "a rogue of the first class"³⁶ settled in the Tensaw district about thirty miles north and slightly east of Mobile. There he succeeded admirably in maintaining his East Florida reputation.³⁷

33. *F. H. Q.*, XVIII, 23.

34. *Spanish Land Grants in Florida* (Historical Records Survey, Tallahassee, 1940-41), III, 122. For numerous other references see general index *ibid.*, V.

35. *Roman Catholic Records of St. Augustine Parish, 1784-99*, 2 vols. (Translation and transcription, State Library Board, Tallahassee, 1941), I, 56; II, 123.

36. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, Apr. 28, 1785, AGI:SD Legajo 2530. This individual's name appears in different forms: in East Florida as Beley Cheney and Colonel Chiney (Tonyn to Zespedes, July 29, 1785) : and in Tensaw as Bely Chaney, Baley Chene, Bailey China (P. J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (New York, 1910), p. 344.

37. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

John Linder, Sr. settled in the same district.³⁸ Little is known of his life in the new home, but apparently he was leading a peaceful existence as a cattle raiser. He was later joined - just when is uncertain but not later than 1786³⁹ - by his notorious son, John Linder, Jr. Of him the western trace is less faint, yet the circumstances of his abandonment of his old haunts on the St. Johns are vague in the extreme, as also are the incidents of his westward journey. It is only when he appears with his father at Tensaw that he comes somewhat into focus again.

Certainly the reader will want to know how much of the accumulations of his trade young Linder was able to take away with him to the west. We do not know. There is however some evidence to show that the property seized illegally by Colonel Young was restored to the bandits.⁴⁰ In that case "Sweet Willy . . . the fastest Horse for running a distance in the Province, or in Carolina" was again among Linder's possessions. We have no evidence on that point. But if Linder was as assiduous in plying his trade as we have been led to suppose, he must have set out for the west with a whole drove of horses and possibly, a herd of cattle,⁴¹ which he was no doubt careful to increase by additions on the way; and he must have had in his train a sufficient number of Negro slaves to serve his every whim. If, as we imagine, he rode into the Tensaw district at the head of such a procession mounted on his fleetest of steeds, he must indeed have created a sensation. But that likewise we do not know. We do not even know

38. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

39. *Ibid.* John Linder, Jr. however may have left East Florida soon after the arrest of McGirtt and Cunningham (see Tonym to Zespedes, July 29, 1785, PRO :CO 5/561).

40. See Petition of Linder, Daniel and James McGirtt to Zespedes, Aug. 5, 1784 forwarded by Zespedes to Tonym and Tonym's reply, Aug. 7, 1784, PRO:CO 5/561.

41. Tonym to Zespedes, July 29, 1785, PRO:CO 5/561.

that young Linder was in the least interested in creating an impression by means of a melodramatic entrance upon the western stage.

The only thing we know for certain is that the former bandit was now civil lieutenant of his district and a justice of the peace ;⁴² and that he was interested in the cattle business. The chosen location was good.⁴³ The Indians were friendly, markets-Mobile and Pensacola-were near, and the canebrakes along the streams provided excellent pasturage at all seasons of the year. In midsummer of 1788 we find John Linder, Jr. at Pensacola - not on a mission of selling but of buying cattle. With him and at his service were Carlos Hal,⁴⁴ a cowhand, and Archibald Sloan, the owner of a small schooner loaded with goods of Linder's ownership. Through the circumstance that these visitors, as well as others from the Indian country, were at this time compelled by Governor Arturo O'Neill to give sworn testimony⁴⁵ regarding another matter, we learn something, incidentally, about Linder's cattle business. Sloan's boat, it appears from the testimony, was loaded with shirts, blankets, coarse cloth, rum, and powder and ball. He was to proceed with this cargo along the coast to the town of the Indian "Buly"⁴⁶ in the Lower Creek country. There Linder was to barter the goods for cattle. Then, we may infer, he and the cowhands were to drive the cattle overland to Tensasaw, while the owner of the schooner was to return to the same destination by water.

The cattle business may have been the real motive

42. Hamilton *op. cit.*, pp.342-343.

43. William Bartram, *Travels* (Facsimile Edition, New York, 1940), p. 324.

44. Charles Hall? See Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

45. AGI:PC Legajo 1394.

46. Location not known, but it may have been near the mouth of the Choctawhatchie. See J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), p. 171.

of Linder's visit to Pensacola; but apparently O'Neill was not entirely convinced of that. In consequence Linder was soon in durance vile, the charge being that he had not reported on his arrival all that he knew about the landing at the mouth of Indian River to which reference has been made elsewhere in this paper. The incident was the cause of a considerable commotion in the west, particularly in the mind of Governor O'Neill.⁴⁷ This was the matter regarding which Linder, his cowhand, boatman, and all the other visitors in Pensacola at the time were required to give testimony under oath. The result of this inquisition was a number of depositions which throw much light not only on the main subject but on many subsidiary matters of interest to the historian.

Among the papers, for example, is a petition of Linder's written in his own hand.⁴⁸ It is not the composition of an educated man nor of a totally illiterate one. The syntax is bad and the spelling atrocious, but these faults were not uncommon on the frontier. The handwriting was good enough and the signature was distinguished; it was executed in bold strokes after the manner of the president of a great financial corporation, and must have cost the outlaw many hours of practice to perfect. The object of Linder's petition was to beg for his release, but he was still in prison when he gave his testimony. He may have been set at liberty shortly afterward, for no charge was brought against him except that he had withheld information. That information is contained in his declaration, which interests us for the moment only because it reveals two important facts about the man: that he was an Anglican Protestant and that he was at this time thirty-four years of age.

47. O'Neill to Miro, Aug. 22, 1788, AGI:PC Legajo 1394:
48. Dated Aug. 13, 1788, AGI:PC Legajo 1394.

The declarations concern us here only in so far as they throw light on the activities of the former banditti of East Florida. The evidence adduced was mainly hearsay. The declarants⁴⁹ - seven besides Linder - were from Tensaw or from the Creek Nation further north. All had heard of the landing, as it was a matter of common knowledge in the Indian country. One testified that Bowles had appeared, professedly as a British agent, at Kawita in July (1788) and had had a conference with Alexander McGillivray ; several that McGillivray had dispatched a hundred or more packhorses to the point of debarkation to transport the arms and ammunition and other articles to the Upper Creek towns ; two or three that Bowles's followers were British soldiers and that an expedition was brought to the Florida coast in a British war-ship; one or two that the establishment of Panton, Leslie and Company at Apalache was to be seized ; another that Pensacola was an object of attack; and Linder, among other things, that the invaders consisted largely of refugee American Loyalists and that the object was an attack on Georgia in conjunction with the Creeks under the leadership of Bowles.

This testimony, unreliable though it is, gives some idea of what was believed to be the nature and immediate object of Bowles's incursion into Florida in the summer of 1788. Linder's testimony and his activities during this same summer remove suspicion from him as a possible participant in the enterprise. There is nowhere any mention of Daniel McGirtt. He was, as we must suppose, not now well enough to take part in an adventure, which, under happier circumstances would have appealed to his restless and vengeful spirit. Others, especially the lesser ban-

49. The declarants were as follows: Thomas Miller, Charles Hall, John Jones, John Linder, Jr., Archibald Sloan, Antonio Garzon, Gerald Byrne, and Henry Snell.

ditti, may have been in Bowles's train ; but if so, they were not so fortunate, or unfortunate, as to have their names inscribed in his roll of honor. There is one possible exception, which we must now consider.

The possible exception is William Cunningham, often referred to as Major Cunningham. Within a year or two after his banishment to Providence he must have heard rumors-if he remained in the islands-of the invasion being planned by William Augustus Bowles with the connivance of Lord Dunmore. He must have heard the reports being discussed in the taverns and other places where the outcasts were accustomed to congregate. Here was a fresh opportunity for plunder, particularly if the attack on the Georgians was to be carried out. Cunningham had won for himself the unenviable nickname of "Bloody Bill" by the ferocity of his assaults on the inhabitants of the back country of South Carolina. He too had started out as a Whig, but because of some real or fancied wrong had changed sides.⁵⁰ Perhaps he had not yet had enough. Perhaps he did join Bowles. Perhaps he did set foot on Florida soil again. But these are conjectures, not history.

The correspondence relating to the landing in 1788 makes no mention of William Cunningham. Nor is there any trace of him in the papers relating to the intrigues of Bowles during his stay of nearly four years in the Lower Creek towns. At last, early in 1792, an agent of the adventurer was arrested at Apalache. His name was William Cunningham.⁵¹ The prisoner was taken to New Orleans, where Bowles was already held in custody. Here Cunningham made two statements from which it appears

50. Sabine, *op. cit.*, I, 348-349.

51. *F. H. Q.*, IX, pp. 177-192.

that he was an American Loyalist, and a former officer in the British forces with the rank of major. There the similarity ends. His statements furnish abundant proof of his separate identity. Nor does there appear in the Spanish correspondence⁵² relating to him over a period of years the slightest confusion with the man banished from East Florida. That man, we must admit, had been lost to view since he quit the shores of Florida late in 1785.

When the banditti had at last been dispersed, Zespedes could have asserted that his original plan of achieving his object by lenient means had been realized. Not one of the outlaws suffered the extreme penalty at his hands, though some of the more obscure fled to the United States and there, Zespedes heard, "paid with their lives the just price of their crimes."⁵³ Of those who risked a similar fate by delaying their departure, even the most notorious were merely sent into exile ; McGirtt and Cunningham each attended by a Negro slave to a pleasant asylum in the Bahamas, and John Linder with his possessions (presumably) and a safe conduct to a new home and a better life in the west. But they were gone. Florida was at ease again.

52. Much of it is in AGI:SD Legajo 2640.

53. Zespedes to J. de Galvez, Oct. 20, 1784, EF:b323A ; same to B. de Galvez, Feb. 9, 1785, AGI:SD Legajo 2530.

TALLAHASSEE AND ST. MARKS IN 1841

A LETTER OF JOHN S. TAPPAN

on board of Ship "Geneva" lying
at Mobile Bay Decr. 13. 1841.

My very dear Cousin,

Your good and Kind letter of the 5th ultimo was duly received for which you must accept my thanks for the punctuality you exhibited. I have not had an opportunity to reply to it and you will I know attribute my silence to the right cause instead of any other. As you may be interested I will give you a Brief of my Adventures, but if you would like a full account I refer you to My Journal I sent home. I would send you one also but its length (16 pages thickly written foolscap) prevents my doing so. We sailed from N. Y. on Sunday the 7th Nov. 1841, but we may be censured for sailing on that day so I will say only that we were obliged to, and leave the explanation for some future time. I was more Sea Sick than I have ever been before, but only two days. We had remarkably pleasant weather and made "Alaco Light" the 13th day out. Our run across the Banks and round Tortugas was performed in 3 days and then we began to have head winds and were off St. Marks 6 days before we went in, which we did on the 18th day out. The appearance of the Land is very low, marshy & covered with pine trees. The water is also very shallow and the Ships when they load have to lay about 18 miles from the town, and six miles from the Light which is almost as bad as being at anchor off Cape Ann. In speaking of the place every one calls it St. Marks. But now the business is removed about 3 miles down the river to a place called Port Leon. (18 miles from there the Ship lay but even Pt. Leon is only a Depot for the cotton that comes down the river from Talla-

hassee by Rail Road about 24 miles. Pt. Leon is a new town but the houses (about 20 in number) are about the meanest kind, the best and finest in the place is not to be compared with Mrs. Connors that black house on the corner of "Hog Lane" where Uncle Josiah used to live. Why Benny your Father's Barn is handsomer than any house in Tallahassee altho' I suppose it did not cost 1/16 part as much as some there for they get all their things from the north and of course labor is very scarce and very high. The people oh my! The "ruff scuff" of civilization, and as to Law. they dont know what it means for Law and Justice are not in their vocabularies. I was asked to drink about 500 times and when I refused they would turn round and look as tho they were shot one man told me that I was the only person in Pt. Leon but what would drink and that he had heard of Temperance folk and he wanted to see how they looked so he begged the liberty of staring me in the face for 1/2 an hour. There is no church in Port Leon and Sunday they spent in playing Billiards, Drinking, Swearing, Smoking &c. We went up to Tallahassee the 2nd day after we arrived but did not get there until the cars had run off three times. It presents a much better appearance than Pt. Leon having a 1/2 finished capitol, two churches and a *Jail!!* A year ago you could not walk the Streets without being armed to the teeth. now its different for during the last summer out of a population of 1600 inhabitants God had seen fit to take away 450 of them composing most all the Gamblers & Blacklegs of the place and now they have a chance to begin anew. It was really shocking to hear the account of the fever. we, at the north can form no idea of the suffering and distress for those that *lived* fared the worse & almost wished for death. 8 & 9 a day (for they all died in a very short time) was a common thing. and then who was to bury them

for almost every one was sick and the only way they kept alive was by taking Calomel by the ounces and now they look like walking skeletons more than like live persons. There was nothing in the place to interest one and Captain Hale finding that he could get no business for the Ship concluded to go to Mobile. We left Tallahassee on the cars drawn with mules for the Engine had run down a bank 20 feet into the Bushes and was totally unfit for service. We were 5 hours going 24 miles and after various adventures which you can read if you see the Journal we arrived at Port Leon. Found the Ships Boat in waiting for us and we went down, weighed anchor, clapped the rags on to her and shaped our course for Mobile. It Blew quite hard the two first days out and we got to far to the Southward. 2nd day out the wind hauled to the NW dead a head and we did not get in until the 6th day out. MOBILE is 27 miles up the river from where the Ships anchor and as soon as the Mud Hook was down the Captain and myself left our good Ship and went in the Sloop Virillia up to town. We did not get there until the next day at 10c as it was, stark calm most of the time. The ground here is also very low and marshy, and the trees in great abundance. Mobile is quite a large city with 15 or 20,000 inhabitants, 6 churches, court house &c &c. It looks finely coming up the bay and the large brick cotton presses and slate roofs make it appear like a very rich place. 2 years ago there was a tremendous fire here which burnt 14 squares, several large buildings, Banks &c. this has most all been built up and now the city is in a flourishing condition. We put up at the "Mansion House" the best Hotel by far in the Southern country not excepting New Orleans. but as I could not find anything to do I came down the Bay to live. I shall probably go up again soon and then I will write you again and the only reason I do not give you a fuller description of

men and things is because the postage would be so much I am afraid you would wish me and my Journal on the coast of Arabia. I am longing to hear from home but I suppose all of my letters have gone to St. Marks and therefore I shall not get them. It takes the mail three weeks to get from St. Marks to Mobile and when we were at Tallahassee there were 8 mails wanting. So much for the Reform in the New Administration ha ha worse than it ever was. I want you to write me a long letter and tell me *all* the news. put on the outside care of John Phillips Esq. & say "If gone please forward." We have not engaged a Freight yet but will soon, where I know not, but probably to Havre. Wish you a Merry Christmas. Happy New Year next time. I suppose you had a grand Thanksgiving, did you go to Nport? and did you give my love to all hands & Good Bye God Bless you I have not time to write any more, and will write again before I leave. Love to All from Your ever aff. cos.

JNO. S. TAPPAN

[endorsed:]

Mr. Benj. French
At Merchants Ins. Co.
Boston
Mass

* * *

We are grateful to Mr. W. T. Cash and the Florida State Library for a copy of the above letter and permission to publish it. Mr. Cash, Florida State Librarian, writes :

"Recently the Florida State Library acquired a letter dated December 13, 1841, a portion of whose contents throws some light on conditions in Tallahassee and Port Leon at the time.

"The author of the letter, John S. Tappan, we may with some reason believe, was a member of the noted Tappan family of Massachusetts, who were

great reformers, and, therefore, we need not be surprised at his references to the drinking and smoking habits of Floridians.

“Although we are certain that the letter contains exaggerations, such as the statement that 450 persons in Tallahassee, out of a population of 1600 died during an epidemic of 1841, and that the people of the town were the ‘ruff scuff’ of civilization, it is not likely that the writer was intentionally untruthful. It is too often a tendency of reformers to exaggerate conditions.

“We know that Tappan’s statement as to the population of Tallahassee was substantially correct, as it is borne out by the United States census of 1840. Undoubtedly most Tallahasseeans, despite Tappan’s statements as to their habits of going constantly armed, were peaceful and inoffensive ; but there had been enough violence during several years prior to his visit to lend some color to the letter’s charges. Political excitement was high. Charges of mismanagement of the Indian War then going on were common and the territorial banks furnished a subject of many belligerent arguments. As a result of all these, several duels had been fought and a lot of ill feeling had been aroused.

“The number of houses the writer gives Port Leon probably referred to the stores, hotel, taverns and warehouses and not to the homes. However, we know that Port Leon was never a very large town, probably never reaching 500 inhabitants.

“There has been much uncertainty about when locomotive engines were first used on the Tallahassee-St. Marks railroad. Tappan’s letter seems to sustain the argument that the locomotive was used at a very early date, but was so often a failure that horse or mule power was frequently substituted.”

PIONEER FLORIDA
by T. FREDERICK DAVIS

AN INTERPRETATION OF SPANISH LAWS AND
LAND TITLES

When Florida was acquired by the United States from Spain through the treaty of cession concluded and signed in 1819 and ratified in 1821, one of the foremost questions arising was that of the confirmation of land titles. For a decade there was a strange uncertainty with regard to property, titles and judicial decrees, which, according to a contemporary writer in the *Florida Herald*, were "scattered about as floating objects in the wide ocean of Law." He goes on to say, "This confusion cannot be supposed to arise from any intention or design in the high contracting parties [the governments of the United States and Spain] of perplexing the terms or expression of that important instrument [Treaty of Cession], so as to afflict the inhabitants with vexatious law suits, or loss of property from its not being clearly and unequivocally expressed; it is more rational to suppose that this humiliating and vexatious evil originates from the intentional misconstruction of those whose interest is radically at variance with the public good, for this subject has hardly ever been agitated, or introduced into our higher Councils of State, without some wary substitution of terms by which it was to be explained, entirely foreign to the plain meaning of the document [Treaty of Cession], and there it has been left to shift for itself, like a motherless lamb among a pack of wolves."

This blast does not mean that there were no honest lawyers and judges in Florida in this period ; it was directed against those less scrupulous, in an effort, by public exposition, to lessen the evil. And for a like purpose, in 1829, one of the most respected

attorneys in Florida, who had practiced here in Spanish times, wrote a non-technical opinion upon the procedure in making Spanish land grants in East Florida, to show-up the method being used as a cloak for many of the law suits pending in the courts. This opinion was considered of such merit that several years later it was published in the St. Augustine *Florida Herald*, the issue of July 8, 1835. It is worth preserving as a document of historical value; the following is verbatim as published in the *Herald*, except for the correction of a few unmistakable typographical errors.

* * *

OPINION FROM ACTUAL PRACTICE OF LAW

The Province of East Florida was ceded by Spain to the United States, with the condition that all concessions of land made to the inhabitants previous to a certain date [January 24, 1818], agreed upon between the parties, by the Spanish Government, [would be confirmed by the United States] as if such change had taken place.

The King of Spain by virtue of his Constitutional authority, and by his policy, which governed his American Dominions, never subjected his Governor of East Florida to his laws and Royal Proclamations when the political state of the Province rendered it necessary to have resource to more liberal measures. So that the power of acting freely and without restriction was granted to the Governor of E. Florida.

The Governor of Havana, even now [1829], in time of peace, can enforce or suspend the execution of any law or royal order when he thinks that it will be for the good of the King's Government, and for the advantage of the island of Cuba, either extend, curtail or suppress such royal orders. From this it is evident that the Governor of East Florida acted

with absolute power, and without the intervention of any other authority.

Fixing this as a principle, the power of those Governors, either to extend or diminish the quantity of land granted to the inhabitants and new settlers, was optional, so that government regulated the quantity granted to each by its own judgment, keeping always in view the primary object of forwarding the growth of the province, by creating proprietors, whose industry and agricultural improvements would redound to the advantage of the Spanish Government.

Under these impressions, and assisted by our long experience of the successive progress of laws and regulations in this province with regard to donations of land and concessions of such as belonged to the King, we will endeavor to point out some things for the common advantage of those inhabitants to whom lands are granted, and should the merit of the present authority be appreciated, it may serve to settle some disputes concerning the priority of right of these concessions.

1. When concessions were made by government to individuals, pursuant to a memorial or petition, previous to their obtaining the title of absolute dominion, they did not have the right of absolute property or fee simple; but were exposed to the risk of being superseded by another new concession of the very same governor under pretext of any misdemeanor or fault on the part of the first grantee, or which might appear such to the Governor.

I have seen examples of concessions annulled, after more than one year's possession, and others who had purchased the concession or right of possession from another person, who, when petitioning the Governor for liberty to have the land surveyed

to him, had had his titles or concession taken away from him and the land granted to another.

2. The Governor never made any donation of land to any person previous to that person's having taken the oath of fidelity and vassalage to the King of Spain, if he was a foreigner, or of his domiciliation and settlement in the province if he was a Spaniard. The conditional right to cultivate and improve was one of those in which he was protected in by the law, after becoming a Spanish subject.

3. Until a grantee had acquired the royal title of dominion over a donation or concession of land, he did not under any circumstance acquire the right of property, so as to sell or dispose of it, therefore all such sales were illegal and exposed to the disapproval or resentment of the Governor, who alone could authorize such kind of sales or transfers, because the estimation of the degree of progress which the grantee had made towards complying with the conditions of his donation was entirely arbitrary with the Governor.

4. The plot or survey of any Surveyor General or private Surveyor, neither has, nor ever had any value without becoming authorized by a superior decree made upon some memorial or petition. The surveyor general appointed by the Spanish Government, Don Jorge Clarke, could upon sight of any concession or right of concession or royal title, measure its corresponding quantity of land and give a plot and certificate, but private surveyors, besides the grant or concession, required an order from the Governor to authorize them to survey it. Without the Governor's decree and consent, no lawful right of possession could exist within the province, as far as related to the King's land.

5. A royal or absolute title being once given, the right of dominion over all other kinds of titles was

infallible, except another royal absolute title of older date should appear.

6. The time of possession of King's land under a concession or Memorial title that was required to authorize the possessor to petition for and obtain a Royal or King's fee simple of property was ten years, upon proving which occupation, and of his having performed the stipulated improvements required by government; a royal title of property was usually granted by the Governor as sole agent for the King; but until this title of property was given the possessor could neither sell, grant nor convey in any manner whatever, any right to the land for a very plain reason because the King had not yet ceded to him his right of property to the soil, therefore he had none to convey.

7. No memorial concession, survey or plot or certificate or any other kind of title whatever could litigate, contend or prevail at law over a King's title on property, which was the sole and only guaranty title under the Spanish Government of Florida, and to obtain this guaranty title, ten years of occupation were always required during the whole period of our residence here, viz: from the time that Governor Zespedes received possession of the province from the British Government [1784], until the arrival of Governor Kindelan [1812], who it seems had orders to remunerate those subjects who had proved their fidelity to Government by giving them Royal titles of property for lands at his own discretion, and this seems to have continued until the cession of Florida to the United States ; but at no period of the Spanish Government could any person ever be invested with any right of property so as to sell, convey or leave it by will to any one, nor could it be attached for debt, or levied upon in any way, in short it was a mere right of occupation similar to a lease from the King

until the occupier obtained the King's absolute title, which was indefeasible.

8. The Spanish Government hardly ever denied to any person the right of changing his residence by petition, and granting a new Memorial title for other land in another place, but whenever the person moved his residence to that new place, the old place from which he moved was considered vacant and was open to be again granted by Government to any other petitioner whose memorial could obtain it: this new memorial canceled all the preceding ones : so that the last occupier under the last memorial had the exclusive right under the King to the land, and excluded all former memorials.

9. The Governor's authority was not participated by any one, he was alone, and absolutely exercised his jurisdiction and his commands, constituted the law within the province, no one could revoke them except he himself by a contrary command. His decree could only be called in question by appealing to higher courts out of the province. In all matters concerning the property of the King of Spain, of which the Governor was sole chief, and with the supreme administration of his interest (amongst which were the King's lands) the King alone could hear an appeal against the dispositions of the Governor of East Florida. But with regard to civil suits, appeals were heard in the Court of Chancery, or Royal Audience Patmaticipe, and with regard to military, rinters [*sic*] were made to the Captain General of Cuba so that the power of Governor in the province was the sole authority, superior to all besides within it, and represented, like all other Spanish Governors in America, in their respective Provinces, the Royal person and power, as absolute as the King himself, within the jurisdiction of the Government, without, as I have before stated, the possi-

bility of appeal to any other power within it from his orders. *

10. Superior officers, exercising any particular jurisdiction, were all under the Governor's orders, and nothing which concerned the King's property or interests, could be done without his superior permission and consent. He either extended or reduced the royal donations ; he augmented or diminished the concessions, according to his estimation of the greater or smaller deserts of him who solicited, or the greater or lesser tendency of the object towards the prosperity of the Province or the good of the State.

11. The renunciation of the royal right of domain in absolute titles given by the Governor for King's property to individuals, is just as necessary as it is in every kind of conveyance for the grantor to convey to and renounce all his right and title to the grantee, warrant and defend, &c.

12. Having resided in the Province of Florida upwards of thirty-four years, previous to this date [1829], and having lived under the Government of four different Governors, I have observed that every one of them followed his own independent rules, with regard to donations of King's lands, but more especially after the disturbances of 1812 [Patriot War and insurrection], the Governor took every pains to display to the people the munificence and generosity of the King of Spain's Government, as well as for the purposes of satisfying and attracting

* These powers were given Andrew Jackson when he was appointed provisional governor to take over the Floridas from Spain in 1821. He was commissioned "Governor of the Floridas, exercising all the powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the governor, and captain-general, and intendent of the island of Cuba, and of the governors of East and West Florida within the said provinces". It is probable that Governor Jackson never realized the extent of the power vested in him by his commission. - T. F. D.

every useful inhabitant, as for that of promoting and strengthening an agricultural Province ; which objects were best promoted by creating individual proprietors, whose labour tended to that purpose and whose interest taught obedience to the State. And I have uniformly perceived that all the King's subjects conformed to the Governor's regulations without complaint; nor is there one example of any appeal about land ever having been successfully made ; nor does there exist on the Records of this Province one example of any disposition or concession of King's land made by the Governor of Florida as ever having been annulled or refused by the King of Spain. The memorials of Col. Jose de la Torre and Don Z. Kingsley were returned from Madrid to Gov. White for his approbation.

13. If Gov. White [Spanish governor of West Florida, 1793-1796, and of E. Fla., 1796-1811] did try to contract the terms of concession of King's [lands] and make strict and rigorous rules, his successors took an opposite course in extending them to please the King's subjects and promote agriculture, in relation to which there has been royal orders, and quite sufficient to empower the Governor to practice whatever he conceived best in regard to that subject.

Signed, JOSE M. UGARTE

St. Augustine, of Florida,
13th April, 1829.

I certify to the truth of the above statement.

FERNANDO LA MAZA ARREDONDO.

A DIARY OF JOSHUA NICHOLS GLENN

ST. AUGUSTINE IN 1823

When Florida became a part of the United States, Methodists in nearby Georgia and South Carolina looked upon East Florida as their missionary field, and at the annual session of the South Carolina Conference of 1823 which met at Savannah, Joshua Nichols Glenn was chosen and sent to establish a mission at St. Augustine.

He was a native of Jackson county Georgia, the son of James Glenn whom fate made a soldier of the Revolution when little more than a lad. While living with his mother and younger brothers in Rockingham county, North Carolina, during the Revolution, several Tory soldiers ransacked their home. Tradition says :

“As they turned things upside-down, the mother, fearing the consequences should resistance be offered, told the boys not to interfere. Obeying, as boys in those days were supposed to do, they stood by the fireplace and saw the tipsy soldiers ransack the place, taking what they wanted and making useless what was left. Dismantling the beds in a search for valuables and finding none, one of the men ripped open a feather-bed and wantonly tossed the contents into the air. To see her precious feather-beds destroyed was more than the mother could take quietly, so she sprang forward to remonstrate with the man, only to be tossed aside with such force as to be thrown to the floor.

“Not having been told what to do in such circumstances, the boys acted upon their own impulses. Snatching up a heavy home-made hickory chair, James floored the man who had struck his mother; while, armed with poker and tongs, the two younger boys attacked the other surprised men with James

now coming to their aid. The astonished Tories abandoned everything and fled.

“When the melee was over and the fallen Tory had not risen, James and his mother went to help him up. To their horror they found that he was dead. Fearing the consequences to James when the men should return with reinforcements, his mother gave the boy the dead man’s gun and hurried him away to join the army. He did not see his home or family again until the war was over. The Tory soldiers never returned.”

Taking up bounty land in Georgia, James married, and Joshua, our diarist, was born July 11, 1799, on a farm in Jackson county near Jefferson, one of three brothers, who all became Methodist preachers. When seventeen Joshua was converted and joined the Methodist Church, and from that time felt himself “called” to preach. “More and more” he tells us, “the words of Paul burned their way into his heart, ‘Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.’ ”

Studying as best he could in a pioneer region he was licensed “to exhort” when twenty and was given the title of “local preacher” soon afterwards. At the 1821 meeting of the South Carolina Conference he was admitted on trial as a Circuit Rider. His father gave him a horse and he took up the severe hardships of those days on the lonely circuit through the wilderness from settlement to settlement.

At the Conference of 1823 he was received into full connection, ordained Deacon, and appointed as Missionary at St. Augustine where he found only one member of his church-but let the diary tell of his difficulties and efforts there.

The following year he was appointed to Camden, South Carolina, and Noah Laney succeeded him at St. Augustine. In 1825 he was ordained Elder and

went to the Yellow River Circuit, while Dan G. McDaniel came to St. Augustine. Other assignments followed, and in 1826 he was married to Sarah Garland Wingfield of Washington, Georgia. For more than twenty years he lived in Lawrenceville, Georgia, then moved to Newton county. Although he never re-entered the itinerancy, he continued to serve nearby churches without remuneration until his death on September 16, 1879.

* * *

A

M E M O R A N D U M

or

Journal of the first part
of my life up to the twenty-third year of my age.¹

J. N. GLENN

FEBRUARY [1823]

Sat 1st I took my leave of the family and as they soon expected to see me again they seemed to part with me in better spirits than usual. my Father accompanied me to *Athens* where I took my leave of him and started on my way to *Savannah* to attend

1. The diary itself is still preserved by Miss Layona Glenn of Conyers, Georgia, a daughter of the diarist's only son, J. J. W. Glenn, a surgeon of the Confederate Army. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Miss Glenn, herself a missionary in Brazil for forty years, for her generous permission to publish her grandfather's journal, and for the biographical notes above. The scarcity of such historical material in Florida, especially for the period, makes the diary the more interesting and valuable to us.

The notes of identification have been supplied by Mrs. M. A. Johnson, Acting Secretary and Acting Librarian of the Florida Historical Society.

This transcript is taken from a film of the diary in the library of the National Park Service, St. Augustine, and a typed copy in the library of the Florida Historical Society. The first part of the diary relates to the life of the Reverend Mr. Glenn before he came to Florida and is not included here.

the Conference. that night I went to *Lexington* -
 Sun 2nd I preacht my farewell in *Lexington* and
 at night Br [Brother] Hardy preacht in the Court
 house and I gave them probably my last exhortation
 Mon 3rd I left *Lexington* and fild my appointment
 at the Rock M. H. [Meeting House] and went holme
 with Br. Sappington where Br. J. W. Glenn met me
 and Spent the night with me-

Tu 4th we went to *Washington* and after Spending
 sometime with me he left me and went to Br. Joneses
 I remaind in *Wa.*, the night.-

Wen 5th Br. Travis and I went on our way to
 wards conferance and stoped at Br. Daughterty's in
Columly co that night-

Th 6th we went to *Augusta Geo* and put up with
 Br Rolston-

Fr 7th Spent in arrangeing the book business-
 Sa 8th I preacht in the church in the morn. and
 Br. Manly in the afternoon while Br T. and the of-
 ficial members held their Quarterly conference -
 Sun 9th we had preaching and the Lords Supper
 administered but the peoples hearts Seamed to be
 like the weather extreamly cold-

Mon 10th we were detained this day by the Snow
 and Sleet which was on the ground-

Tue 11th we with Brothers Howard Sneed and
 Treadwell left *Augusta* and Stoped at Mrs. Mathews
 and Spent the night-

Wen. 19th we went to *Jacksonboro*-

Th 13th to Br Shepherds-

Fr 14th to *Turkey creek* where on Sa & Su we held
 a Q. M. [Quarterly Meeting] and in the evening
 Bishop R. R. Roberts Father Smith and brother
 Hamil came there -

Sa 15th F. S. preacht a fine Sermon-

Sun 16th Bishop R. administered the Sacrement
 and then preacht - it was a very cold day - I was

very much pleased to meet Miss J. Bird heare, the eldest daughter of the Mr Bird who was So kind to me in 1821 in the distress I was in-

Mo 17th by this time we had collected a prety good company of preachers who ascorted the *Bishop* into Town viz Brothers *Smith, Travis, Hamil Chapel, Kenedy, Bass, Hill, & myself* we got to Savannah in the evening-

Tu 18th formd Some acquaintances-

Wen 19th the Missionary Society met and the com-mitty gave a favourable report-

Th 20th the conference conveand and appointed a comitty to examine the probations who met this afternoon and there were thirteen of us examined-when I first came before the comitty I felt very much embarest but it Soon wore off-

Fr 21st the comitty reported to the conferance on our examination and *ten* of us were receivd in to full conexion viz-A. Purifoy, P. G. Mcdonel, Elias Sinclair, Elizah Sinclair N. Laney, J. I. Triggs, M. Mc-ferson B. English, J. Reynolds and myself.-J. H. Robinson was receivd into full conexion but his Ordination was with held-J. Riley was droped A. Norman after being kept on tryal three years was droped-

Sat 22nd the examination of charcters went on-Sun 23rd Bishop Roberts preacht an Ordination Serman and then proceded to Ordain the above ten of us-in the Wesley Chapel-in the afternoon Dr. D. Hall preacht an other and Bishop R. Ordained five Elders-

Wen 26th Br Travis told me that it was the wish of the Bishop that I Should go as a Missionary to St. Augustine and that he the Bt [Bishop] wished to have Some conversation with me on the Subject-Th 27th conversed with the Bishop about the Mis-sion and my going on it-he then told me he should

depend on me I consented to go all tho my mind at first recoild at the very thoughts of it but I soon became anxious to go-

Fr 28th conference broke about 8 oclock at night-

Sat MARCH 1st

This morning the preachers were in a great hurry to leave Town Some going one way and some an other - I got Father Warwick to take my horse holme to my Fathers and wrote a letter by him. after he was gone I went to the parsonage and assisted the Bishop in geting off he gave me a draft on the Treasurer of the Missionary Society for Fifty dollars.

The greater part of the preachers left Town and I felt very lonesome in the evening I wrote a letter by mail to Father and one to Mr S. Streeter in St. Augustine -

Sun 2nd preacht in the little chapel to a fine congregation-

Mon 3rd went down to the warf and engaged a passage but after a few days got disapointed - I then remaind in Savannah until the 19th I preacht frequently, and found many friends - but my anxiety to go to St Augustine was so great that I could see but little Satisfaction withe the friends-

Wen 19th about 12 or 1 oclock I saild on board the Schooner Mary Mcoy of St Marys Capt Richardson for St Marys. this evening we came to an anchor about Sunset and before we turned in I had prayers on deck with the crew-

Sat 22nd we came to an anchor in St Marys river about 7 oclock but I remaind on board until Sun 23rd when we came to the warf. Mr. Ripley came on bord and invited me to go up to his house and take breakfast-by this time Br Laney heard that I had come and Sent a boy with a noat requestine me to

attend to his appointment at 1/2 after 10 o'clock this morning I done so and went holme with him to Sr Besants - then preacht again for him at early candle-light - but I had the motion of the vessel at sea so bad that it made me feel very unpleasant - as the mail boat was the only chance for me to go to Augustine and it left every Saturday evening I had then to wait until the next Saturday-

Th 27th in the evening I fild Br Laney's appointment and as the people here are like other people fond of new things they flocked in crowds to heare me- .

Sat 29th the mail boat came but it was So Stormy in the evening and Sunday morning that they could not return and there fore I stoped Sun 30th and by this time a report had got in circulation that I was bred up a Lawyer this raised me in Some of their estimation and therefore I had a large congregation to preach too. Br Laney and I dined with Capt. Richardson on *Cod fish* which did not agree with me and while I was trying to preach in the evening I was taken so sick that I had to desist I continued very sick that night and the next day so that I could not go with the mail boat - had some conversation with a Catholic and Spoke very plain to him in the afternoon Br Elias Sinclair came to Town and Spent the night with us and told us the many difficultys he had had to contend with on his circuit-

APRILE

Tue 1st this evening Br E. S. [Elias Sinclair] preacht-

Wen 2nd this evening I finished the Sermon which I commenced on last Sunday evening and Some of the people seamed Serious-had some conversation with Miss T. who pretends to be a methodist on cal-

vinism - and I do think She has as little reason and prudence as any person I ever saw-

Sat 5th this evening about Sunset I left St Marys in the Mail boat-the boat is about ten feet long and quite Small she had ten bushels of corn my bagage the mail and three of us in her. my friends in St Marys tryed to per Swade me not to venture in her but my anxiety was so great to get to my place of destiny that I concluded to risk it anyhow we had only just left Town when the wind began to blow very fresh from the Sea the water got very ruff and my tooth began to ache dredfully. about 10 oclock at night we got to Fernandina on Amelia Island and stoped to deliver the mail and as the Mail carier Stated that he should go directly as he came back-Sat in the boat until he returnd he then laid down and went to Sleep and I could not get him to Start until day consequently I had to set in the boat all night Surrounded with Sand flyes & Musketoes and Sufering the Severe tortures of the Tooth ache all the night-

Sun 6th about day light we Started and my teeth continued to ache until about 10 oclock it then got easy we crossed Nassau Sound and landed on Talbot Island and I got out of the boat and walked the beach to relieve my limbs for they had been so long cramped up in the boat that I was in great misery I then retired from the beach a little way and Knelt down to pray and return the lord my sincear thanks for his care that had ben over me for the night before was certainly one of the most unhappy nights I ever Spent in my life and in adition to my bodily Sufferings I Suffered much from feare of being lost in the raging Waters. this was the first time I had the opertunity of retiring Since I left St. Marys it was truly comfortable. I thought of the many congregations now asembled to worship God my mind

turned on St John and the Isle of Patmos and recolected that the Lord was with him on the Lords day then and there - I also could beare witnes to the truthe that the Lord is near those that fear him altho on an Island far from any church or place of worship - I then returned to the boat and took Some refreshment which I had brought with me felt very pleasant and lay down in the boat and went to Sleep & when I awoke I found the boat men had pushed off the boat and lay down in her as I had done and was a Sleep and the boat drifting a long with the Tide I awoke them up and we went round to Capt Houston the Capt was not at holme - but his lady was very kind to us. after Tea I proposed prayer the lady consented but none of them conformed - I Suppose it was the first prayer they had ever heard. I then retired to bed which felt very pleasant after my fatigue-

Mon 7th we Started quite early and after we got under way the young man who caried the mail ast me if it was the custom to kneel down when praying I told them it was in family prayer and with Some denominations of Chrystians in public worship. I took an oportunity of Speaking to them of the necessity and propriety of prayer to God for all his blessings. a little after 9 oclock we came to St Johns Sound a little way a bove the bar we found it very ruff but we was compeld to cross it. we ventured in and Soon found it was dangerous but as we wear oblidged to cross we kept the bow of the boat to the waves which would strike her and fly all over us - at one time when a bout the middle of the Sound I gave up all for lost-but that God who has Said to the Sea thus far Shalt thou come and no farther was with us and brought us Safe to Shoar - at Pablo a little before 11 oclock I then got a horse of Mrs. Duese to ride to the head of the North river Twenty

five Miles for which I had to pay her Six Dollars-I then road to the head of the river by Sunset wher I found a fine old man who lived in St Augustine his name is Giles * he told me he was going to the city in the mail boat I found him a very pleasant companion we had then to wait for the tide untill a bout four oclock the next morning - heare I faired but midling -the only hous was a little hut the body composed of boards & the top coverd with palmeto tops there was no chimney and they bilt up a light in the middle of the floor. my bed was a box a bout three feet long and that Surounded with Sand flies Musketoes Dogs & flees-

[ARRIVAL IN ST. AUGUSTINE]

Tues 8th at or about five oclock in the morning we Started down the North river in a very Small boat we had then about Twenty Five miles to go and about 9 oclock we landed in St Augustine and when I got out of the boat my blood was Stagnated and my limbs So badly cramped that I could hardly Stand. on my landing heare a dream which I had dremped before I started to travil and preach came fresh to my mind alltho I do not know that have thought of it for two years past before-in the dream I thought I was in a place like this and in fact every thing made me think of the dream-I went with Mr Giles to his house and took breakfast and then was conducted by him to Mr Sq Streeters ¹ who appeared glad to See me and Sister Streeter in perticular they welcomed me to their house and told me that they had been trying to get Some place for me to board but had faild but that I could Stay with them a while

* John Gyles was an engraver and kept a repair shop for jewelry, etc.

1. Squire Streeter, merchant at this time, with R. D. Jourolman as partner, he operated a general store under the firm name, S. Streeter & Co. He later served as sheriff.

and if they could board me they would I then was introduced to Judge Penn ² who conducted me to Several familys to whom I had letters of introduction-

Wen 9th Sister Streeter walked out with me and introduced me into Several very fine familys found the people very friendly-

[SAN MARCOS]

Th 10th dined with Dr Guthre ³ his wife is a fine little woman I then returned to Mr Streeters and for the first time administered the ordinance of Baptism to a Child by the name of *Sarah Gereez Green*. ³ in the afternoon Mr Streeter and I walked thre Town and then visited Fort St. Marks this is a very elegant building and very Strong it is built of a kind of Stone formd by nature of a Small Sea Shel which drifts a Shoar on St Anestatia Island in frunt of the city and there Sements into a kind of Stone it is of Such a nature as that Spikes or nails may be drove into it like wood-The Fort is in the following form [diagram of San Marcos] on the top baterys are mounted a great many canon and brass morters-around in the inside there are a great many rooms Suitable for prisons Some of which are so dark that a person cannot See their hand before them without a light and as the fort Stands immediately on the bay the water comes into the canell every high tide which can be Stoped in and keep the canell full of water and then there is a canell from the fort across the Main to the St. Shebastian river which conveys the water all round the City all this helps to Strengthen the place and guard it a gainst an enemy

2. Thomas H. Penn (wife, Elizabeth). At this time he was post-master. He also served as mayor, and county judge.
3. Dr. A. Guthrie. St. Augustine physician. John Green was a baker.

either by land or warter I suppose the fort to be about 350 or 400 feet Square-upon the whole in its establishment there are *wisdom Strength & beauty* combind-and I doubt whether a fortification could be made Stronger than this is I Should suppose it to be about 20 feet high over the gate and in front of it on the outer wall are engraved the Spanish coat of Armes-after takeing the above view I re-
 turnd holme and after tea went to the church or rather council house which was the place for publick worship and preacht with great liberty to a larg and attentive congregation this was pleasing to me.-
 Fr 11th visited Some friends and in the evening was very much afflicted with the tooth ache-this evening and-
 Sat 12th was very Sick-took medison and in the evening felt better-
 Sun 13th preacht twice with usual liberty to good congregations-
 Mon 14th & Tues 15th Spent in writing to my friends-
 Wen 16th attended a Masonic Funeral for the first in the city there are Somethings very Solom in the cerimony-
 Th 17th visited the Fort again with some Gentlemen from Charleston S. C. and Saw a Negro in prison for Murder but as I could not understand him I could have no conversation with him
 Fr 18th imploid in reading & writing

[SEMINOLES]

The Simenole Indians are hear allmost everyday they are undoubtedly the poorest beings I ever Saw their general appearance is in their birthday Suit or in other words Start naked withe the exception of a kind of a Shirt - a bunch of Orange Sticks a few Sticks of wood a racoon and Sometimes a leg of

venison compose the principal part of their merchant dise-

Sun 20th at 11 oclock went to heare parson Fowler ⁴ read prayers and parson Felch read a Sermon at 3 oclock and at early candle light I preacht I am allmost alone as to friends but I can make use of Mr Wesleys moto the Lord is with me-

Mon 21st spent the morning in reading my Bible and the evening in visitting-

Tues 22nd by the mail I received a letter from Father Mother & Brother J. W. G. Jointly dated the 7th instant from which I learnt that Sister Jane was Married to A. F. and that the family were all in good health-wrote to Br J. W. Glenn and Br N. Laney of St. Marys Geo in the evening red a letter from the Revd Mr Frey the converted Jew-

Wen 23rd Spent the morning in reading and prayer found my heart rather Softer than usual in the evening bought a box of candles for the use of the church and preacht at candle light-

Th 24th in the afternoon visited Capt *Erving* for the purpose of trying to make Some arrangements to preach to the Soldiers and alltho with reluctance obtaind his leave to preach to them on the following Sunday-it is with great difficulty at times that I can bear up under the heavy weight which devolves on me heare-but by the grace of God I feel determined never to leave the field until cald by proper authority?

Fr 25th commenced reading Lock on the Mind in the evening heard Parson Felch ⁵ read prayers and a Sermon-

Sat 26th felt very much dejected and my faith very weak as to the Mission but was much comforted in prayer -

4. Rev. Andrew Fowler, missionary at St. Augustine, sent in 1821 by the Young Men's Missionary Society of Charleston.

5. Rev. C. Felch.

Sun 27th preacht in the Baracks to the Soldiers in the morning and was treated in Such a manner that I determind to go, there no more-this morning P. [Parson] Feltch was to have administered the Sacrement of the Lords Supper but because P. Fowler thought the people thought more of P. Feltch than him he wouldnot get the Elements. in the afternoon and evening I preacht in the council chamber with great liberty and gave Parsons Fowler & Feltch a Severe roasting from II Corinthians VI & 17 the former of whome Sat just before me and I believe thought he would Scare me but I felt undanted they bothe beare the name of ministers of the Gospel and go to balls card partys get drunk *and do worse* and then preach to the people that it is no harm and try to prove it from Scripture-and I feel it my duty to defend the faith and practice of the Gospel against Such abuses-I therefore rose in its defence and gave it to the old P. from A to Z-

Mon 28th this morning I felt much comfort and encouragement from the good that appeard in the congregation last evening - I this morning read the Revd. J. Summerfields Sermon in behalf of the Deaf & Dum Institution-it is certainly an eloquent discourse I do not know when I have read any thing which affected my poor heart more-in the afternoon I wrote to Br J. O. Andrew of Savannah-Tues 29th wrote to Br J. Travis of Washington, Geo-I received the box of books I left in St Marys in the Mail boat which cost me Fifty Cents-

Wen 30th my mind is like the troubled Sea at times I can Scarcely keep from despairing about my Mission-Locks opinion on borrowed Sermons Said he-Such borrowed wealth like fairy Money though it ware Gold in the hands of the owner will be but leaves & dust in our use-Lock-

[flourish]

MAY

Th 1st engaged in drawing marks from my Small bible into my large one-

Fr 2nd this is publick fast day this brings to my mind the loss of the friends I was Surrounded with this time last year in Little river Circuit-but heere I am allmost without christian friends-but when I recollect that thousands of prayers are ascending in our behalf It gives me Some comfort-O that the Lord may hear and answer the many private & publick prayers for all mankind and in particular all Missions-

Sat 3rd received 2 letters from Br Elias Sinclair and feel glad to heere he was well and doing well-

Sun 4th preacht twice with zeal and liberty-I feel my Spirits begin to rise a little when I am engaged in publick labours my mind is much easier then any other time

M 5th this morning the Superior Court commenced its cession-

Tues 6th received a letter from Br N. Laney dated 2nd inst-

Wen 7th preacht at night-

Th 8th receivd Some Sconsors [candle sticks] from St Marys for the use of the church which cost me \$2-in the afternoon I attended the Funeral of Colonel Bulow⁶ and by request read the Episcopalian form of Service-

Fri 9th I think my mind is generally more composed then when I first came heere-

Sat 10th receivd a letter from Br N. Laney-
Sun 11th preacht twice and had the attention of the people very well-

Mon. 12th wrote to my friends and in the evening

6. Charles W. Bulow, see *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 230.

visited the people and distributed Some tracts among the Soldiers and comon people-

Tuesday 13th this morning we had the company of Some of our grandees-after they retired Br Smith came to See me-how pleasant the company of religious friends are and especly heare where there are So few-this evening Sister Streeter is quite Sick -

Wen 14th this morning I got Dr. Dwights Theology of Dr. Murray ⁷ and commenced reading them thre -there are five Octavo volumes of about 600 pages each-this evening Governor Duvall ⁸ received a Salute from Fort St Marks by the roar of canon from its top in the evening I preacht as usual-

My R. My established Rules are-

Ist In the morning read and Study my Bible until breakfast and from that until dinner writing, and reading other books and from that until Tea visiting the familys-

IIInd Preach as often as circumstances and ability will permit-

IIIrd In all my visits let the good of Souls be my object-

IIIIt What I heare in one family let it remain there and in particular if it would have a tendency to cause unpleasant feeling to relate it-

Vth be afibly and friendly in all companys and at the Same time guard against levity

-The above rules I intend to persue rigidly while I remain hear with any others I may find necessary-

Th 15th Sr. Streeter is Still very ill-

Fr 16th Sr. Streeter is much better I have Some

7. Dr. Richard Murray, St. Augustine physician and druggist.

8. The second session of the Legislative Council met at this time in St. Augustine. Governor DuVal was in attendance. He lived in St. Augustine both before and for a short time after his terms as governor.

Incouragement two Negro wimin came to me who wish to become members of our church and Some others who have been members of the Baptist Church wished to have Some converSation with me -in the evening Br Smith and I went to See the Black people who had Sent for me in the morning they told us that they had been very much persecuted under the Spanish government Some times they ware whiped Some times put in prison-but that they had held out faithful until this time-they also told us that it was not their wish to Join our church at preasant but that they ware well pleased with my preaching and that they wished to commune with us at our two days meeting-there are eight of them. after Some more conversation I praid with them and we had a feeling time to gether thank God for such acquaintances-

Sat 17th this morning I feel quite unwell I have a Severe pain in my neck and back-

Sun 18th preacht twice as usual in the evening a presbyterian Minister by the name of Lathrop⁹ arrived heare from the North-

Mon 19th formed an acquaintance with Parson Lathrop who arived heare on yesterday he appears to be a fine young man and wares the appearance of a truly pious man and I hope we shall enjoy pleasure in each others company but this is not often the case with us and those Northern preachers but I feel determind to do all I can to promote peace and harmony in our Society - wrote some letters to my friends -

Tuesday 20th this morning I received a letter from my Sister who was lately Married dated the 4th inst. and one from Br Wingfield of Geo dated the 7th-I answerd my Sisters-

9. Rev. Eleazar Lathrop. He organized a Presbyterian Society at this time. The following year he assisted Rev. Wm. McWhir in organizing the first Presbyterian Church.

Wen 21st an other black woman came to see me and wished to join Society. in the evening I preacht and made an appointment for Parson Lathrop on friday evening in the council chamber-

Th 22nd this evening in family prayer I administered the ordinance of Baptism to a Black Woman I am led to hope that much good may be done among the Blacks here. there are Some of them who appear deeply concerned about their Souls-

Fri 23rd this evening acording to my expectations Brthers Turner & Sinclair came into Town and Parson Lathrop fild the appointment I had made for him.

Sat 24th at half past ten oclock Br T. the Presiding Elder preacht and in the evening Brs. T. S. & I visited some of the friends and in company with them visited the Baracks and Fort St Marks and in the evening at early candle light Br S. preacht the people appeared very Serious indeed-

Sun 25th this morning Br. T. preacht and then in the conclusion administered the Sacrement of the Lords Supper there ware 22 comunicants - at 5 oclock Parson L. preacht - at early candle light Br S. preacht the house was crowded in the conclusion Br Turner gave a powerful exhortation an awful and divine Solemnity rested on the congregation and many eyes ware bathed in tears - after the congregation ware dismissed Br T. married a couple in the church -

Mon 26th Brs T. & S. left Town and T. after giving me a very Solom charg conserning my Mission took a very affectionate leave of me Some of the people feel much atatcht to the brethren-

Tues 27th receivd a letter from Father & Mother dated 17th May containing one from Sr Eunice dated 16th May one from Br Purifoy dated 13th

May & one from J. O. Andrew dated 19th May answered the above letters-

Wen 28th in the evening preacht and after I was done some of the wicked Spoke to me and wished me not to Speak so loud and harsh I made no reply to them but feel determind to preach as the Lord gives urtherance and as I am enabled to do consistant with my Strength of body & mind for if I preach as I ought and as I feel determind to do I do not expect to please the wicked and as to their frowns I care not for them my object is to Save Souls and clear my Skirts of their blood-

Th 29th feel very much dejected-

Fr 30th my mind is Still very much depressed and did not visit at all-

Sat 31st I feel very unwell and feel more depression of Spirit then I have for Some Months past I spent allmost all day in reading my Bible and prayer -but Still feel discosolate and Sometimes allmost tented to wish I was out of the world but this is very wrong for we Should be contented in any Station we may be placed or Stationed in life When we are trying to Serve God and get Safe to heaven-

[flourish]

JUNE

Sun 1st this is the first Saboth I have faild attending Church Since I came to Augustine but as I was under the operation of medison all day I was not able to go out-

Mon 2nd this morning I feel better in body and Some in mind - the blacks of this City deserve more credit then all the whites when they ware persecuted they reviled not when afflicted they bore it patiently and when others are afflicted they are ready to administer to their relief an yesterday when they Saw I was not in Church they came to See me and one of

them brought a fowel to make Suip for me - this evening I wrote to Br. J. O. Andrew and J. the F. V. L. of F. M.-

Tue 3rd very rainy last night and this morning which is the first of consequence we have had Since I came here - it is Said to be very Stormy at Sea-
Wen 4th it Still continues to rain and blow-my mind Seames Some easier but Still I feel dejected and long for to meet Some person to whom I could unbosom my Self but here I am as it ware almost a lone - one to whome I can feel a freedom to unbosom my Self if I had it Seames that it would relieve me of the heavy weight that now presses my mind but alas Ive none and must beare it all a lone
O may the Lord help me and enable me to live faithful to God-

Th 5th Still rainy and blustry this evening I administered the ordinance of baptism to two Negro children-

Fri 6th I find that a Sedentary life will not agree with me and unless I take more exercise then I have done for Sometime past my health must and will decline-

Sat 7th I must take more exercise then I have done for time past - it will make against my Studies but it is better to have health to preach what I now know with a little addition then to know more and not be able to preach any at all - therefore I shall alter my manners Some.-

Sun 8th I preacht in the evening to a very attentive congregation with great liberty and it forsed its way to the hearts of Some of the people Some looked Serious while others wepet a loud-this enlivens my feeling-

Mon 9th - Tues 10th received a letter from Sister Stone of Savannah dated 19th May-

Wen 11th preacht in the evening-

Th 12th we have dredful rains and winds-

Fri 13th this evening we had a prayer meeting at Esq Davises ¹⁰ a few attended it being a very disagreeable evening this is the first I have had in the city and *Sister Brown joined Society-*

Sun 15th preacht and baptized a child by the name of Jane Newcumer ¹¹ -

Mon 16th from the conversation of some persons about the Support of Parson L. and myself I think it will require great care to keep our friends from falling out by the way-

Tues 17th receivd a letter from Br A. P. King da. 15 May and one from Brothers Sinclair & Winn of Charleston dated 5th June - answerd Br King's and wrote to Colonel Strong of Lexington and Cousin Sarah M. Callahan - in the evening I went to the barbers and had my hare cut-

Wen 18th preacht on union amongst Christians-

Th 19th heard that the Presbyterians did not like my discours and said they knew of no contention and therefore Saw no need of Such a discourse but the fact is a guilty concience - needes no acuser-

Fr 20th my jaw begins to feel soar - had prayer meeting at night-

Sat 21st wrote to Brothers Gober and Turner my jaw gets worse and is very painful to me-

Sun 22nd Slept but little last night walked the room allmost all night-this morning Sent for Dr. Guthre who came and recomended a poltice and if that faild a plaster of musterd but neither of them relieved me the plaster took off the Skin of my face but all to no purpose walked the room allmost constant - many of my friends came to see me - among

10. Wm. G. Davis owned several tracts of land and other property in town. Trustee of the later Bethel Methodist Church. At this time he was city marshal.

11. John Newcumer lived near Fort Picolata in 1818, and later moved to St. Augustine.

the rest the black people-poor creatures they are very kind to me--continued in a great rack of misery all night-

Mon 23rd this morning Dr. G. came and lanced my jaw which gave me instant relief-and I went to Sleep-how pleasant it is to rest easy after walking the room racked with pain for near two days & nights-in the evening wrote Some letters to my friends-I think the cause of my Suffering was by catching cold by having my hare cut off.

Tues 24th this morning I received a letter from Br J. W. Glenn & one from J. R. Glenn I also received one from Br F. M. Stone as Treasurer of the Young Mens Missionary Society of Savannah Geo Which contained the Sum of Twenty five dollars for my Support all of which I paid over to Mr S. Streeter for my board-answered the above letters-

Wens 25th the Swelling is allmost gone out of my jaw - it Still continues to rain-

Th 26th this morning Mrs Riz ¹² died and left three Infants a few hours old-

Sun 29th baptized a child by the name of *Sarah Elvyra Davis* and preacht at night-

Mon 30th visited Some people who wished to join Society-

[flourish]

JULY

Tues 1st received a letter from Sr Stone and answered it wrote a letter to Brother G. Wingfield-
Wen 2nd wrote a letter to Brs Sinclair and Winn-preacht at night and joined Sister *Arnold* in Society-

Th 3rd Mr Streeter and I got each of us a horse

12. James Riz. In 1824 he was president of the Board of Aldermen. Owned much land around Picolata where he had a boat landing, warehouse, etc.

and rode out to capt Huberts and back 4 miles out of town-this is the first time I have rode a half a mile Since I came heare-

Fri 4th this day and the roar of cannon from Fort St Marks and the vessels in the Harbor brings to my mind our INDEPENDENCE as also the blood of our forefathers that bought it for us-this evening I received five Dollars from the Hon J. L. Smith¹³ and paid the same over to Mr. S. Streeter for board Sun 6th preacht twice and Scored the wicked for dancing-

Mon 7th last evening we had a very sudden Death a black woman apparently well fainted away and expired-this evening for the first time I Joind a couple together in the hold estate of Matrimmony their names were David Ackley and Sarah Huse-Tuesday 8th received a letter from Br & Sr Rowan and answerd it-this evening the friends of Parson Lathrop caled a meeting of their Subscribers for the purpose as they Said to regulate the church-but the fact is it was to turn me out of the preaching house and put him in full possession and then for me and my friends to go where we could-but fortunately for me I had more friends even among their own Subscribers than they and they bore the Sway of the meeting and told his friends that they knew the object of the meeting and therefore more determind never to pay one Sent of the money they had Subscribed to Parson L. this caused much unpleasant feelings in Town-but they Say the cause of all the Stir in Town is becaus I refused to join in their Saboth Schol but they never ast me to join until after they had established it and that in Such a way that I determind to have nothing to do with it.-

13. Mayor of St. Augustine, judge of the Superior Court; father of Gen. Edmund Kirby Smith. -See *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 32.

Fri 11th this is my birthday-this day I am Twenty Four years old-near Six of which I have been trying in my feeble way to Serve the Lord-and about Three years and Seven Months to warn Sinners to flee the Wrath to come-and I can truly Say that I am not weary of either but Still feel bound to prefs onward while I live-but Still I have to lement that I have not lived more faithful then I have-O that my remembrance of my former Slothe may Stir me up to a double dilligence for the future-Tues 15th received a letter from Mr C. Hinds of Geo also the first Six No [numbers] of the Methodist Magazine for this year-and the fourth anual report of the Methodist Missionary Society-my jaw began to pain me again and I went to Dr Guthre and had the Tooth extracted that I thought was the cause of i t -

Th 17th this evening I joind together in the holy estate of Matrimony John Newcummer ¹⁴ & Francis S Morgan bothe of this city-

Fri 18th wrote a letter to Brothers Bangs & Mason of New York-

Sat 19th formed an acquaintance with the *Hon. D. Floid* ¹⁵ one of the land commissioners-I found him to be a real full blood Methodist-

Sun 20th this evening I joind two Black people in Society and baptized them-

Tues 22nd received a letter from Br laney and answerd it and I received one from poor Br Triggs his troubles are great but he is very persevering-and zealous in the cause-

Fri 25th our prayer meeting was very much crowded-

Mon 28th received a letter from Mr W. Smith ¹⁶ the

14. See note 11.

15. David Floyd: U. S. land commissioner for East Florida; treasurer of Territory of Florida.

16. Waters Smith-U. S. Marshal, mayor at this time.

mayor of the city insuring me a right to preach in the court House if thought proper-

Wen 30th formed an acquaintance with the Hon Judge Blair¹⁷ -

Th 31st if we Should fail to get Some provisions we Shall Soon be in a State of Starvation heare-

[flourish]

AUGUST

Fri 1st we are very much anoyed by the ded Fish which float down the river in great abundance and have a very bad Smell - it is Suposed that it is the fresh water which kill them - this day I got threw the old Testament principally before breakfast-
Sat 2nd the Presbyterians have divided the Congregation to their cost - and this evening Sent to me wishing me to make my appointments So as not to interfere with theirs - I told them that they had divided the congregation and for my part I felt under no obligations to them and therefore I Should make Such arrangements as Suited me and they might do the Same-

Sun 3rd we had a good congregation three times to day altho the Presbyterians had Church at the Same times-I now have the Council Chamber to my Self and intend to preach Four times per week viz Sun 1/2 after 10 - 1/2 after 3 & early candle light & on Wensday night-

Mon 4th wrote a long letter to Father & Mother this evening the Presbyterians invited Br Floid and myself to go with them down to the Light House and then return and take Tea at Mr Wallens¹⁸ which we done-this was only done to make up the bearch-

17. William W. Blair : judge Superior Court of Florida; U. S. land commissioner.

18. Elias Wallen, merchant, trustee Presbyterian Church; St. Augustine city tax collector and treasurer.

but that kind of friendship will not do for me-
 Tuesday 5th the Presbyterians are Still trying to
 get me to associate with them-but if I keep in the
 Same mind I am now I Shall have nothing to do with
 them heare any more-

Wen 6th Parson Lathrop very imprudently came
 to See Mrs Streeter about Some observations She
 had made the import of which was that She was de-
 termind never to heare him pray or preach again-
 the inter view was not So pleasant as could have
 been wished-

Fri 8th formd an acquaintance with Parson
 Motte ¹⁹ the Episcopalian Minister who came heare
 yesterday-

Sat 9th this morning we had too arrivals from
 Charleston whic ware haild with joy for we ware
 allmost in a State of Starvation-

Sun 10th Parson Motte preacht for us in the fore-
 noon and I in the evening-

Mon 11th Cap Richardson of St Marys Geo came
 in an brought a letter from Br Laney-This day was
 Six years ago I imbrased religion and I can truly
 Say that I am not weary of this cause or Sorry in
 the least for Starting as Soon as I did my only grief
 is that I did not Start Sooner for I have found the
 path very pleasant-

Tues 12th received a letter from Father & Mother
 one from Sister Eunice allso one from Br A. P.
 King-and answerd the two former-

Wen 13th wrote a letter to Br Laney and one to
 Br Samuel *Hamilton* in Indiana-

Th 14th Br Floid left us to go holme for his fam-
 ily-

Sun 17th preacht three times and went to hear
 Parson Motte once who preaches in the court house
 with Parson L.-

19. Rev. Mellish J. Motte, missionary.

Mon 18th wrote a letter to Br. J. O. Andrew of Savannah Geo-and one to A. P. King Geo. received Three dollars from Mr Mrs. Smith for my Support-

Th 21st received a letter from Br Laney-

Fri 22nd felt quite unwell all day but in the evening held a prayer meeting. by the preasent arangement I preach four times per week and hold prayer meetings on one friday night at Mr Streeters and the next at Mr Davises and Sometimes on Thursday night at Mr Du Boses-

Sun 24th felt more comfortable in prayer this evening than I have for Some time past-how pleasant the communion with God-this evening in the time of preaching many appeard very Solom-

Tues 26th received a letter from Br & Sr Rowen and one from G. Wingfield and wrote to Br & Sr Rowan and Br Laney-

Wen 27th visited Dr Hall who is very ill and found he felt alarmed about his Situation I Spint Some time with him and then prayed with and for him-

Th 28th visited Dr. Hall again and found him better in body-how apt we are to forget promices and good resolutions made on Sick beds-

Sat 30th went down to the beach and got dredfully Sun burnt returnd and borded the Sloop John Henry of Savannah and found my box of Books from new York -

Sun 31st Parson M. preacht for us in the fore noon and I in the afternoon and night with my usual zeal and liberty-

[flourish]

SEPTEMBER

Mon 1st - Tuesday 2nd I received a letter from Br & Sr Golier [?] and answerd it wrote one to Br J. O. Andrew-one to Sr Sturn [?] & one to Br A. Turner

the P. E. of the [?] 29th August which hurt my feelings very much indeed I think at that time he had lost those tender ties which Should ever bind him to me and every other man and in particular his junior preachers-

Th 4th I answerd the above letter of Br A. Turners in as plain and candid a maner as I was capable of-

TREATY OF FORT MOULTRIE

Sat 6th the Treaty with the Floriday Indians commenced to day in the morning Capt Wm Levingston²⁰ his wife and Daughter Mr & Mrs. Streeter and my Self went up to Moultry the place of holding the Treaty in a very comfortable Boat-acompanied by many other gentlemen and Ladies in other Boats-a little after we landed the Indians came from their Camps to the Commissioners Camp to Salute the Commissioners & hold their first talk this was quite Novel-the Indians came in a body with a White Flag flying-beating a little thing Similar to a Drum and Singing a kind of a Song and at the end of every appearant verse one of them gave a Shrill hoop-which was Succeeded by a loud and universal Scream from them all-in this way they marched up to the Commissioners-when two of them in their birth day Suit and painted all over white with white Sticks in their hands and feathers tied on them-came up to them (viz the Commissioners) and made many marks on them-then their King Nehlemathla came forward and Shook hands and after him all the chiefs in rotation-after which the King Smoked his pipe and then observed that he considerd us gentlemne as Fathers and Brethren and the Ladies as

20. William Levingston, formerly of Charleston, member of first Board of Pilotage. At this time (1823) he operated the Union Hotel. This was probably the coquina house, later known as the Worth house, which he purchased in 1817.

Mothers and Sisters the Commissioners then conducted the chiefs into the bark Hous they had bilt to hold their talk in and after they had all Smoked together they held their first Talk - in the evening we returned to Town and as the Governor was unwell he came with us-

Sun 7th I preacht as usual and joind one Negro in Society-

Tues 9th I received a letter from Br Travis & one from Br Laney also one from Br J. W. Glenn and answerd it-This day for the first time in my life I was cald on to be qualified before a Justice of the Peace-and give testimony in a case of An-asault and batery of which I knew nothing at all more than just the report in the City-

Wens 10th Paid Mr S. Streeter Ten dollars five in cash and a Bible at five-felt unwell and before going to bed took Some medison-

Th 11th this morning I took Some more medison and at 12 oclock took Still more without any effect only to make me very Sick at 6 oclock took Some more which had the desired effect-

Fri 12th Still unwell and took more medison continued unwell all day-

Sat 13th much better but Still weak-

Sun 14th this morning we had Two Deaths in Town Dr Wm Mcroskey ²¹ & Mr Cashen bothe in about 2 Hours and it is Said bothe of them by intemperance-what a pity-what a pity-as young a man as Dr Mcy Should So far for get humanity (he was 22) I preacht twice and attended his funeral
 Mon 15th wrote to Brothers J. Travis & T. Grant
 Tues 16th visited Mrs Chairs who is very Sick and prayed with and for her-

21. Dr. William McCloskey, from Pennsylvania, resident physician and president St. Augustine City Board of Health.

Wen 17th I feel very well again-visited Mrs C. and found her better-

Th 18th visited Mr DuBose whose wife Shewed me one of her Sons which She Said when he was a child had two purple balls one on each Side of the pallet of his mouth cut out and then Seard with a hot Iron -this relation made the cold chills run over me-

Fri 19th visited Some Sick friends-the American part of the population are generally quite healthy-felt comfort in prayer Meeting this evening-

Sun 21st preacht three times as usual-

Mon 22nd cloudy and threatens a gail at Sea this evening a larg Schooner made her appearance close of the Barr just before dark I fear She will be lost in the Gale-wrote to Br Sinclair-

Tues 23rd received a letter from Br D. Grant and answerd it the gale continues-

Wen 24th the Gale gets worse and worse and no news of the above named vessel-

Th 25th the gale Seames like Subsiding-

Fr 26th quite calm-this evening we had a comfortable time in prayer Meeting-

Sat 27th this morning it threatens a gail a gain-I felt comforted in prayer this evening-

Sun 28th this morning before church I Baptized Mr Gary's five children viz -*Emely-Harriet-Samuel-Elizabeth & Margaret Gary* - preacht as usual

Tues 30th received a letter from Br J. R. Glenn and answerd it and wrote one to Uncle J. C.-This evening I attended and acted as Chaplain to the Masonic Burial of Dr Wm. Robinson of this City and after the Masonic cerimonys Parson Lathrop concluded the Service by a Prayer-

[flourish]

O C T O B E R

Wen 1st This day was two years ago I was taken with the fever for the first time in my life-this day is very Stormy-

Fr 3rd wrote to Br Stone of Savannah-

Sun 5th preacht as usual and in the evening baptized a black man by the name of Jack who joined our Society hear-

Wen 8th felt much revived at preaching

Sun 12th performed the dutys of the day as usual and in the evening while I was preaching a black woman Shouted a loud it Seamed to frighten the people - I Suppose it was the first time any one Shouted here:

Mon 13th from the good that appeared in the congregation last evening I feel encouraged, and very comfortable in my own Soul-

Tues 14th wrote to Father-

Sat 18th went in company with Messrs Loring & DuBose and their familys down to the Light house and Spent the day-

Sun 19th performed the dutys of the day as usual. to the great joy of the catholicks they had a priest to arive here this morning and preach this evening
Mon 20th I understand the Catholic priest is endeavoring to put a Stop to the use of the Testaments & Tracts which we have distributed among them- and I fear he will Succeede too well-for the catholicks are So completely duped by their priests that they will comply with any demand he may please to make of them-

Tues 21st this morning I received an other of Br A. Turners unfeeling and unchristian letters and I cincearly hope it will be the last production of his pen I shall ever See unless he alters his Stile very much-therefore as I do not wish any more of his

I have determind to write no more to him wrote to
Br Laney-and joined the Bible Society-

Wens 22nd this evening I preached from II Cor-
inth V & 1 with uncomon Liberty-

Fri 24th one of our citizens died this morning a
Mr A. Meal-the Spaniards are very Superstitious
and Singular in their manner of burying their dead
-in the first place they lay them out on the floor and
have from Six to Twelve lights burning round them
day and night untill they are removed to the church
and thence to the grave-and those of them who have
been very bad they leave the lights burning round
the place where they ware laid out for a certain
length of tim which the priest fixes upon. the lights
are to light them as they Say threw Purgatory-at
the expiration of the fixed time the bells toal for the
dead and then the preast goes to the church and
reads Some Latin prayers and then pronounces
them Safe threw Purgatory and landed Safe in the
Paredice a bove-

Sat 25th this morning I attended the funeral of
Mr A. Meal who was buried by the Priest in all the
catholick formes and during the cerimony he en-
devored to defend the use of the Latin languag in
the Church the belief of Purgatory and the Practice
of praying for the dead as also praying to Saints-
but his arguments ware very deficient in every re-
spect-this evening I received \$2.62 1/2 cts from the
Blacks -

Sun 26th I performed the dutys of the day with as
much zeal as usual-I felt my poor Soul greatly
comforted this evening-

Mon 27th I received one dollar from the Blacks-
Wen 29th Mrs Burgoss died this day-

Th 30th attended the funerall of the above de-
ceased who was cald the mother of the Church and
was buried with great Solemnity-the Catholicks

are certainly the most profoundly ignorant people in this continent they have a great many Images in the church-and what is worse then all is in one corner is represented the Souls of those in Purgatory and under this representation is an Iron box caled the Charity box-in the top of it is a Small hole just larg enough to admit a doubloon or a dollar in which is put the money which is to redeem them from Purgatory-

Fri 31st visited the Sick-
[flourish]

NOVEMBER

Sat 1st-Sun 2nd preacht as usual and in the evening the Hon Brother Floid and his wife arrived from Indiana-

Mon 3rd this morning I received a letter from N. Bostick and answered it-

Tues 4th received a letter from Father & Mother which gave the pleasing intelgence that Br J. W. Glenn had gave his hand to join Society-I answerd the above letter-I also received one from Br N. Laney and answerd it-it containd an account of the Marriag of Five of our preachers viz:

The Sollid & Serious J. Dunmoody

The Mild & Steady J. Reynolds

The Persevering T. L. Winn

The Powerful E. Sinclair &

The Bold & Intripid P. L. Wade

all have lately fallen by the matrimonial Sword-Oh how the might fallen alas, alas-how are the ranks of the Single preachers thinned and while these are Slain I feare many more are Mortally wounded and to add if possible to the Horrows of the Scean in the case of Bro. Wade his antagonist being Fifty & Five and her palsied hand not being able to Point the dagar to his heart-this noble and

experienced Commandres cald to her assistance one Hundred of the Formidable Sons of Africa Oh alas how fatal-

Wen 5th I visited the prison and the Spanish prisoner who is charged with Murder-who allways has seemed glad to See me after I had told him that I expected his tryal would come on to day and went to take my leave of him he imbraced me in his arms prest me to his breast and took a very affectionate leave of me I was Sencibly affected by it-

Sun 9th the congregation appeard very Serious-Tues 11th I received a letter from A. P. King one from J. C. Talbot and one from Brother J. W. Glenn in which he informed me that he had turned his back on the world and Started for Heaven this intelligence delighted my poor Soul beyond any thing that has reached my eares Since heare I have been and my happy Soul can give vent to this joy only by giving the glory and prayers to God on high I answerd the latter-

Mon 17th answered Brs Kings and Talbots letters Tues 18th I received a letter from Sister M. A. Stone also Three new Linning Shirts answerd the above letter-

Th 20th the Governor W. P. Duval left our city and gave me Ten Dollars towards my Support-Fri 21st this evening in prayer Meeting the power of the Lord came upon me and I spoke with the power and demonstration of the Spirit and the people appeard to feel awful in deed-

Sun 23rd I preacht but twice but in the evening we had a very larg congregation and I preacht with my usual Liberty-

Tues 25th I received the Magazine for this Month -the Second anual report of the South Carolina anual conferance Missionary Society-a letter from Br Laney-and one from Sister E. Glenn which

gave the pleasing intelligence that my Br J. W. Glenn and his wife had bothe joind Society on the fourth instant-

Fri 28th visited the black friends and performed the funeral Service over a black child-

Sun 30th I preacht as usual-my mind is like the troubled Sea Some times I feel pleasant and at others quite dejected-

[flourish]

DECEMBER

Mon 1st wrote to Sister E. Glenn-

Tues 2nd wrote a letter to Br N Laney and one to Br J. O. Andrew of Savannah-

Sun 7th preacht as usual-

Tues 9th received a letter from Father & Mother and one from Br & Sr Rowan-

Sun 14th preacht with usual liberty-

Wens 17th in the evening I preacht a Sermon preparatory to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper from I Corinthians XI & 29th--

Th 18th this evening I expected Br Turner and Several other preachers in Town but they have not come as yet-

Fri 19th This day is observed by us as a day of fasting and prayer at 1/2 after 10 oclock this morning I preached-and at the close administerd the ordiance of Baptism to Sister S. Broon-in the evening Brothers Turner & Laney came into Town and preached to a large and Serious congregation-

Sat 20th our congregations ware larg and Some little omioms for good appeard in them-

Sun 21st this morning I baptised four of Mr John DuBose's children (viz) Margaret Lidia-Elizabeth Peck-James Lawrence-& William Lewis DuBose at 9 oclock we met to hold (I presume to say) the

first Love Feast that was ever held in St Augustine and a love feast indeed it was to our Souls-there were not very many who came in but nearly all of those who did Spoke freely of the goodness of God to their Souls those who had religion told it and those who had not were not ashamed to tell their good desires and determinations-and while thus engaged the Lord visited us in great mercy-his love flowed into our Souls and Shouts of praise filled the house and the Sound was heard a far off-and Glory to God I feel this morning that my poor but happy Soul is on the way to heaven I hardly ever felt better in my life-one poor african got up and after telling how he was brought a way from his country and how he had got on Since and the way he first came to hear me preach as also the maner of his conviction & conversion all of which he done in a few words-he then added and now if my Massa would give me my freedom and all Augustine I would not turn back from my religion-and then he made a very humble request for an interest in our prayers Glory to God for his unmerited goodness to us I hardly knew how to contain my Self my very Soul responds Glory Glory to God forever-in the close of love feast the people collected and Br L. preacht to a Serious and well disopsed congregation about 2 oclock in the afternoon I Baptized Tenn Black by Imersion-which was the first time I ever administered baptism or Saw it administerd by immersion-at 1/2 after 3 oclock Br T. preacht and at the close administerd the Sacrament of the Lords Supper to Forty Eight comunicants we had a feeling time and also at night again-
Mon 22nd this morning at Sun rise Br T. preacht to a good congregation-about 9 oclock the Brethren left Town and I went with them about 12 miles and Br T. and I had Some conversation on the Subject of

the letters which had passed bewene us he Seamed, to be much milder on the Subject then he was whene he wrote to me-but Stated that I might expect it to be agitated in conferance again I left them and returned to Town and felt quite unwell in the evening-

Tues 23rd I received a letter from Br. J O. Andrew and answerd it - I still feel very unwell-

Wnen 24th this evening I preached my hundredth Sermon in this city-and then Joind Wm Allen & Ann Simpson together in the Holy estate of Matrimony-and baptized Polly Mcray & Wm Simpson-

Th 25th Christmas Day I feel quite unwell this morning and took Some medison but still continued quite Sick all day and did not go out of the yard at all to day-

Fri 26th had a considerable head ache to day but in the evening held prayer meeting-

Sat 27th walked in the procession of the Masonick celebration of St Johns Day-

Sun 28th held class meeting and had a feeling time and preacht as usual-

Mon 29th I wrote a letter to the *Revd Bangs & Mason* of New York & one to Br *Travis*-

Tuesday 30th I received a letter from Br J. W. *Glenn* and answerd it I also received one from Br F. M. *Stone* of Savannah Treasurer of the young Mens Missionary Society-containing \$25 for my Support which I paid over to Mr S. Streeter and answerd his (Br Stones) letter-

Wen 31st I preacht this evening as usual and then went to Mr Beals and administered the ordinance of baptism to his daughter by the name of *Sarah Ann Beal* this was the last public duty I performed in 1823-My mine is now led to reflect for a moment on the many Signal favours and blessings I have been the happy partisipant of during the year that is

now come to a final close alltho I have been deprived of the company of my former friends and nearly all my earthly comforts yet the Lord has been a Sun & a Shield to me and I Still feel determind to try and Spend the remnant of my days in his Service-O may my heart ever glow with gratitude to God for the past and faithfully trust him for the Future-

[flourish]

End of 1823

[surrounded by flourish]

J. N. GLENN

[surrounded by flourish]

Those Baptized by me J. . N. . Glenn in A. . D. . 1823

No.	The Date of Baptism		The Age of Subject
1	Apri 10, 1823	Sarah Terecy Green 1	
2	Jun 15	Jane Newcummer	3
3	Jun 29	Sarah Elvyrah Davis	1
4	July 12	Mary Ann Mcray	1 6/12
5	Sep 28	Emely Garey	7
6		Sep 28 Harriet Garey	5 6/12
7	Sep 28	Samuel Garey	4
8	Sep 28	Elizabeth Garey	2 6/12
9	Sep 28	Margaret Garey	1
10	Dec 19	Susannah Brown	35
11	Dec 21	Margaret Lydia DuBose 8	
12	Dec 21	Elizabeth Dick DuBose	5
13	Dec 21	James Lawrence DuBose	5
14	Dec 21	William Lewis DuBose	6/12
15	Dec 24	Polly Mcray 28	
16	Dec 24	William Simpson	3
17	Dec 31	Sarah Ann Beal	2/12
18	Jan. 18, 1824	Robert Waterson	1/12

No.	Date of Baptism	Blacks Names	Age	Owners Names
1	May 22	Hannah	45	Burnell's-Penns Jan 18
2	June 5	Hariette Ann Roberts	4	Garey's-Gildy-12
3	June 5	Sarah Ann Roberts	2	Garey's-Moses 10
4	July 20	Monday 40		Smith's-Betty
5	July 20	Beckey	30	Smith's
6	Oct 5	Jack	30	Smith's-Free Jan 18
7	Oct 22	Tyrah 28		DuBose'es-Ann-20
8	Dec 21	Adam	40	Cook's

DIARY OF JOSHUA NICHOLS GLENN

1 5 9

No.	Date at Baptism 1823	Blacks Names	Age	Owner's Names
9	Dec 21	Amy	25	Cook's
10	Dec 21	Hyder	20	Campbell's
11	Dec 21	Harry	30	Campbell's
12	Dec 21	John	25	Campbell's
13	Dec 21	Cloe	45	Campbell's
14	Dec 21	Judy	20	Smith's
15	Dec 21	Lucy	40	Ferrah's
16	Dec 21	Nancy	30	Ferrah's
17	Dec 21	Romannah	25	Ferrah's
	18' 24			
18	Jan 11	Jacob	3	Ferrah's
19	Jan 18	Aley		DuBose's
20	Jan 18	Polly	14	Du Boses
21	Jan 18	Isaac	10	DuBoses

Marriages Solomnized by me in A. D. 1823

No.	Date of Marriage		Place of Residence
1	July 7	David Ackley ²² To Sally Hughes	St. Augustine
2	July 17	John Newcummer ²³ To Francis S. Morgan	St. Augustine
3	Dec 24	William Allen To Ann Simpson	St. Augustine

Funeral Services Performed by me in A. D. 1823

No.	Date of Burial		Where Buried
1	May 8	Colonel Charles W. Bulow ²⁴ The Masonic of	St. Augustine
2	Sep 3 0	Dr. William Robinson	St. Augustine

Monies received for my Support in St Augustine 1823

Date of Receipt *		\$	cts
June 24, 1823	From the Young Mens Missionary S'y of Savanah	25	00
June 24	From Mr. M. E. Levy ²⁵ of this City	4	00
July 4	From Hon. J. L. Smith of this City		5 00
Aug 20	Do Mr. William Smith of this City		3 00

22. David Ackly, sgt. 4th Regiment stationed in St. Augustine.

23. See note 11.

24. See note 6.

25. Father of David Levy Yulee and one of the largest land owners in Florida.

Monies received for my Support in St. Augustine 1823

Date of Receipt		\$	cts
Nov 1	Do Mr. J. Y. Garey ²⁶	5	00
Dec 1	Do Mr. S. Streeter	5	00
Dec 3	Do Mr. J. M. Hanson ²⁸	5	00
Dec 23	Do Mr. W. R. Tabor ²⁷	5	00
Dec 23	Do Mr. W. . Levinston	5	00
Dec 23	Do Mr. W. G. Davis	5	00
Dec 30	Do The Young Men's Missionary S'y of Savannah	25	00
Dec 30	Do Mr. R. . Loring ²⁸ of this city	3	00
Dec 30	Do The Blacks	12	00
Janu 6th 1824	Do The Revd A. Turner The P. E.	2	00
Jan 10th 1824	Do Mrs. E. Penn of this city	13	00
Jan 13	Do The Hon. Wm. P. Duval of this city	10	00
Jan 13	Do Mr. R. D. Jourolman ²⁹ of this city	5	00
Jan 19	Do Mr. J. . Drydel ³⁰ Esq of this city	5	00
Jan 19	Do Mr. Wm. G. Davis of this city	2	00
Jan 19	Do Mr G. W. Perpall ³¹ of this city	2	00
Jan 19	Do Mr A. . Stoars ³² of this city	2	00
Jan 19	Do Mr J. P. Cotter ³³ of this city	4	00
		168	00

Monies received for my Support in St. Augustine 1824

Date of Receipt 1824		\$	cts
	The amount Brought up	168	50
Jan 19	From Mr. J. . DuBose of this city	5	00
Jan 19	" The Blacks of this city	8	00
Jan 19	" Mag Ben Chairs ³⁴ of this city	5	00

26. John Y. Garey, at this time was auditor of the Territory of Florida. J. M. Hanson was a shop keeper in 1823.
27. William R. Tabor, alderman in 1823.
28. Reuben Loring, from North Carolina, contractor and builder. Father of Gen. W. W. Loring.
29. Robert D. Jourolman, merchant. In 1823 a partner of S. Streeter, but partnership dissolved that year. Previously he kept a book and stationery store.
30. John Drysdale, attorney, alderman in 1823, county judge, public administrator.
31. Gabriel W. Perpall, member of Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida at this session (1823).
32. Andrew Storrs, tavern keeper, administrator.
33. James P. Cotter, established classical school this year.
34. Benjamin Chaires, at this time a resident of St. Augustine and president of the Board of Aldermen. Later moved to Middle Florida where he was prominent in many activities.

DIARY OF JOSHUA NICHOLS GLENN 161

Monies received for my support in St. Augustine, 1824

Date of Receipt		\$	cts
Jan 19	" Dr. R. . Murray of this city	2	00
Jan 19	" Mr. D. Fleshman ³⁵ of this city	10	00

Monies Paid Mr. S. Streeter for my Board in St. Augustine 1823

Time of Payment		\$	cts
June 24, 1823	Per The Young Men's Missionary Society of Savannah	25	00
July 4	Per The Hon. J. L. Smith of this city	5	00
Sept 10	Per a Bible and cash	10	00
Novem 1	Per Mr. J. Y. Garey of this city	5	00
Dec 1	Per Mr S. . Streeter of this city	5	00
Dec 3	Per Mr J. M. Hanson of this city	5	00
Dec 23	Per Mr W. R. Tabor of this city	5	00
Dec 23	Per Mr. W. . Levingston of this city	12	25
Dec 23	Per Mr. W. G. Davis of this city	5	00
Dec 26	Per The Blacks of this city	2	00
Dec 30	Per The Young Men's Missionary Society of Savannah	25	00
Dec 30	Per Mr. R. . Loring—of this city	3	00
Jan 6th 1824	Per The Revd. A. Turner The P. E.	20	00
Jan 10th 1824	Per Mrs E. Penn of this city	3	00
Jan 13	Per The H.n Wm P. Duval of this city	10	00
Jan 13	Per Mr. R. D. Jourlman of this city.	10	50
Jan 19	Per Mr. J. . Drydel Esq of this city	5	00
Jan 19	Per Mr G. W. Perpall of this city	2	00
Jan 20	Per The Blacks of this City	6	25
The full amount paid Jan 20th 1824		164	00

My Traveling Expenses for the year 1823

The different charges Specified	\$	cts
To Ferriag	12	1/2
To Lodgeing	1	25
To Ferriag	25	
To Hack Stable in Savannah	6	00
To Passage from Savanah to St Marys	10	00
To Passage from St Marys to St Augustine	14	00
To One Box of Candles	10	00
To Six Sconcers for the Church-at 25 a piece.....	1	50
To Freight for Sconcers—from St Marys-	50	
To Passage from St Augustine to Charleston	10	50
To Freight of one Box of Books	62	1/2

35. Dirk Fleischman (wife Elizabeth) merchant, cigar maker, owned a number of houses in St. Augustine.

A TIMELY FLORIDA BIBLIOGRAPHY

Since the last issue of the *Quarterly* there has been published "*Recommended Readings for the Florida Centennial*, by A. J. Hanna. A standard guide to the best books on Florida with helpful explanations and critical evaluations. [Imprint:] Union Catalog of Floridiana, Winter Park, Florida."

Telling of its "Purpose," Dr. Hanna writes : "Selected and arranged primarily for the student and general reader, *Recommended Readings for the Florida Centennial* is designed not only to suggest the best that has been written on Florida, and thus serve as a reference work of permanent value; its purpose is, also, to create keener appreciation of the century of statehood and to stimulate broader interest in Florida's background of more than four centuries."

The author lists eight volumes as indispensable *Florida, Land of Change*, by Kathryn T. Abbey; William Bartram's *Travels*. . . .; *Diplomacy and the Borderlands* by P. C. Brooks; *Florida, A Guide to the Southernmost State*, edited by Carita Doggett Corse ; *British West Florida*, by Cecil Johnson ; *Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, by Albert C. Manucy; *Florida During Territorial Days*, by S. W. Martin, and *East Florida as a British Province 1763-1784*, by Charles H. Mowat. Each of these is described in one or two paragraphs, suggesting why they are indispensable. Nearly one hundred fifty others are listed and classified by subjects: biography, children's books, conservation, description, education, exploration, fiction, industries, Inter-American relations, nature, regional and local, settlement, sports, war and reconstruction, maps, newspapers, periodicals, state and Federal publications. These have a descriptive line or a paragraph each.

The whole covers sixty-three pages. Copies may be obtained from the Union Catalog of Floridiana, Rollins College, Winter Park. Paper copies are fifty cents, cloth-bound are one dollar. Proceeds from the sale will be devoted to the development of the Union Catalog of Floridiana.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

WATT P. MARCHMAN

Many members have inquired of our librarian and secretary Watt Marchman, and without a doubt many more have wondered how and where he is. He writes now from near Bremen, and you may be sure he is eager to get home.

So many of the members are his good friends and so many more would be if they had a chance, that a personal word or two from him here is far from amiss. He writes: "I know you are wondering how soon we can be calling this quits and get home. That is something that cannot be answered with any degree of assurance at this time. However, I can say this: that I am not to be included in the army of occupation. With nearly two years overseas and nearly three years in the service I think that I should be returned to the States before the winter is over. Whether my return will be soon or towards the latter part of redeployment is something I cannot say. . . . The Army has certainly been an experience that one can never forget-sort of like a nightmare in a way-but even so I've been fortunate in many ways. I'm still healthy and am all here still. . . . I visited the magnificent Welsh National Museum in Cardiff. They have the last word in effective display. The building and much of its funds were American. Wales is a very interesting and friendly country. On V-E day I happened to be in London on travel orders and saw the celebration with a glimpse of the King and Queen. Have had a day sightseeing in Paris-What a city. Have been to Aachen, Cologne, Essen and others. The war wreckage is unbelievable ; but the little town near Bremen where I am stationed now has only a few minor scars from the war. I'm billeted very com-

fortably in a first class German home taken by the Army-luxury after months of a rough life, with a radio in my room. . . . I'm proud of the excellent work Mrs. Johnson has been doing. Remembrances to all inquiring friends."

KENNETH I. MCKAY

Kenneth I. McKay, of Tampa, elected a director of the Society from the 1st Congressional District at the annual meeting last year, died on August 6. His interest in Florida's history was well founded, for his grandparents came to the little village of Tampa one hundred years ago next year.

Mr. McKay was a lawyer with wide business and legal interests beyond the State, but he will be remembered more for his part in community activities, principal of which at the time of his death was as chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Tampa and as chairman also of its Endowments Corporation, which indicate his interest and large part in the promotion of education and culture in his home city.

NEW MEMBERS

Charles E. Hartley, St. Cloud. (contributing member).

Sgt. E. W. McMullen Jr., Washington, D. C. (contributing member).

George R. Coslow, U.S.A., Miami Beach.

J. S. Denham, Wilmington, Delaware.

Mae Himes, West Palm Beach.

Harold L. Summers, Honolulu, Hawaii.

William Proctor, Bar Harbor, Maine.

University of Tampa Library, Tampa.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Mrs. Dorothy Parker, a daughter of W. W. Dewhurst, author of *History of St. Augustine*, has given our library a number of valuable volumes from her father's library, as follows :

Journal of the Legislative Council (Florida) 10th session 1832
 Journal of the Senate, (Florida) Adjourned session 1855
 Journal of the House of Representatives (Florida) 1868
 Letter of D. Levy to the People of Florida Relative to the Admission of Florida into the Union.
 Fernando Underwood, Administrator of Jehu Underwood vs. the United States, 1849
 Final Decree, J. H. Brush vs. Ichabod Prall. Partition of the Alachua Grant, 1849
 Journal Constitutional Convention (Florida) 1885
 Acts and Resolutions, (Florida) 7th session, 1874
 Acts and Resolutions, U. S. Congress : 24th Cong. 1836; same 27th Cong.; same 29th Cong.; same 30th Cong.; same 37th Cong.
 Harper's Magazine, vols. 5-19, 48, 51-55, 72-75

Additional Stories of the Florida Marines
 Recommended Readings for the Florida Centennial by A. J. Hanna. Gift of the author
 Photograph, Toco railway train. Gift of R. A. Speissegger
 Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Translated by E. W. Lawson, 54 typed pages.
 Ormond Beach Riding Academy score card. 1892. Gift of W. A. Gibson.
 Proceedings of the Florida Academy of Sciences. 11 vols. 1936-1944.
 Marshaling Florida's Resources, Charles T. Thrift (ed.) Lakeland, 1945
 Southern Reporter. Centennial edition.
 Florida Place Names of Indian Origin, by W. A. Read, 1934
 American Quarterly Review, 1827. Article relating to Florida.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Joseph B. Lockey is Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles. This *Quarterly* has published several of his contributions.
W. T. Cash is Florida State Librarian.
T. Frederick Davis, historian of Jacksonville, has contributed numerous articles to this *Quarterly*, including our Ponce de Leon number.