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St. Augustine, Florida

DIEGO PENA'S EXPEDITION TO APALACHEE
AND APALACHICOLO IN 1716

A JOURNAL TRANSLATED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION

by **MARK F. BOYD**

Prior to the settlement of Charles Town in 1670, the Spanish, through the mission reductions, dominated many of the southeastern Indian tribes. Although the mission Indians generally accepted the discipline imposed, several revolts against Spanish rule nevertheless occurred, the suppression of which doubtless produced many malcontents. Furthermore the Spanish regarded the English settlement of Carolina as an encroachment on Spanish territory, although evidently not unwelcome by Indians who had become hostile to the Spaniards.

In Spanish eyes, Florida, being devoid of precious metals, was unproductive and lacking in commercial opportunities. The settlements were regarded as military outposts protecting the route of the *flota*, and were not self-supporting, being maintained by a subsidy. Their insignificant Indian trade largely dealt with provisions to supplement the meager and irregular supplies received from abroad. On the other hand, the English settlements, of necessity had to become self-supporting and render a profit to the mother country. The English settlers consequently soon developed an active trade with the Indians through which their influence rapidly expanded. Although finally largely becoming based on deer skins, the English nevertheless encouraged their adherents to engage in active warfare with other tribes, particularly those supporting the Spanish, with whom they developed an extensive trade for captives, who were thereafter held in slavery. These hostilities intensified after 1680, through raids on mission settlements in Guale and Timucua. Firearms became an important item

This is a contribution from the Florida Park Service. The annotations to the journal largely deal with identification of sites on those portions of the route which traverse areas represented on the quadrangle sheets of the U. S. G. S. Dr. John R. Swanton has very kindly reviewed the translation of the journal, and has supplied a few annotations distinguished with his initials.

of their commerce, giving their adherents an important advantage over their opponents, as the Spanish were reluctant to supply Indians with these weapons. The aggressive English traders soon brought the ever expanding radius of their operations into contact with Indians who hitherto had been little subject to Spanish influence, with likely a consequent intensification of intertribal hostilities. This the Spanish sought to counteract by extending their own penetration into the interior, in particular along the Chattahoochee river. With French penetration to the Gulf Coast, the struggle became tripartite, although after the succession of the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish throne, the French and Spanish usually presented a common front to the English.

Thus the Spanish attempted to forestall the English among the Indians living on the Chattahoochee river, known to them as Apalachicolas, by efforts to effect their conversion in 1679 and 1681. These were unsuccessful, although some converts were congregated at the mission of Santa Cruz de Sabacola near the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers. The Spanish apprehensions were justified when Dr. Henry Woodward, the noted English emissary to the Indians, finally penetrated to these villages in 1685. Learning of his presence, the deputy governor of Apalachee, Antonio Matheos, led two expeditions to the Apalachicolas in the same year, but failed to apprehend the doctor and the traders in his company. Although Woodward eluded him, he received the submission of eight towns, and burnt four others, Coweta, Kasihta, Tuskegee and Kolomi, which were recalcitrant.

Three later expeditions in as many years could not dissuade the Indians from their inclination to English trade. Then in 1689 the Spanish built a block-house near Coweta where a garrison was maintained until 1691, when exigencies in St. Augustine required withdrawal of the small force. The fort failed of its purpose, as the presence of the garrison and memories of the burning

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of the villages impelled the Indians to leave the Chat-tahoochie and move nearer to the English. They settled on the banks of the upper Ockmulgee river, which from the name by which these Indians were known to the English, was called Ochese Creek, from which they came to be known as Creeks.

The erstwhile Apalachicola probably did not require much incitement to intensify their raids on the Florida mission settlements. These nearly continuous hostilities in which the Indians were not only the chief participants but also the principal sufferers, were intensified at times when their European sponsors were engaged in open warfare. This intensification was notable during the War of the Spanish Succession or Queen Anne's War (1701-1714), terminated by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt. Thus St. Augustine was unsuccessfully besieged in 1702 by Governor Moore of South Carolina, who to retrieve his prestige and weaken St. Augustine, led a devastating raid into Apalachee in 1704. Further raids followed in this and succeeding years, until by 1708, except for the garrison towns of St. Augustine and Pensacola, Florida was practically depopulated.

Depopulation, however, did not wholly result from slaughter, but from enforced emigration of the vanquished from Florida. Ever since the initial raids into Guale, the Carolinians, aided by a spirit of disaffection in the mission Indians, had been developing a policy of relocating those tribes they had come to dominate on the southern periphery of the colony, as a barrier to Spanish counterattacks. The first extensive relocation was that of the Yamassees, who prior to 1707 had been induced to leave Guale and settle along the coast north of the Savannah river. Other groups, among which the Apalachee were notable, were obliged to settle on the south side of this river adjacent to Savannah Town. For the remaining period of Queen Anne's War, Carolina appeared to be secure from Spanish aggression.

The English, however, did not continue indefinitely to enjoy the confidence of these relocated Indian groups.

English encroachments onto the reserved Indian lands, coupled with gross abuses inflicted by the traders, aroused a resentment which smouldered until it burst into sudden and unexpected flame in 1715 in what is known as the Yamasee War. Although at the time it was widely believed this rising was instigated by the Spanish and French, this has not been proven. It appears that the relocated Creeks may have instigated the concerted hostilities of all the surrounding nations.

The Carolina colony was immediately in desperate straits and conceivably might have succumbed had it not been possible to secure the defection of the Cherokee from the rebellion, partly by diplomacy and partly by military operations. This breach was climaxed by a Cherokee massacre of Creek and Yamasee emissaries early in 1716. The tide subsequently turned in favor of the Carolinians, and the disheartened Indians scattered from their reservations along the Savannah and Ockmulgee rivers. The Yamasee largely fled to the vicinity of St. Augustine in Florida, the Apalachicola returning to their old haunts along the Chattahoochee river. The period was one of tension, the old balance in favor of Carolina had been upset, and the long repressed Spaniards recognized an opportunity to recover some, at least, of their diminished territory and prestige.

The journal of the 1716 expedition of Lieutenant Diego Pena is of interest not only for its intrinsic character and substance but from the circumstance that it throws into high relief the completeness of the stark devastation resulting from the English instigated Indian raids into Apalachee and Timucua and elsewhere in Florida between 1702 and 1708. Pena was the first to traverse these regions since those tragedies.

The journal is contained in a file preserved in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, photostats of which were made available through the courtesy of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History. These were from a transcript contemporaneously made in St.

Augustine for submission to the Viceroy of New Spain, from whence it was forwarded to Spain.*

There is presented a translation of the journal in full, and for a better understanding of the circumstances which lead to the expedition and the immediate results thereof, the setting is sketched from the other pertinent papers in the file.

When Senor Colonel of Spanish Infantry, Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana, Major General of the Armies of His Majesty, arrived in St. Augustine in the month of July, 1716, with a commission from His Majesty as Governor and Captain General of the said city and its provinces, he either found awaiting him, or was soon thereafter cognizant of an Indian visitor, a casique or chief called Chislacasliche, from the lower Chattahoochie river, who, in the belief of the Spaniards, was the Emperor of the Province of Coweta, Chislacasliche, whose name is variously written in the documents of this file as Chalaquiliche, and Chilacaliche (of Pena), had paid a visit to St. Augustine in 1715, and had rendered submission to Oliver's predecessor, a circumstance suggesting that he and his followers were among the numerous former adherents of the English who were dislodged from along the Savannah river by the Yamassee War. At his former visit he had been asked to disseminate news, on his return home, of his good reception and spread word that others who desired to render submission would be received in an equally friendly manner and thereafter enjoy Spanish protection. His return visit was prompted by a desire to communicate the news that many bands on the Chattahoochie (Apalachicola) river desired friendship with the Spaniards, but that for some reason they were perplexed by the substance of Chislacasliche's previous message. He proposed to Oliver that the substance be reiterated in another message to be sent to the bands on the river, and that in testimony of authenticity it be brought by a military

* The file constitutes AI 58-1-30 : 56-56' (pp. 106), dated April 6, 1716. The date is an obvious error, probably for 1717, since none of the documents contained bear a date earlier than July 21st, 1716.

embassy. Oliver immediately called a council of war to consider the proposal, the members of which readily appreciated the opportunity and approved the project.

Thereupon Governor Oliver immediately ordered a retired lieutenant, Diego Pena, with a retired ensign, Diego de Florencia, and a detachment of three soldiers, Francisco Rodriguez, Francisco de Leon and Bartholome Ramirez, of the cavalry company of the garrison, to undertake the mission, and escort Chislacasliche and his companions to the Chattahoochie. For some undisclosed reason de Leon's name is not subsequently mentioned, and he may not have set forth with the party. Francisco Domingues appears to have taken the place of Francisco Rodriguez, although this apparent substitution may be an error of the copyist of the document.

The instructions to Lieutenant Pena were minute. In substance they had the following scope:

1. Ascertain how many chiefs and provinces or villages of Indians desire peace, our friendship and trade, the only condition to be exacted for which, is that they come to St. Augustine to render submission.

2. Pena is to assure all chiefs and principal Indians whom he meets or convenes in council in the name of the crown, that all who come to render submission will be well treated and entertained, and that newly arrived Governor Oliver bears fresh orders from the King to help and protect the Indians.

3. During the journey, Pena is to exercise care not to offend the Indians of his company, and in particular Chislacasliche, and is to treat them with the greatest suavity, and reiterate to them while on the road, that after submission to the Spanish they will enjoy much good fortune, will be rich, and will be feared by their enemies.

4. He is to urge the Indians who contemplate settlement in Apalachee, that they select sites from San Marcos eastward, that they settle in villages, each nation or tongue to itself, and that in order to ensure fer-

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tile ground, that the site be near some river, creek or brook.

5. In addition to munitions for Chislacasliche and his companions as well as the Spanish party, Pena will carry, for distribution as presents to chiefs and principal men who show inclination to render submission, 3 arrobas of powder and a dozen guns.

6. In order to avoid confusion and expense at St. Augustine, Pena should attempt to dissuade any, other than chiefs and principal men, from coming to St. Augustine to render submission.

7. Pena is to keep a diary on the journey, noting all events.

8. He is to take particular pains to collect all cattle, in particular horses, and should Indian villages be encountered, he is to arrange in a friendly manner for the Indians to deliver them in St. Augustine, assuring them that they will be paid their full value at that city.

9. None of the Spaniards shall trade with the Indians for anything, under penalty of punishment on return, the guilty as well as the leader.

10. If in passing through Lachua [Alachua] or its neighborhood, some cattle or horses can be rounded up, the governor is to be advised of the location by a letter sent by one or two Indian messengers.

11. The governor is to be advised in the same manner of any novelty seen on the road.

12. Pena is to ascertain, in the case of those chiefs seeking royal patronage, the number of warriors they command, their nation, tongue, and the number of people subject to each.

13. Pena is to report on the bad places in the road which they are obliged to repair, and whether after repair they are of a character which can be used again for ready communication between the presidio and Apalachee.

14. All of these orders are to be observed by the leader as well as by those of his command under penalty of punishment, and on the contrary they are informed,

that if well and faithfully executed in accordance with their obligation, they will always receive the governor's attention in all and for all, and that their particular merit will be reported to His Majesty.

Dated July 30th, 1716.

A certification by the notary corroborates that Pena and his party departed from St. Augustine on August 4th, 1716.

During the absence of Pena, Governor Oliver died, his place being taken *ad interim*, on standing royal orders, by the Sergeant Major of the garrison, Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, who had similarly substituted on a former occasion. Under date of November 3rd, 1716, Governor de Ayala records the arrival of two Yamassee Indians who brought two letters and a diary from Lieutenant Pena, the former dated the 10th of September and the 28th of October, respectively.

The letter of September 10th, written on the banks of the Ocklocknee river on the outward journey, affords but little not already recorded in the journal. It is of interest to note that he recognized the character of the storm which so impeded their progress through the present Jefferson county, as he says that "God sent us a *Urucan* of force that closed the roads to us". He states that he sent two Indians from San Juan de Guacara to advise that he was short of horses, who also carried an order from Chislacasliche to send six or seven horses, but as the state of the streams prevented, 10 strong men were sent to accompany them to the village of Chislacasliche. He notes that foreign Indians have made a fort in the old *chicazas* of the Chiscas.

The letter of October 28th, written from San Juan de Guacara on his return journey, states that he is accompanied by twenty-six and expects to reach Picolata in eight days. He asks that canoes be ready for the crossing at that place and that a supply of biscuits await him there as his hunters lack ammunition. The narrative of the letter expands the journal account of the council at Apalachicola, and introduces a few aspects not mention-

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ed elsewhere. Although the journey revealed that Chislacasliche was not as consequential an Indian as the Spanish had believed, he nevertheless was encouraged to remain a Spanish partisan. The expedition revealed the dominant position of the casique of Cavetta (Cowetta) among the Chattahoochie bands. He is elsewhere identified by name as Y(s)lachamuque in these documents and was known to the English as the Emperor Brims. He exhibited a neutral role in his diplomacy, playing the Spanish against the English, a policy that later was highly developed by Alexander McGillivray. Although apparently all of the subordinate chiefs present at the Apalachicola council indicated an intention to render submission, Pena states that Yslachamuque did not express his personal opinions or publicly, at least, attempt to influence the meeting. He was quoted however as having said that when he broke with the English, he sent two principal men to St. Augustine, to ask pardon and favor of the governor, who returned without bearing a reply, from whence arose the confusion mentioned by Chislacasliche, which prevailed up to the time of Pena's visit. He further expressed the opinion that he did not regard the governor as responsible for the slight, but attributed the blame either to faulty interpretation, or neglect by his emissaries. He regarded the dispatch of Pena's mission within ten days after the arrival of the new governor as ample expression of the good will of the Spanish crown. The casique promised to send an Apalachean chief (probably the Adrian later mentioned) to render submission in his place. Pena reported that while at Cavetta a returning war party brought in four horses taken from four Englishmen whom they had slain, and that the English have a fort (probably Fort Moore near Savannah Town) 30 leagues from Carolina with a garrison of 300 men, the establishment of which was attributed to the discovery of a mine, either copper or gold. While tarrying at the village of Chislacasliche on the return journey he heard the report that half of the province of Chalaque (Cherokee) with

100 towns is desirous of peace with the Spanish, and are preparing a present of tobacco and pipes for the casique of Cavetta. The Chalaque are stated as not to be regarded as warriors. They are described as devoted to the English, and he mentions that the Indians of Apalachicola and the Talapuses, daily bring in many prisoners from there. The local harvests are described to have been good. The English are reported to be warning the Indians to stay away from St. Augustine, but Pena declares that without force they cannot exact compliance. Pena further relates that on the day of his arrival in Apalachicola he was sought out by two white girls who tearfully besought release from captivity. He effected their release on the promise of a ransom of 60 pesos in goods, and brought them back with him.

On receipt of these letters, Governor *ad interim* de Ayala wrote to Pena informing him of the death of Governor Oliver. This was acknowledged by Pena in a letter written from Picolata, relating that owing to bad weather his crossing of the river was delayed, and advising that he was accompanied by Chislacasliche and other Indians.

Pena and his Indian companions were formally received in St. Augustine on November 9th, with as much ceremony and ostentation as circumstances permitted, doubtless exceeding anything heretofore witnessed on the streets of the already ancient city. The account is sufficiently particularized to merit extended consideration.

On their entrance into the city they were met by a military escort and received with a salvo of artillery. The principal Indians and warriors came down the street dancing according to their custom, with the chiefs, who did not dance, in advance, who would at intervals, pause in their progress. In this manner they arrived at the governor's palace, where they were welcomed by the assembled judges, royal officials, retired captains of infantry and artillery, and a great concourse of people. At the gate of the palace was stationed a squad of in-

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fantry facing the street, who fired a volley while the officials embraced the chiefs. The officials and chiefs then passed to the salon of the palace where the governor awaited them, who due to a recent illness had not been with the group at the palace gate. Here His Excellency the governor joyfully embraced the chiefs and principal Indians, at which time another volley was discharged. All having been seated in their chairs, His Excellency and the other officials, through the interpreter Antonio Perez, expressed their welcome. A response on behalf of the Indians was given through the interpreter by Chislacasliche, saying that they came as envoys from Y(s)lachamuque, mico of the town of Cavetta, who for many days had desired to come to render submission to the King of Spain, which he had not done because of ignorance of the reception accorded his earlier emissaries by the predecessor of His Excellency, for although these returned to their villages, they never reported to the mico whether or not they were well received, as a consequence of which he was much vexed and displeased, without having that by which he could reassure his children and women. But now, with the coming of the Spaniards to that province they were resuscitated, and cast off the displeasure which they had felt, and are now corrected in their opinions, and have found and seen that which they desire. The mico of Cavetta places at the feet of His Majesty and His Excellency seven provinces, rendering vassallage for the seven which are subject to him, whose friendship and obedience will endure to the end of time. According to Chislacasliche and Adrian, the absence of the other chiefs of those provinces from the presidio, is due to the great shortages prevailing in their villages, for which reasons they have sent their principal men. On their conclusion, His Excellency expressed in the name of His Majesty, that he would offer them on his part, all possible aid and assistance, an object which is of great concern to His Majesty, as much for their encouragement as for their assistance, and that they could be much cheered, as was His Excellency, in having seen

and thanked them for the good treatment accorded the Spanish embassy, which he would relate to His Majesty. With this conclusion, His Excellency ordered that sweetmeats, wine and rum be served, and made a toast to the King, whereupon a volley of musketry was fired. After a prolonged pause, the Indians asked permission to retire outside and dance in the patio. Taking chairs and tabourettes, the royal officials and captains went and sat down with the chiefs, and the warriors danced joyfully, and when they had danced for half an hour, His Excellency ordered that they be again treated with sweets and rum, which was done with much generosity. Finally His Excellency ordered the judges and royal officials to find them shelter, and stated that he would help with all that was needed. The Treasurer of the Royal Hacienda, Captain Don Joseph de Pedroso, took them to his house and entertained them further, and had, until shelter was found them, twenty-two persons with two casiques.

The Indians appear to have remained as guests of the government until about November 26th, as on that date Governor de Ayala issued a commission conferring the title of *Generalissimo* on the mico of the great province of Apalachicola, with a message that on request he would be glad to establish a garrison of infantry, and supply arms and ammunition. These were accompanied by presents of a length of red cloth, a blanket, and an arroba of powder and one of ball.

The episode closes with an official interrogation of all members of the Spanish party, to ascertain the extent of their corroboration of Pena's narrative. Needless to say, this was complete. The governor was evidently pleased with Pena's services, as in the following year he was sent on another mission to Apalachicola.

THE JOURNAL

Journal of the journey to Apalachee and to the province of Apalachicola ordered made by the Governor and Captain General Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana,

Major General of the Royal Armies, Governor and Captain General of the Presidio of San Augustin and of all the provinces of its jurisdiction, by His Majesty.

1) [First day of journey] On the said day, month and year [4th August, 1716] I left the presidio of the said San Augustin, and camped at the place they call EL PAJON, two leagues distant.

2) On the 5th day I left the said place and camped at the RIO DE PICALATTA ² which is at five leagues [distance]. In this day's travel are encountered four creeks three of which are small, the other, which is large, they call DE LA BARIA ³.

3) The 6th day was spent awaiting the Indians who were going in my company. They arrived in the afternoon in a canoe. I went in search of another so that the horses could be taken quickly across, but could not find one. This day the baggage was ferried to the other side of the river, and I camped in PUPU on the [west] bank of the said river.

4) On the 7th day, due to lack of other transport, I was occupied in ferrying the beasts in a canoe.

5) On the 8th day I left PUPU, and camped at mid-day at the creek DESIANAYBITTA, off the road. Two creeks were crossed. I marched [andube=andaba] three leagues, more or less.

6) On the 9th day I left the said situation and camped at RIO DE BLANCO ⁴, only two leagues distant, because three Indians were sick.

7) On the 10th day I left RIO BLANCO and camped at TOAPUTARE ⁵. One crosses a large creek they call AJANOYBITTA ⁶, and another which they call APIRAYVITTA ⁶, while another (which) they call AFANOYVITACHIRICO ^{7 8}, is skirt-

1, "The stubble field"

2, St. Johns river.

3, Name given to a Cuban tree, *Cordia gerascantoides*, H. B. & K. The only Florida species, *C. sebestina*, L., is limited to the keys and adjacent mainland. This name is obviously misapplied.

4, Headwaters of Green's creek.

5, George's lake. 6, Headwaters of Rice creek. 7, Headwater of Ates creek. 8, In Timucuan, *chirico* means little, hence this name becomes "Little Afanoyvita", the root probably being the same as in

ed. I marched (only) two leagues because all the beasts had sore mouths (*afterando?*).

8) On the 11th day I left TOAPUTARE. Here a beast accidentally ran a stick into its breast. Camped at PEPAYVITTA ⁹, four leagues.

9) On the 12th day I left PEPAYVITTA and made camp at a spot near the road from SAN FRANCISCO ¹⁰, about three leagues. Two creeks were crossed, the first ACUILA ¹¹, the other TAFOCIUA ¹².

10) On the 13th day I left this spot, to camp at another place they call AMACA ¹³, which is a large lake. This day I marched three leagues. Two creeks were crossed, the one they call CAYATACO ¹⁴, the other CAMALACA ¹⁵. This locality has much game. On arrival there was seen from the camp a bull with the brand of LACHUA ¹⁶. We immediately killed it. The Indians killed two buffalo (*sibolos*), two cows and four deer.

11) On the 14th day I remained in this camp, in order to rest the beasts. Two cows were killed this day.

12) On the 15th day I left the said AMACA, and without a road set out for a hammock (*monte*) near the *yapacha* ¹⁷ of SANTA FE ¹⁸. This day we marched four leagues, because we knew we were lost.

13) On the 16th day I left this spot and camped at the RIO DE SANTA FE. On this day I marched three leagues as a consequence of our error, as from AMACA to Santa Fe is no more than four leagues, and two from SANTA FE to the said RIO DE SANTA FE ¹⁹.

14) The 17th day I camped at AFECTAPALINO, after [traveling] two leagues.

15) The 18th day I remained at this camp because of the heavy rain.

the second name preceding. (J. R. Swanton). 9, Either-Putnam or Ashley Prairie, or alternatively the north end of Half Moon lake. 10, About 3 miles west of Melrose. Evidently they diverged from the San Francisco trail. 11, N. branch Etoma. 12, Creek connecting Lake Brill with Santa Fe lake. 13, Lake Newman. 14, Head of Lochloosa. 15, Hatchet creek. 16, Alachua. 17, Since the word *yapacha* prevails in Timucuan territory, it is likely a Timucuan word. In this event it is likely that *yca* is the same as *hica*, the Timucuan word for town. (J. R. S.) 18, Santa Fe river northwest of Traxler. 19, At the natural bridge.

16) The 19th day I left the said place and camped at the *ycapacha* of SAN MARTIN ²⁰. This day I marched two leagues.

17) The 20th day I remained at the said *ycapacha* because it was raining heavily and the Indians wished to hunt as we had no provisions. Here three buffalo and six deer were killed.

18) The 21st day I left the said site and camped at a place they call AQUILACHUA. This day I marched five leagues. In this days march no creeks were encountered, but there are good springs of water, the first [is] named USICHUA, the other USIPARACHUA, and another AFANOCHUA.

19) The 22nd I left the said place to camp at the first *ycapacha* of SAN JUAN DE GUACARA. In this *ycapacha* are good springs of water. From CALACALA which is on the bank of this RIO DE GUACARA ²¹, one travels in sight of the river as far as CHITONAVAJUNO. This CHITONAVAJUNO is a spring of water which has connection with another spring of water.

20) The 23rd day I left the *ycapacha* and camped on the [other side of the] RIO DE SAN JUAN DE GUACARA, two leagues.

21) The 24th day I remained at this spot in order to rest the animals, which were much fatigued from swimming the river, which although not very wide, now has a strong current. It is about a pistol shot in width. There is much game, deer and buffalo, hereabouts. They killed two buffalo and four deer, and caught many fish. Today a runner was sent to the villages, Chi[s]laca[s]liche ²² telling his brother we were going afoot with tired beasts, [and] for him to lend us six horses, which I would return on arrival at the villages. All this land is elevated, there are no thick Woods, but good watering places. The only drawback is that the roads are obliterated by the fallen timber which has lodged in them.

20, One league east of the Itchetucknee spring. 21, Suwannee river.
22, Since the Muscogee and Apalachee languages have no "r", it is likely that Chi[s]laca[s]liche is the individual otherwise known as Cherokeelechee, or "Cherokee killer". He is known to have had, at one time, a village in the forks of the river. (J. R. S.)

22) The 25th day I camped at a large lake which they call OCOCO. From the river to the said OCOCO is three leagues. In this days travel crossed two creeks, the one is CONSEPCION, the other they call USYBITTA. At this place are many buffalo. Here two were killed. All high ground.

23) The 26th day I left the said place of OCOCO and camped at LAS PUENTES, which is three leagues. Two lakes are crossed, the one GUIBENAYOA, the other TICOSORIVA. There are many buffalo. Here two were killed.

24) The 27th day I left LAS PUENTES and camped at the entrance of the *yapacha* of SAN PEDRO. To the first, one marches two leagues. Two buffalo and three deer were killed. Many are the buffalo which have withdrawn to this region.

25) On the 28th day we remained at this camp, because of the excessively bad weather which drenched (*cofio*) us with water. This day were killed two buffalo and six deer.

26) The 29th day we remained in this place because the bad weather worsened, with such violent rain, wind, thunder and lightening, that it appeared as the end of the world, because the trees with the weakened (*noberse?*) roots immediately crashed, so that I understand that not a single pole or tree remained erect. It calmed on the second day in the afternoon. Sixteen deer were killed this day.

27) The 30th day we left this place and made camp in the hammock (*monte*) of SAN PEDRO, which is a very thick hammock. Here it was laborious to clear a passage, since we imitated San Bartholome *el mudar la piel* that was about half a league in length. We marched two leagues. Three buffalo were killed.

28) The first day of September [sic] I left this place and camped at the *yapacha* of SAN MATHEO. We marched five leagues, since often we were obliged to retrace our steps because of fallen timber.

29) The 2nd day I left the said spot and went to the RIO DE ASILE²³. I found it so swollen that the beasts

23, Aucilla river.

were obliged to swim the flood. It was very laborious to open a road here. In this river my horse was drowned, and I narrowly escaped, because in leading it into the river by the halter, the current caught us and forced us down on a tree, toppled by the weather, which had fallen in midstream, in the branches of which I could not avoid entanglement. I camped near the *ycapacha* of ASILE after much labor, because all of the thick hammock had been blown to the ground. After much labor we covered two leagues.

30) The 3rd day I left the said spot and camped near the creek of YBITACHUCO where we remained all of the day in opening a road, so thick was the timber on the ground. The extremes and excesses of the weather are unbelievable *que no queda rexion* in the maze, as if it wished to see if it could hinder my passage, in order to deprive me of the opportunity to serve the two crowns. This day I marched one league.

31) On the 4th day I remained at this place, because of the heavy rain, since the clothing already had fallen in pieces from our bodies, as day and night it has been raining excessively upon us, and if there be added wind, water, mosquitoes and ticks, [it] appears imprudent [to prosecute] a similar journey. God help us.

32) The 5th day I camped at AYUBALE, leaving behind the *ycapacha* of YBITACHUCO, which from *chicaza*²⁴ to *chicaza* is one league. Today marched one league.

33) The 6th day I left the beforementioned *ycapacha*, and camped at that of PATALE, passing the *ycapacha* of CAPOLE. This place of PATALE is where the Reverend Father fray Manuel de Mendoza sacrificed his life, finishing his life preaching the Holy Evangelists. There were also martyred many Spaniards and Indians by fire, [who] when they screamed, were mocked. Four soldiers died as martyrs. God forgive them. I cannot exaggerate

24, It is interesting to note the substitution of the word *chicaza* for *ycapacha* shortly after passing from what was previously Timucuan into Apalachee territory. It is suspected that they have the same significance. From the context they would appear to mean "old town" or "old fields". (J. R. S.)

the severity of the weather which we experience to our great confusion. I mention here that which was seen in the *chicaza* of CAPOLE, which is that the wind broke a pine of moderate size in the middle, and the half of the tree was caught without falling more than four fathoms, making a furrow like that of a plow, a thing incredible, even to the Indians. They are thinking that God is aiding us.

34) The 7th day I left PATALE and camped at the *chicaza* of SAN LUIS, which is three leagues, passing on this march the *chicaza* of TOMOLE and that of LA TAMA this day. Three buffalo were killed. These *chicazas* abound in cattle, especially buffalo. The *chicazas* [are] rich in fruit trees, such as figs, peaches, pomgranates, quinces, medlars, chestnuts and acorns.

I now specifically summarize the leagues covered from the presidio of SAN AUGUSTIN to the place of SAN LUIS which is as follows: From the said presidio to the RIO DE SALAMOTOTO ²⁵ is ten leagues, from the river to SANTA FE is twenty leagues; from SANTA FE to SAN PEDRO, is thirty leagues ; because to the RIO DE GUACARA is twenty with ten to SAN PEDRO. From SAN PEDRO to the site of SAN LUIS is twenty, which makes eighty. Today it is much more, because of the difficult road.

35) The 8th day I left SAN LUIS and camped at the large prairie (*mayoa, nallos*) of OCALQUIBE ²⁶, which extends for more than a league. On the prairie there were seen more than three hundred cattle [*rezes,*] buffalo and a few cows. Five buffalo, two cows and eleven deer were killed. I wish to mention the characteristics of buffalo and domestic cattle. Be it known that the difference is slight between the buffalo [*sibolo*] and cattle [*rez bacuna*]. There is however difference, in that cattle have hair, and buffalo, wool. The horn of the buffalo is small and thick, resembling those of a goat. The buffalo is high in the forequarters, but similar, and breeds just like cattle. Now the flesh is better than that of the cow, the

25, St. Johns river. 26, Lake Jackson prairie.

fat is thinner and is tinged with yellow, and has the flavor of mutton.

36) The 9th day we remained at this place because of the widespread water. On this day arrived twelve men sent by the casique, that they might conduct us carefully to his village of SAVACOLA ²⁷. The brother of Chi[s]laca[s]liche sent me a message to say that the beasts were not sent because the rivers are flooded.

37) The 10th day I left this place and made camp at the *chicaza* of SCAMBE ²⁸. The crossing of the RIO DE LAGNA ²⁹ was laborious, as one had to swim a quarter of a league, requiring all of one day for the crossing, since all of the channels were full. For this a boat was made from a green buffalo hide. The hide with its gunwales, ribs and stem holds three persons, or more than a dozen arrobas of baggage. This day marched one league. Two cattle were killed, which is the provision we brought, because the bread gave out on the second of September.

38) The 11th day I left from the referred site, and camped near a pond. This day marched four leagues, crossing the RIO DE PALOS ³⁰, which has much hammock on both sides. The river is more or less a stone throw in width. A raft of logs was made [for crossing]. Here were killed a bull, two cows and a large deer. We also crossed a large hammock of about half a league in diameter. The undergrowth in it was not very thick, and in part occupies low ground. This route is the old road to SAVACOLA.

39) The 12th day we left the spot mentioned and camped at a creek ³¹. This day we marched four leagues. A buffalo and two cows were killed. We crossed four creeks, three of which had steep wooded ravines.

41-46). The 13th day we arrived at the river of this village of the casique Paypa Mico ³². In order to arrive at the river ³³ we crossed a large canebrake.

This day marched one league and crossed the river which they call RIO DE PEDERNALES ³³. Here the two rivers,

27, Sawokli. (J. R. S.) 28, Escambe. 29, Ocklocknee river. 30, Little river. 31, Perhaps Mosquito creek. 32, Evidently the brother of Chi[s]laca[s]liche. 33, Flint river.

the PEDERNALES and the APALACHICOLO³⁴ are confluent. The one and the other have the breadth of a pistol shot. From the said river to the village is about half a league. On arrival I was taken to the *bujio* or house of assembly. They made me make my abode on some benches they had made for the purpose, which were carpeted with buffalo skins. There came the chief, principal men and warriors, who gave us welcome [*norabuena*] and I in the name of His Majesty and of the Governor, gave them to understand why I came, for which they gave profuse thanks, and discharged their guns once or twice, honoring [*adamando*] the King, our Lord (whom God protect). They told me that they had developed a strong desire to see the Spaniards in their land, which they had looked forward to for many years. They performed several kinds of dances in expression of their good faith. They told me that in the other villages existed the same desire. When I arrived a courier with news of my arrival had already been sent to the other villages, where he should have arrived by the 14th day. God permit that they may be brought to our Holy Faith.

47) I left this place of Chi[s]laca[s]liche, which is in the *chicaza* of a village which belonged to the SABACOLAS, on the 20th day, having arrived on the 13th. This same day I camped in a small hammock. All the ground covered in this day's journey is good, high, and unbroken by creeks. I marched about five leagues.³⁵

34. Chattahoochie river.

35. The site of the village of Chiscasliche has not been identified, but as the peninsula between the rivers is low and subject to inundation, it is likely that its situation was above ordinary floods, which is possibly above the 70 foot contour. As a probable point of departure, it has been assumed that the village site was near the southernmost extension of this contour. From this point to his crossing from the east to the west bank of the Chattahoochee river, Pena gives a very circumstantial account of his route. The camp on the night of the 51st day was at "a river with steep banks and little water", which must be Pataula creek in Clay county, Georgia. Assuming that his route closely followed the present back roads paralleling the river, shown on the 1 inch to 1000 feet aerial maps of the U. S. Engineers Topographic Survey of the Chattahoochee river (1943), it appears that leagues having the equivalent of 2.5 miles, would bring him to Pataula creek, with marches each day of the recorded length. On the 47th and 48th days, his route was nearly exclusively

48) The 21day I left the said spot and spent the night at the *sexa* of a hammock. This day's journey comprised six leagues, more or less. Good ground, high, without ravines or undergrowth, without road, a *buen tiro y discurso*, lying between the rivers PEDERNALES and APALACHICOLO.

49) The 22nd day I left the mentioned site, and camped for the night at a ravine, having traversed three hammocks, and crossed six creeks, of which one is miry [*suniga = cienaga*] and is passed on foot, the others are not difficult. This day I marched seven leagues.

50) The 23rd day I left the place mentioned and made camp at a deep ravine, having crossed six deep ravines with bottoms broken by deep holes. This day I marched ten leagues.

51) The 24th day I left the spot described, and spent the night at a river with steep banks and little water, because of the extreme drought which has prevailed here. The ground much broken. This day I marched perhaps three leagues. Six buffalo were killed.

52) I left the mentioned site on the 25th day, and made camp on some prairies which are on this [west]

through Seminole county; on the 49th day, Kirkland and Sowhat-
chee creeks were among the six negotiated in Early county. The
march on the 50th terminated with a camp near the site of Fort
Gaines in Clay county, and the six creeks crossed may have been
Coheslee, Freeman's, Odom, Factory, Colomokee, and Roaring, the
others probably being headed. The short journey of the 51st day
took him to the bank of the Pataula, after crossing Cemochechobes
and Sandy creeks. The route from the vicinity of Fort Gaines to
Georgetown and beyond, closely followed the course of present
State Road 39. The journey on the 52nd day appears to have been
a forced march, and took him from Clay, through Quitman and
into Stewart county. It is assumed that the river was probably not
crossed until they were about abreast of the Apalachean settlement
where they spent the night, at about the end of the day's journey,
at a point adjacent to Road creek. This would have brought him
into the northeast corner of Barbour county, Alabama, where an
extended elevated river terrace would correspond with prairie he
mentions. The journey on the 53rd day, which was short, brought
him to the village of Savacola (Sabacola, the Sawokli of Swanton),
which according to Peter A. Brannon, was south of the mouth of
Hatcheechubbee creek, in Russell county. He does not give the
distance travelled to reach Apalachicola (Apalatchukla), which
according to Brannon, was southeast of Fort Mitchell, near Uchee
creek.

side of the river, belonging to some Christian Apalachee Indians. These have had a bountiful harvest of corn, beans, pumpkins, as well as the fruits of the forest, such as the chestnuts, acorns, medlars, as well as buffalo. Today I marched twelve league. The ground is much broken. I crossed the river in a canoe. The river has breadth of a pistol shot, with steep banks and strong currents. It discharges in the sea along with the PEDERNALES, which it joins, as I have related, at the site of Chi[s]laca[s]liche.

53) The 26th day I left these prairies and went to the village of SAVACOLA, which is distant from the prairies of the village, a matter of two leagues. From this place and village, the casique, principal men and *tascayos* which are their warriors, came out to meet me. They seated me on a bench near the *bujio* or royal house. There they gave me the general [expressions of courtesy] which I reciprocated. Later, after having made known to them the purposes of my journey, they gave a discharge of firearms and cheered our King (whom God protect). With much rejoicing they lead me to the royal house, which is a gallery, and entertained me much. They have, and are making, very good houses, some covered with shingles, others with bark, and for them, *culatas* of clay, and others of shingles, and make with skill strong houses with small windows.

54) On the 27th day I left the said village, and passed the night at a small farm [*jatillo*] of the casique of APALACHICOLO and of some Apalachean Indians. They entertained me much. Immediately on arrival at the said farm, I sent a courier to the village of APALACHICOCO, informing them that on the following day I would arrive, since I had previously asked that all the casiques and principal men gather at the said place of APALACHICOLO, that there the conference would be held, which was done in all the villages which render a submission to our King (whom God protect).

55) I left the said farm on the 28th day for the village of APALACHICOLO. From the farm to the village is

two leagues. There I found all of the casiques, and principal men of this province who came out to receive me, as they later did in the other villages. These, after having rendered to me their obedience, made many discharges of their firearms, acclaiming our King, and acknowledging their submission to him. This day I called the conference, and gave them to understand through the Apalachean interpreter, the Ensign Don Diego de Florencia, the instructions and orders of the governor, and presented a dozen flint lock muskets and three arrobas of powder with the proper proportion of balls.

In the village of Apalachicola on the 28th day of September of this year of one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, by me, the Lieutenant Diego Pena, retired, of the presidio of San Augustin of Florida, leader of this expedition to Apalachicola, accompanied by three [*sic*] privates of infantry, by [order of] the Governor and Captain General Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana, Major General of the Royal Armies, present Governor and Captain General of the city of San Augustin and these provinces by His Majesty: Having called a conference of the casiques and principal men, and given them to understand the orders of Your Lordship through the interpreter above named, and having heard and understood, they unanimously replied that they will conform to and obey all of the orders which Your Lordship may be pleased to send them, and that they will render obedience and give submission to Our King and Lord, which is their wish, and without doubt their desire, and of their gratitude for the arms and munitions which Your Lordship was pleased to favor them, which were immediately distributed by each casique among his warriors in an orderly manner, saying further these warriors are those who defend their villages; and in that which relates to giving obedience to the King Our Lord, they might have done it many days [earlier], but they did not have motive, having [already] sent [their] word to the predecessor of the said governor. Those who flee

to their neutral villages [from] where they are much oppressed, without knowing the road to choose for the protection of their children [are sheltered] without explanation. They said they have been made happy by my visit, and only lack words to express the fortune they have had, they only can say that it will show them the way, that my visit has made it appear as if they might have been actually in a cell or dungeon without sight of light, from which my arrival had liberated them, and in that which relates to the removal of their villages to the province of Apalachee, they will do as Your Lordship will order, to where may be agreed upon and may be served, thanking Our King and Lord for the favor of the increase of their villages and their welfare, and that the peace will endure until the end of the world, and that immediately they will begin to make canoes for their descent. This was expressed by the casique of Cavetta, to whom all render submission, who placed at the feet of Your Majesty all of this independent province. He said that he places and renders vassalage to Your Majesty seven provinces which are subject to his order and authority. With regard to the province of **TALAPUSES**, which is populous, I as well as the casique of Cavetta, immediately sent word of our arrival, and said that all who come would be pleased and contented. With regard to my proposals [he said] these are the casiques who would and should [go] to the presidio to give submission, and that they would give it whole heartedly, but in order not to disobey, because the said casiques cannot go, he will order each village to send two warriors in place of the said casiques, because there is much scarcity of provisions in their villages, on return to their settlements, they will separate immediately and go to other territories because of this scarcity, but that as soon as supplied they will descend. [They promised] that they will give an account of the able bodied men and of arms, which each village possesses, which I require for a review of all of the villages of the province. And for verification of all that is here

related, I sign it in the presence of my companions, which is done on the said day, month and year.

DIEGO PENA

For not knowing [mark] **BARTHOLOMO RAMIRES**

ARRUEGO

DIEGO DE FLORENCIA

FRANCISCO DOMINGUES

I went to CAVETTA the 2nd day of October, which is six leagues distant. To go to CAVETTA one goes to the village of ACHITO, from ACHITO to OCMULQUE, from OCMULQUE to UCHI, from UCHI to TASQUIQUE, from TASQUIQUE to CASISTA, from CASISTA to CAVETTA, from CAVETTA to CHAVAJAL. This province has ten villages. The first is that of CHILACALICHE [Chislacaliche], the next SAVACOLA, another APALACHICOLO, then ACHITTO, another OCMULQUE, then UCHI, with CASISTA, then CAVETTA and CHAVAGALE.

Report of the warriors in each village:

Firstly, the place of Chilacaliche has	80
The village of Savacola has	84
Apalachicolo	173
Achito	54
Ocumulque	58
Uchi	106
Tasquique	28
Casista	64
Cavetta	62
Chavagali ³⁶	46

The village of UCHI has a speech different from the others, since there [are] for it not more than two or

36, It must be remembered that these villages in the great bend of the Chattahoochee river, were just re-established on this area during the previous year, when as a consequence of the Yamassee War, these bands forsook the sites they had occupied on the Ockmulgee river for a quarter of a century, after their exodus from this identical region in resentment over the high-handed treatment accorded them by Antonio Matheos. Pena states that Cavetta was six leagues distant, presumably from Apalachicolo, between which termini, were located five other villages. The name of the village given as located beyond Cavetta, Chavagale, may be regarded as an orthographic variant of Sawokli.

three interpreters. Tasquique has the *diamaza*³⁷. The remaining villages have the same speech, except SAVACOLA, which is distinct, but they speak Apalachian. In this province are many of the Apalachian nation, a few [*cortas*] ALAFAYES³⁸, and some TIMUCUANS³⁹ as well as the MOCAMA³⁹ who also have arms. Their leaders do not mention any more distinct [tongues].

In their villages many women abound. Thus in the village of Cavetta, after it became a village of our adherents, more than one hundred and thirty of those who were loyal to the English were gathered up, and the men appear fewer, about thirty. The English faction sought them and many escaped and I believe all will flee to the English.

All of these villages are on the bank of the RIO APALACHICOLO, all a land of canebrakes, the best lands I have seen.

Some of their habitations are covered with pine bark, others with small shingles, and plastered with clay [*embarados*] below.

This RIO DE APALACHICOLO discharges in the sea, it is of great current.

In that presidio [San Augustin] there are those who are well informed about this province, such as the Captain Don Francisco Romo, the Captain Don Juan Ruiz Mexia, who have journeyed in it.

Today there is found a small farm⁴⁰ where once was fort, that from this farm of cattle to the village is two leagues, more or less.

37, Perhaps intended for Yameza (Yamassee). The Tasquique (Tuskegee) had a language distinct from Muskogee. Cavetta (Coweta) and Casista (Kasihta) spoke Muskogee. Present information indicates that all the others spoke Hitchiti. (J. R. S.) 38, I do not place these (J. R. S.) 39, These may have united to form the town of Osochi. (J. R. S.)

40, This small farm is evidently the site where he spent the night of the 54th day. The mention of a former fort on this farm probably refers to the fort built near Apalachicola in 1689 on order of Governor Quiroga, by Captain Primo de Rivera, in which was stationed a force of 20 soldiers and 20 Apalachee Indians under Fabian de Angulo.

This diary was kept in compliance with the obligations placed on me by the orders of the Governor Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana, Major General of the Royal Armies of His Majesty, Governor and Captain General of San Augustin of Florida and of its provinces. In this village of Cavetta, on the 30th of September of this year of one thousand seven hundred and sixteen.

In testimony of the above related.

DIEGO PENA

THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU IN FLORIDA

by GEORGE R. BENTLEY

In its first five months the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was completely inactive in Florida. An assistant commissioner - that is, state head of the Bureau - was appointed early enough, but he had charge also of Georgia and South Carolina, and he limited both his interests and his activities to the Palmetto State. He was General Rufus Saxton, an ardent abolitionist and a long-time protege of Salmon P. Chase.¹ During most of the war he had been in charge of the Sea Islands Experiment with free Negro labor.² In the early months of the Freedmen's Bureau he used his office as assistant commissioner to continue his work on the Sea Islands, but did little more, assigning only three men to do the work of the Bureau on the mainland of South Carolina, only two for all Georgia, and none at all for Florida.³

Partly because of Saxton's negligence, in September 1865 new assistant commissioners were appointed for Georgia and Florida. The one for Florida was Colonel

Note. This paper was presented in large part before the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in April last.

- 1, In a speech to the Negroes at Zion Church, Charleston, on May 12, 1865, Saxton said. "I want the colored men in this department to petition the President of the United States and Congress for the right to exercise the elective franchise . . ." *The Charleston Courier*, May 13, 1865. He believed that, "The late master knows less of the negro's character than any other person." *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, part II, 219.
- 2, Albert Bushnell Hart in his *Salmon Portland Chase*, page 260, says that Stanton appointed Saxton to this position at the request of Chase.
- 3, Joseph S. Fullerton to Oliver O. Howard, July 22, 1865, in Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (MSS in the National Archives, War Records Division, Record Group no. 105), National Office, Assistant Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received. (Hereinafter records of this office will be cited simply as "Bureau Records"; other records of the Bureau will be cited with specific reference to the office to which they pertain, as "Bureau Records, Quartermaster's Office," or "Bureau Records for Florida.") Fullerton to Absalom Baird, August 16, 1865, in Bureau Records, Letters Sent Book, 1:229; Clinton B. Fisk to Howard, September 2, 1865, *ibid.*, Letters Received. Fullerton was a Bureau inspector; Fisk was one of the Bureau's assistant commissioners; Howard was its head.

Thomas W. Osborn, who previously had been assigned to head the Bureau in Alabama. That state now went to a more important personage, General Wager Swayne, the son of an associate justice on the Supreme Court of the United States.⁴

Osborn, unlike both Swayne and Saxton, was not one of Secretary Stanton's appointees to the Bureau,⁵ and in 1865 he was inexperienced in politics and probably not strong in his party convictions. Before the war he had been a Douglas Democrat studying law in New York state.⁶ From Gettysburg until General Johnston's surrender to Sherman, Osborn had served as chief of artillery under General Oliver O. Howard. His position in the Bureau was Commissioner Howard's reward to "a quiet, unobtrusive officer of quick decision and of pure life."⁷

In Florida Osborn soon demonstrated that he had learned well the military lesson of cooperating closely with his superiors in the policies they laid down. He was as capable of getting along with Democrats in 1866 as he was of leading Republicans in later years. He was as severe towards the Negroes before their enfranchisement as his organization was generous to them after that event. He was the only assistant commissioner in the Bureau to reduce himself practically to the status of a staff officer under the department commanding general. Elsewhere there was much controversy and jurisdictional conflict between the Bureau and the regular military-but not in Florida.⁸ And, happily for that

4, Circular letters of June 13 and September 19, 1865, in Bureau Records, Circulars and Circular Letters, 7, 18; Oliver O. Howard, *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard* (2 vols. New York, 1907), 2:217.

5, Stanton virtually directed several of the appointments, and was careful to see that the bureau was in the hands of persons not unfriendly to the Radical Republicans.

6, *The Washington Chronicle*, July 2, 1868.

7, Howard, *Autobiography*, 2:218.

8, Howard's First Annual Report, December 18, 1865, in *House Executive Documents*, 39 Congress, 1 session, no. 11 (serial 1255) 27; Howard, *Autobiography*, 2:227-228; Foster's general orders number 35, June 11, 1866, in Bureau Records for Florida, Special Orders and Circulars, 113.

state, the commanding general, John G. Foster, usually cooperated well with the civil authorities.⁹ Therefore, Osborn did too. He and Foster would not permit the courts to punish Negroes at the whipping post or in the stocks,¹⁰ but on at least one occasion Foster furnished a Southern planter with soldier overseers who hung Negroes by the thumbs to make them do the work demanded of them.¹¹ Osborn enforced the vagrancy laws against freedmen and threatened to make them move from one part of the state to another where their labor was more needed.¹² Several years later, one of the Negroes under Osborn's care expressed his opinion that until the black men could vote most Bureau agents in Florida treated them more harshly than did the local authorities.¹³

Therefore, from the beginning to the end of his administration Osborn received the plaudits of local conservative newspapers. Their editors deplored the existence of the Bureau, but delighted in the fact that in Florida it was headed by a man like Osborn.¹⁴ Similarly, in June 1866, President Andrew Johnson's Bureau-baiting investigators, Generals Steedman and Fullerton, had only favorable things to report about Osborn. They

9, The Tallahassee *Sentinel*, March 3, 1866; *ibid.*, March 31, 1866, quoting the *Quincy Commonwealth*; William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 357, 368.

10, The Tallahassee *Floridian*, February 6, 1866. General Foster and Governor David S. Walker agreed that Negroes sentenced in civil courts should be punished by the military at the rate of one day's hard labor with ball and chain per stripe or per two minutes' pillory time. The *Floridian* objected to any interference with the operation of the civil laws, but thought the arrangement was fair. The Tallahassee *Sentinel* believed it would work. (February 6, 1866).

11, Susan Bradford Eppes, *The Negro of the Old South, A Bit of Period History* (Chicago, 1925), 124-125.

12, Bureau Records for Florida, Special Orders and Circulars, 19-23, 47 (circulars of November 15, 1865, and January 16, 1866); Osborn to Howard, February 19, 1866, with enclosures, in Bureau Records, Letters Received.

13, John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida . . .* (Jacksonville, 1888), 41-42.

14, The Tallahassee *Floridian*, April 24 and May 25, 1866; the Tallahassee *Sentinel*, February 19, 1867; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 380.

liked the friendliness existing between civil authorities and the Florida Bureau; they approved Osborn's aptitude for cooperating with the military forces; and they were pleased by what they mistook for loyal support of the President's policy by Osborn.¹⁵

However, even before Steedman and Fullerton finished their tour of investigation, Congress passed over the veto a bill extending the life of the Bureau and making of it a strong weapon for the Radical Republicans to use in their fight to control the South.¹⁶ Then the November elections resulted in substantial Radical majorities in both houses of Congress. Probably as a direct reflection of these national events, the Bureau in Florida began moving rapidly in the direction of Radicalism.

General Foster had now become assistant commissioner for the state, as well as department commander. Osborn, whose removal was merely part of Commissioner Howard's new policy of subordinating his Bureau more directly to the regular military,¹⁷ stayed on for a time as Foster's staff officer, then accepted a lucrative and influential office in Salmon Chase's Florida organization.¹⁸ In three of his six monthly reports Osborn's successor emphasized the growing influence of Northerners on the economy and politics of Florida and the importance of Bureau support to Yankee settlers in the state. More former officers of the Union armies were planting near Tallahassee than in any other locality, reported Foster, but "numbers" of them were "scattered over the state." "This interest," concluded the Bureau official, "with that of other Northerners investing in the lumber business is fast increasing and

15, The Tallahassee *Floridian*, June 8 and 28, 1866; Steedman to Johnson, June 26, 1866, in the Andrew Johnson Papers (MSS in the Library of Congress), volume 96.

16, *Congressional Globe*, 39 Congress, 1 session, 3413, 3842, 3851.

17, Howard to Osborn, March 13, 1866, in Bureau Records, Letters Sent Books, 2:107; Howard to Foster, March 13, 1866, *ibid.*, 105; Howard to Stanton, April 4, 1866, *ibid.*, 137.

18, Foster's general orders number 35, June 11, 1866, in Bureau Records for Florida, Special Orders and Circulars, 113. Osborn's new office was Federal Commissioner of Bankruptcy. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 543.

will soon become powerful-If protected it will in a few years obtain the entire political control of the State-*For this purpose* [!] and for the protection of the freedmen it will be necessary to maintain a military force here for one or two years longer-in fact it is a vital necessity that this be so upon national grounds alone-This force need not be large, a few regiments directed by good officers being a sufficient exponent anywhere of the power of the Government." ¹⁹

The political importance of Northerners in Florida was further attested by Foster's successor, the fourth assistant commissioner for the state, Colonel John T. Sprague. On March 31, 1867, Colonel Sprague informed Commissioner Howard that military reconstruction was very beneficial to the freedmen and that if it were "properly directed" Negro suffrage would also be helpful. He feared that the white Floridians would try to control the colored men's vote "by kindness, fraud, or intimidation," but he proposed to protect the freedmen in the exercise of their rights. They were, he concluded, generally inclined to follow the political leadership of Northerners in the state. On October 1 he reported the results of his efforts to direct and protect the new voters. He had registered 15,441 of them as against 11,151 white men, and he had "taken measures for their quiet instruction, through the medium of sub-assistants, in their rights and duties under the reconstruction acts." ²⁰ So far as their mere "rights and duties" were concerned, the instruction of the freedmen need not have been "quiet." Probably Sprague's instructions, however, were as much concerned with partisan politics as they were with the mere mechanics of voting-that would account for their being made quietly. Certainly the Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama, Louisiana, and Vir-

19, Foster's report of July, n.d., 1866, in Bureau Records for Florida, Letters Sent. See also Foster's reports of August 10, 1866, and September 14, 1866, both in Bureau Records, Letters Received.

20, Sprague to Howard, March 31 and June 5, 1867, both in Bureau Records, Letters Received; Sprague to Howard, October 1, 1867, excerpt in *House Reports*, 41st Congress, 2 session, no. 121 (serial 1438), 47.

ginia was working actively for the Republican party in this period.²¹ And certainly in the spring and summer of 1867 at least three of Sprague's lieutenants in Florida were haranguing the freedmen, reminding them that most of their former masters were Democrats, and praising the Republican party.²²

In the same period Commissioner Howard himself interposed to correct a grievous lack of radicalism in the Bureau's school system in Florida. The Reverend E. B. Duncan had been occupying the position of superintendent. He had aroused some opposition on the part of people who believed he was using his office to proselyte the Negroes to his own church, the Methodist Episcopal South, and he was accused of favoring Southerners rather than Northerners for teachers. He denied both charges, but admitted that he had reminded white Southerners that if they would not teach the Negroes the Yankees would. When he declined to use his school system to distribute copies of a recent speech in which Thad Stevens had advocated confiscating the property of "rebels," Duncan lost his office.²³ General Howard wrote to inform Assistant Commissioner Sprague that he had appointed C. Thurston Chase in place of Duncan. Chase, according to Howard, was thoroughly versed in the management of freedmen's schools and enjoyed the entire confidence of important benevolent societies. However, a year later Howard's own inspector reported that Chase had been very negligent of his duties and

21, Thomas W. Conway to J. M. Edmunds, July 16, 1867, in the *Washington Chronicle*, July 18, 1867. Frank R. Chase to Thomas D. Eliot, January 28, 1868, in Bureau Records, the T. D. Eliot Papers. In his report to Edmunds, President of the National Council of the Union League, Conway praised the Bureau's assistant commissioners for Alabama, Louisiana, and Virginia for their support of the Union League. Chase, Superintendent of Bureau Schools in Louisiana, wrote: "I see no particular reason for the continuance of this Bureau, so long as *Rebels [sic] law* (so called civil) executed by *Rebels*, (supported and encouraged by Govt. Officials) is paramount, But under a Republican Government, with loyal men in office, there is an indispensable need of its continuance. . . ."

22, Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 107-110; the *Tallahassee Floridian*, May 7, 1867.

23, *Ibid.*, June 14, 21, 1867.

had spent most of his time in Jacksonville and New York.²⁴

Meanwhile, as the Radicals gained power in Congress and as Negroes swelled the registration lists in the South, Thomas W. Osborn had become leader of a moderate wing of the Republican party in Florida.²⁵ In that capacity he enjoyed the full support of the Bureau he had earlier headed. Officials of the Federal agency were key figures in Osborn's stubborn and successful attempt to control the constitutional convention of 1868. The convention was first dominated by an opposition wing of the party, led by other Northern Republicans—Liberty Billings, Daniel Richards, and William M. Saunders. Delay tactics were employed by the Osborn faction while they waited for their forces to muster a majority of the convention. The leader in this effort to postpone any decisive action was W. J. Purman, a local agent of the Freedmen's Bureau.²⁶ When he and his aids found they could not control the convention; they disappeared in the night, and left a "rump" that was lacking a quorum. Seven nights later the seceders stole back into the hall of the convention. Two of the delegates they brought with them to provide a quorum were Negroes enticed by Charles M. Hamilton to quit the "rump" and join the "seceders." Until very recently Hamilton had been an agent in the Bureau, and the two colored delegates thought he still exercised Bureau

24, Howard's adjutant to Sprague, May 10, 1867, in Bureau Records, Letters Sent Books, 3:211; Frederick D. Sewall's report of May 11, 1868, *ibid.*, Letters Received.

25, Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 401, 473; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 42; the *Florida Union* (Jacksonville), June 18, 1868.

26, Assistant Commissioner Sprague permitted agents Purman and Marcellus L. Stearns to act as delegates to the convention. He later granted both these men and A. A. Knight and W. L. Athrop, land locating agents for the Bureau, leaves of absence during the session of the state legislature. Sprague's special orders number 40, June 7, 1868, in Bureau Records for Florida, Special Orders and Circulars, 297. The history of the convention is well told in Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, Chapter XIX, and in Philip D. Ackerman, Jr., *Florida Reconstruction from Walker through Reed, 1865 to 1879* (an unpublished thesis at the University of Florida, 1948), Chapter IV.

authority. That materially helped him to persuade them to shift their allegiance from Billings to Osborn.²⁷ For the next week both factions pretended to be the bona fide convention. Then General Meade arrived to settle the matter. He tried to persuade the two groups to meet together ; then he conferred with the local commanding officer, Colonel Sprague. That official—who was also state head of the Freedmen's Bureau—soon informed Liberty Billings' faction that it was out of favor with Meade.²⁸ In all probability Sprague had largely influenced Meade to make this decision. Then, with Sprague in the chair, the convention reorganized. Osborn now had a comfortable majority, which shortly ousted Billings, Richards, and Saunders.²⁹ One of the men seated to replace these delegates was Marcellus L. Stearns, then an agent in the Freedmen's Bureau and later a Republican governor of Florida. The constitution which Stearns helped to draw up, in the reconstituted convention, was sometimes referred to by Florida Democrats as the Freedmen's Bureau and Post-Office constitution," because the convention had been so much dominated by Bureau officials and by Harrison Reed, the United States Post Office Agent for Florida.³⁰

In the ensuing election the Bureau supported the "Regular Republican" ticket of Reed for governor, William M. Gleason for lieutenant governor, and Hamilton for member of Congress. (Gleason, like Hamilton, had been a local agent under Osborn, Foster and Sprague.) Sprague reported to his superiors in Washington that the presence of the military in Tallahassee during the convention had exercised a "most salutary influence upon the colored politicians of the northern States."³¹ But,

27, Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 69.

28, Ackerman, *Florida Reconstruction*, 120-121.

29, Purman was chairman of the eligibility committee which ousted Billings, Richards, and Saunders. The Tallahassee *Sentinel*, February 20, 1868.

30, Tallahassee *Floridian*, July 21, 1868, quoting Wilkinson Call's speech to the Democratic National Convention, New York, July 10, 1868.

31, Sprague's report of February 29, 1868, in Bureau Records, Letters Received.

said Sprague, "irresponsible men" had "done much to unsettle the minds of the freedmen, and to disorganize the councils of the regular republican party. Such men," concluded the assistant commissioner, "are injurious to the country and retard reconstruction."³² The "irresponsible men" Sprague referred to were Billings, Richards, Saunders, Charles H. Pearce, Jonathan C. Gibbs, and others who had organized chapters of the Union League and who had enjoyed more colored support than had the Bureau officials. However, during the course of the electoral campaign Saunders shifted sides, and with him came many Florida Negroes. They were impressed by the success of the Osborn-Reed party in the convention, by its military support, and by the largess Bureau officials now were dispensing to freedmen.³³ The latter item also impressed Liberty Billings. On May 4, 1868, he bitterly wrote to the Bureau's local agent at Tallahassee, "Carse: . . . The prostitution of your position as Bureau agent, rations, &c, to electioneering purposes, . . . will be investigated."³⁴

Carse had no need to fear either Billings or official investigation. After the election he became adjutant-general in Governor Reed's cabinet.³⁵ Purman was secretary of state, then Jackson county judge.³⁶ Osborn went to the United States Senate, and Hamilton to the House of Representatives. Gleason was elected lieutenant governor, and Stearns was soon to be speaker of the Florida Assembly.³⁷ In helping to Republicanize Florida, the Bureau had not failed to take care of its own. But it also had helped remove its political reason for being. In June 1868, Congress "readmitted" seven ex-Confederate states to the Union. Then, at the insis-

32, Sprague's report of April 30, 1868, *ibid.*

33, Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 42; the Tallahassee *Floridian*, July 21, 1868 (Call's speech); Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 504, 524.

34, Liberty Billings to George B. Carse, May 4, 1868, in the Tallahassee *Floridian*, May 26, 1868.

35, The Tallahassee *Floridian*, August 24, 1869.

36, Ackerman, *Florida Reconstruction*, 135.

37, Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 527, 532, 612.

tence of conservative Republicans,³⁸ the Radicals agreed to bring an end to the Bureau. As a final precaution they extended its life past the November elections, but ruled that on January 1, 1869, the Bureau should suspend its activities except in the schools and in the payment of Negro veterans' claims.³⁹

Even after that time the much reduced Bureau in Florida sometimes played politics—on April 25, 1870, the Bureau's superintendent of schools for Florida reported, "Carrying out the spirit of my instructions, I took an active part in the late Municipal election [in Jacksonville] and did what I could to carry the election in favor of the Republican party."⁴⁰ However, it was in 1867-1868 that the Bureau's major political activity occurred in Florida. Then the Freedmen's Bureau contributed very much to the political success of Thomas W. Osborn, whom the conservative Tallahassee *Floridian* would later dub "the great 'Von Moltke' . . . really head of the government . . . head of The Ring."⁴¹ And the Bureau provided much of the influence which made a national leader of the freedmen able to say, in 1870, "Politically . . . the Negro . . . entertains sentiments of gratitude and confidence toward and in the Republican Party, gives it his vote, and . . . the day is distant when he will be numbered with the voters of any other [party]."⁴²

38, The Cincinnati *Semi-Weekly Gazette*, June 26 and 30, 1868; *Harper's Weekly*, quoted in the Mobile *Nationalist*, July 30, 1868; Moses Bates to Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, in the Johnson Papers, volume 128. As early as May 26, 1866, the *New York Times* had suggested that "preparations should be made for the early termination of its [the Bureau's] functions."

39, *United States Statutes at Large*, 15:193.

40, George W. Gile to Howard, April 25, 1870, in Bureau Records, Letters Received.

41, The Tallahassee *Floridian*, July 4, 1871.

42, John M. Langston to Howard, September 17, 1870, in Bureau Records, Letters Received.

FRANCIS P. FLEMING IN THE WAR FOR
SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE
SOLDIERING WITH THE 2ND FLORIDA REGIMENT
edited by EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

Camp Chicohomenie Bridge
20 miles from Richmond
May 10th, 1862

My dear Brother ²

You have probably ere this heard of our retreat from Yorktown, and the battle of Williamsburg in which our Regiment was engaged. Seton is severely wounded, and in the hands of the Yankees, but before particularizing I will say that it is not thought to be mortal by two surgeons who examined it - the ball entered just to the left of the backbone and came out just above the right hipbone. It did not break a bone, and so far as could be ascertained had not injured the intestines. Our General would not allow me to remain with him as I desired, but I left him at the house of a kind lady in Williamsburg who I have no doubt will take good care of him. ³ But to return to the fight - we left Yorktown last Saturday night being among the last to leave and arrived at Williamsburg twelve miles distant next morning two miles beyond which place we camped until Monday about ten o'clock. The enemy had in the mean time followed us up and had a skirmish with our Cavalry the evening before. At about ten A.M. Monday our brigade (Earley's) ⁴

- 1, The writer of these letters, Francis P. Fleming (governor of Florida 1889-1893), was born at Panama, Duval county, Sept. 28, 1841; he enlisted as a private, July 13, 1861, in the St. Augustine Rifles which later became Company H., 2nd Florida Infantry Regiment of the famous Florida Brigade commanded by General E. A. Perry. The 2nd Florida served as part of the Army of Virginia. The letters are a part of the Fleming Papers in the Florida Historical Society library at St. Augustine, recently presented to the Society by Mrs. Hester Fleming Williams.
- 2, Francis P. Fleming left in Florida a brother, Frederic, and a half-brother, Louis I. Since the envelope is missing the brother to which the letter was sent is in doubt.
- 3, Seton Fleming, 1st Lt. Co. H, brother of Francis P. Fleming. For an account of Seton Fleming during the Civil War see Francis P. Fleming, *Memoir of Capt. C. Seton Fleming* (Jacksonville, 1884).
- 4, General Jubal A. Early commanding. This was before there were sufficient Florida soldiers in Virginia to form a brigade.

was ordered towards Williamsburg. The fight had then commenced and was going on about a mile from town on the York road we were held in reserve until one or two o'clock P.M. and were then marched to the [front] at a doublequick step through the mud (it had been raining all day). When we arrived the enemy had been driven from the field and had taken shelter in a lot of fallen timber on the edge of a wood from which position they poured a heavy fire into us. We then advanced to the relief of our forces who were engaging them on the edge of the fallen timber and fired several volleys into them being at the time not more than twenty or thirty steps from, but they were so well sheltered that we could not tell the effect of our fire. It was at that time that our gallant Colonel fell, he was struck by a ball in the bre[ast] and one in the head.⁵ Poor old Col! his loss is severely felt by the Regiment - a braver man, or more perfect gentleman never lived. We were then ordered to retire as it was thought that the enemy was flanking us. We fell back to a ravine about 300 yards to the rear and after forming again advanced about 100 yards and took position behind a fence waiting the advance of the enemy from the woods from where they were constantly pouring a heavy fire into us. Capt. Call, Seton and four men volunteered to make the attempt to recover the Col's body which was left on the field when we fell back. They had to advance quite near the enemy's lines to get it which they succeeded in doing and were bringing it back when the enemy's fire was directed on them and Seton received his wounds, a ball also grazed his ankle but did no injury. Capt. Call and the others that were with him supposing him killed left him and returned to the regiment which at the time fell back a second time and took position on edge of a hill just in the rear. I did not know for some time that Seton was wounded, as I ascertained it from Capt. Call he offered to go with me to his relief or as we then thought to get his body but before we started he was brought in by

5, Colonel George T. Ward, commanding the 2nd Florida.

Lieut. Ballantine of Capt. Perry's Company. I found him in better condition than I expected. Got some men and a litter and took him to a house near Williamsburg where I remained with him until quite late that night, waiting for an ambulance that I sent for to take him in to the hospital which failing to arrive took him on a litter, and got him into a private home about 2 o'clock that night. Fortunately I met two surgeons who examined his wound and made him as comfortable as possible. Next morning I left him to try and get a conveyance to take him to the hospital but failing to do so was returning to him when I was met by Gen. Stewart who ordered me immediately on, as the army was all leaving, and the Yankees were fast advancing on the town.⁶ I explained Seton's condition to him and besought to be allowed to remain with him, but he told me I would only be taken prisoner and seperated from him by the Yankees and that he being wounded would be taken good care of by them, and that I must immediately move on which I was obliged to do without again seeing him or telling him goodbye. Poor fellow! it cost me many a better pang to leave him in such a condition but the surgeon that I met at the house when I left him said that the lady was very kind and do anything in her power for him. He seemed so cheerful and made so little complaint that my hopes of his speedy recovery are very great. His only regret seemed to be that he was wounded before having much of an opportunity of fighting. He acted very gallantly and bravely on the field, as every one in the Regiment will testify. The loss of the Regiment was about six killed about fifty wounded. Three of our Company were among the latter - Henry Hickman slightly in the arm, John Gray in the leg and J. Hatcher in the side. Hatch was left in Williamsburg with a great many other wounded. Edward Fernandez was wounded (I think slightly) and also left in Williamsburg. Our loss altogether in killed and wounded was about [blank]. It is impossible to state the loss of the enemy but it was

6. General J. E. B. Stuart, famed Confederate cavalry leader.

very heavy we took about five hundred prisoners I will not attempt to describe our retreat which was commenced a week ago, but you can perhaps form some idea of the movement of about seventy thousand men and the requisite number of wagon. When you read this you will oblige me by sending it to Hibernia. I have not time to write another, and do not know how to direct. Do not Mother be too much worried about Seton. I believe he will be kindly treated and cared for. The Regiment was reorganized today. Capt Perry was elected Col. Maj. Pyle Lt. Col. and Capt Call Major. Seton would have been elected major had he not been wounded and left behind. Moseley is our Capt Carlile [Carlisle] 1st Lt. Wm Watson 2d & F Baya 3rd. ⁷ We have a large army here and are expecting a fight every day. I have no fear that McClellan will get to Richmond by this route - write as soon as possible direct to Richmond, Moseley's Co. 2' Fla - Earley's Brigade - Tell me how to direct to Hibernia - Capt L'Engle is in Richmond. I have not seen John since we left Yorktown.

Give my love to Mary Aunt niece and all relatives and friends.

your affe brother

F. P. Fleming

P. S. Excuse mistakes &c I write in a hurry.

Camp 2nd Fla Regt
near Richmond
May 27th 62

My dear Aunt Tilly ⁸

Your kind letter of the 17th inst. was received yes-

7, Capt. E. A. Perry, Massachusetts born Pensacola lawyer, commanding Co. A. ; Major Louis G. Pyles of Alachua County ; Capt. George W. Call, late secretary of the Florida Railroad, commanding the Davis Guards, (Co. K) ; Capt. Alexander Moseley, son of ex-Governor Moseley ; Lt. A. M. Carlisle was a former corporal of the company; Lt. William B. Watson had been 1st Sgt., *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars*, Board of State Institutions (Live Oak, 1903), pp. 77-79, 91-92.

8, Miss Matilda Seton.

terday. It gave me great pleasure to hear from you after so long a silence, which though, was more my fault than yours, but ever since my return from Florida we have been in such a stu and excitement that I have had scarcely time or opportunity to write to anyone. I trust that you are under a wrong impression in supposing Seton dead. When I left him (and I was one of the last who saw him) I don't think that he had any idea of dying. Two surgeons examined his wound before I left Williamsburg, and told me that though a severe one, they did not consider it a mortal wound. Up to the time that I left him he was quite cheerful, and in very good spirits, and complained very little about his wounds. The ball struck a ridge of the backbone and came out just above the right hip. The surgeons who examined it did not think his backbone injured. He was wounded in the back, it is true, but it was not in running from the Yankees, but in the attempt to recover the body of our lamented Colonel that was left on the field. He had to advance almost to the guns of the enemy, when they were pouring a very heavy fire into us, to reach the Col's body and had returned about half way to the regiment with it when he was shot down. A ball also struck him on the ankle, but merely grazed the skin, and did no injury of any consequence. I would never have left him voluntarily, but was ordered away by Gen Stewart, who told me that the Yankees would take me prisoner and would not allow me to remain with him, and that he would be well taken care of by them I have since seen a surgeon who remained in Williamsburg with our prisoners who told me that the wounded were all well taken care of, though he would tell me nothing particularly of Seton, probably because he was left at a private house instead of the hospital. He was left at the house of a very kind lady, who the surgeon that I met at her house told me, would take every care of him. The battle of Williamsburg was quite a severe fight; the Yankees acknowledge the loss of about 4000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Our loss was scarcely half that number. The

loss of our Regiment was not so large as you supposed, being about four killed, twenty-eight wounded and ten missing.⁹ I can't describe the hardships and suffering that we have gone through, since leaving Yorktown. The day of the fight was one that I shall never forget. It rained the whole day, and we were double quicked (which gait I suppose you know is a slow run) about two miles through the clay mud. I scarcely know how we got through it, the fatigue was so great, but the excitement kept us up. After arriving on the battlefield in that condition, we had to charge the enemy. I was never much more exhausted and as I said before, were it not for the excitement I would not have been able to stand it. In our retreat from Williamsburg we frequently had to march through mud about knee deep, and the greater part of the time without very little to eat. We lived for two days on parched corn and a little fresh pork without any salt.

We are camped about two miles from Richmond, daily expecting a fight, which will probably be as large and severe a one as has been yet fought; our army is very large, and it will fight desperately to defend Richmond.

I am well acquainted with the Burroughs and Maxwell.¹⁰ They are all well.

I am at present in the Quarter Master's Department, a clerk for Capt L'Engle.¹¹ He desired to be kindly remembered to you.

I envy you the pleasant weather that you are enjoying in Florida. This is the most disreputable climate that can well be imagined. It is as hot for a day or two as any

9, In the Peninsular campaign the retreating Confederates turned at Williamsburg and checked the slow-moving Union Army under McClellan. The Confederate losses were 288 killed, 975 wounded, 297 missing-total 1,560; the Union losses: 456 killed, 1,410 wounded, 373 captured or missing-total 2,239. The 2nd Florida lost 4 killed, 31 wounded, 5 missing-total 40. *Official Records of the Rebellion*, Series 1, XI, 568-559, 587, 450.

10, B. Maxwell Burroughs, Eben Burroughs, D. Elwell Maxwell, enlisted men in Co. H, *Soldiers of Florida*, pp. 91-92.

11, Capt. E. M. L'Engle, Quartermaster on the staff of the 2nd Florida, *Soldiers of Florida*, p. 79.

weather we have in Florida in the middle of summer, it then clouds up and rains and turns in a few hours as cold as winter, which as the Regiment has no tents we feel quite sensibly.

I will endeavor to see Mr. Lee, it will be a great satisfaction to see him again.

I am glad to hear that Uncle George has recovered his health. He was quite sick when I last saw him on his way to Tallahassee just before I left Lake City. I am sorry that I was not able to make that visit to you before leaving Florida, but hearing of the expected battle at Yorktown, I was anxious to get back to the Regiment as soon as possible.

Write soon, your letters always give me great pleasure.

Your affe nephew

F. P. Fleming

P. S. Excuse this being written in pencil, but in Camp we have to use what we can get.

F -

Camp near Winchester, Va.

Oct. 24th, 1862.

Dear Aunt Tilly

Your long and interesting letter of Aug. 24th and your's of Sept. 9th have just been received, where they've been traveling for the last two months, almost. I am at a loss to say, but ever since leaving Richmond last August, we have not had a regular mail until about two weeks ago, which is probably the reason that they were so long on the way. I read them however with as much pleasure as though they were of a later date.

I scarcely know how to answer you in regard to your coming on to Richmond. I can see no impropriety in it. Your best plan is to take Mrs. Reed's advice on the subject, as she has the superintendance of our hospital.¹²

¹², Mrs. Robert R. (Mary Martha) Reid, ministering angel to the sick and wounded Floridians in Virginia. Mrs. Reid, the widow of a Florida territorial governor, established the Florida Hospital at Richmond. Her only son, Raymond J. Reid, was killed in the Battle of the Wilderness.

I made a visit to Richmond about two weeks ago with Edward L'Engle who went on to Florida to get shoes and clothing for the Regiment.¹³ While there, I saw Mrs. Reed and visited our hospital. She has it very nicely fixed up. Dr. Saval of Jacksonville is Surgeon in Charge.

We have been lying idle for the last three weeks, a few miles north of Winchester, until which time ever since leaving Richmond we have been constantly on the march, and a considerable part of the time fighting. I presume you have seen an account of our visit to Maryland where we remained about two weeks. We did not meet with the welcome that I had looked for, though the part of the country through which we passed - the vicinity of Frederick City and Harper's Ferry - is said to be the strongest "union" part of the states that there is being settled principally by a Dutch and German class. Those of the higher class are generally "secesh" (As the Yankees call us) and extended to us a most enthusiastic welcome, while traveling slowly along with our train of wagons. While in Maryland, one day, I saw on the side of the road a carriage with several ladies in it, who appeared to be pleased to see us. As it was not frequently that we could enjoy the pleasure of the society of ladies, I resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, and forthwith addressed them. They expressed great pleasure at seeing our army in their state, and seemed to enjoy conversing with a Confederate soldier. In the course of conversation with one of the young ladies (there were several) she asked me what state I was from. After telling her, she said that she had an uncle who for several winters previous to the war had been visiting East Florida. Thinking that he might be an acquaintance, I asked her his name. She answered "Mr. Teirnan". I immediately told her of my intimate acquaintance with her uncle and my name. She seemed very much pleased, and said that she had often heard Mr.

13, Obviously there was not the traditional chasm between the officer and the enlisted man in the 2nd Florida.

Teirnan speak of our family. She was a Miss Carroll of Baltimore and was then on a visit to her sister Mrs. Horsey, who was with her in the carriage at the time. They were very anxious that I should visit them, but as I was only passing through that section, I of course had to deny myself the pleasure. Miss Carroll told me that Mr. Teirnan was then on a visit to Mr. Peper at Tauneytown that he had been very active in giving our cause all the assistance in his power, that he belonged to a society in Baltimore who were engaged in sending men to our army. Several Companies joined us while we were in Maryland.

The scenery in Maryland is the most beautiful and picturesque that I have ever beheld—mountainous and hilly. From the top of one of the mountains that we crossed (of the range of the Blue Ridge) you had a fine view of the most beautiful, undulating valley, stretching out for many miles to the north and south, thickly dotted with neat farm houses and fine fields almost ready for the harvest. But the grandest scenery is in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, which is situated on the point of land formed by the confluence of the Potomac and Shannandoah rivers. The heights on either side of the Potomac as you approach the town rise perpendicularly about five hundred feet above the level of the river. I am glad to hear that Uncle George has been appointed Q Master. Seton has been appointed Capt. of Jacquelin Daniel's Company. He went home about a month ago, but I expect him back soon. Col. Perry has been appointed Brigadier General and will have command of our Florida troops here. It was indeed a severe blow to hear of the death of father.¹⁴ I could scarcely realize it at first. It is consoling to know that he lived a useful and Christian life, and died at an advanced age. I am sorry that Gen. Finigan was not able to keep the Yankees from again getting possession of the St. Johns.¹⁵

14, Col. Lewis Fleming (1798-1862), a veteran of the Seminole War.
15, Brig.-Gen. Joseph Finnegan, commanding the Dept. of Middle and East Florida.

I understand that they have carried off all the negroes that they could get hold of. I hope none of ours.

Write soon. Continue to direct to Richmond, and our letters will be forwarded to us wherever we may be.

Your affe nephew

F. P. Fleming

Camp near Fredericksburg, Va.
Jany 9th, 1862 [1863]¹⁶

My dear Aunt Tilly

Your kind and interesting letter of Nov. 2th, 62, I received a few weeks ago with much pleasure. It deserved a more prompt reply; but ever since the return of Capt. L'Engle from Florida I have been so busy as to have but little time to devote to letter writing; having to perform both the duties of Clerk and Q. Master Sergeant, to which latter office I was appointed about two months ago, my predecessor having been elected to a 2nd Lieutenantcy in the 8th Fla. Reg't.¹⁷ You are mistaken in supposing that I get a good salary in the Q. M. Department. I only received, as Clerk, the extra pay of twenty-five cents per day in addition to my pay of eleven dollars per month as private. I now-as Q.M. Sg't-receive twenty one dollars per month, which at the present prices of everything, does not equal half the amount in times of peace and ordinary prices.

You ask me in what battles I have fought. The battle of Williamsburg is the only *large* battle that I have been engaged in. A few days before the battle of Seven Pines I was detailed in the Q.M. Department. My reason for accepting the position at the time was that I was then quite unwell, and had been so for some weeks previous. In the line we were very much exposed, having lost all of our tents and nearly everything else, on the retreat

16, The contents of the letter indicate that Sgt. Fleming made the mistake so often made in January of dating the letter a year previous. The correct date should be 1863.

17, Thomas W. Givens, promoted 2nd Lt., Co. K, 8th Florida Regiment, later captain, wounded at Gettysburg, *Soldiers of Florida*, p. 79.

from Yorktown. My situation in the Q.M. Office gave a good tent to sleep in, and otherwise prevented my exposure, but for which I have no doubt that I would have [been] seriously ill. Capt. L'Engle would not afterwards spare me from his office. I begged him very hard to allow me to join, my Regiment while the battles before Richmond were being fought; but he, having at his own request, been appointed to the Command of a company, for the time, refused saying that if he got killed that I was the only one who could settle up his business. After leaving Richmond and during the Campaign of Northern Virginia, when we were expecting a battle every day he consented to let me take a musket and go into the ranks. I marched for about a week with my Regiment, during which time three Brigades, ours (then Pyrors) being of the number, had skirmish with the Yankees near the Rappahannock, when several of our Reg't were wounded by the enemy's shell. Capt. L'Engle sent for me a few days before the battle of Manassas was fought, which prevented me from participating in that engagement, but our Brigade though exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries on the occasion, did but little fighting. I have been in the Q. Master Department ever since.

How have you enjoyed the Christmas holidays? I have no doubt that it was rather a dull Christmas in all parts of the Country-How many firesides mourn the loss of some loved one, whose now stilled voice was wont, but two short years ago, to enliven and make merry the Christmas festivity.

I spent Christmas rather more pleasantly than I had anticipated. Having to take a trip of about thirty miles to procure forage for the horses Maxwell Burroughs (who is detailed in the Q.M. Dept.) and myself started on Christmas eve and arrived that night at the house of an old Virginia farmer-an old bachelor-with whom we stopped, he treated us next morning to a delightful egg-nogg, which we took great pleasure in doing justice to; he afterwards took us to visit a neighbor's house, and

gave us an introduction to several very pretty, charming and interesting young ladies, with whom, as you may imagine, we enjoyed ourselves exceedingly, and altogether spent a very pleasant Christmas. How do you think you would like a Virginia niece?

I presume that it is useless to give you a narration of our victory at Fredericksburg. Suffice it to say that our Gallant old Chief Gen. R. E. Lee has once more immortalized his illustrious name-would that we had a Lee in the west!

Many thanks for your kind offer to procure clothing for me. I am just now, as well supplied as a soldier in the field should be. If at anytime I should need anything of the kind I shall be glad to avail myself of your kindness. I must also thank you for the jacket that you sent me. I have not yet received it, but have no doubt that Mrs. Reid will send it to me at her earliest opportunity, as I learn that it is in Richmond.

Miss Carroll was dressed in mourning. She made no mention of her brother.

Do you know that Johnny O'Neil is a Captain in our Regiment? ¹⁸

The weather for the last three weeks has been very fine reminding me of our Florida winters.

Write soon, your letters always interest me very much, and give me great pleasure.

Your affe nephew
F. P. Fleming

Camp near Fredericksburg, Va.
April 11th, 1863

Dear Aunt Tilly

I have no doubt that you think me a very poor correspondent. As your kind and interesting letter of January 5th has reminded so long unanswered, but I assure you that it was from no indifference on my part that

¹⁸, Johnny B. G. O'Neil, Co. K, 2nd Fla., made captain, June 1862, *Soldiers of Florida*, p. 95.

I have so long remained silent. Shortly after receiving your letter, Elwell Maxwell arrived here from Florida and told me that on the railroad, somewhere in Georgia, as he was changing cars, he saw you, but did not have an opportunity to speak to you, not hearing from you in the mean time, I was at a loss to know where to address you. But Seton tells me that you did not mention having taken a trip off when he saw you in Florida ; therefore I suppose that Elwell must have mistaken some one else for you.

Seton got back about ten days ago; his health is much improved, in fact he is almost perfectly well.¹⁹ I was much gratified to learn that he had visited you. He spoke of his visit with much pleasure and said that you seemed very much pleased to see him.

We have had several days of pleasant, warm, spring weather that is fast drying up the roads, and soon very soon-two hostile armies, that are now only seperated by a narrow stream, will be in motion, and the horrors of another campaign will commence, and Virginia's thirsty soil will again be watered by the best blood of our beloved South, and will claim fresh victims to the bitter hatred of our despicable foes.

I visited Fredericksburg this morning, from which place we are encamped about five miles in a northeasterly direction.²⁰ Quite a number of persons have moved back to town, and the place looks much more lively and cheerful than it did a few weeks after the battle. A good many houses have been repaired and patched up, but there are still numbers that are perfectly riddled, and some partly knocked down by shot from the enemy's batteries on the opposite side of the river, and the town is still at the mercy of those batteries; but they paid so dearly for it when they tried to force our position here that I don't think they will renew the attempt. One house, near the stone wall just on this side of town, that Cobb's Brigade so gallantly defended, and where Gen.

¹⁹, Lt. Seton Fleming was exchanged Aug. 5, 1862, *Soldiers of Florida*, p. 91.

²⁰, The Battle of Fredericksburg occurred Dec. 13, 1862.

Cobb fell, is so riddled by musket balls as to almost resemble a seive. Long trenches six or eight feet wide, into which the Yankee dead are promiscuously thrown and covered over so slightly with earth that in some places where it has settled you can see their arms, feet and faces sticking out, bear silent evidence of the terrific slaughter inflicted upon them on the field of Fredericksburg.

Did you receive a letter that I wrote you, I think, in the early part of January? I did not know at the time that you were living in Madison County, and I directed to Monticello, to the care of the person at whose house you had been staying. (I can't think of his name). I am very anxious to hear from home, when Seton left Mother, he had just persuaded her to move off of the Island, considering it very unsafe for her to remain there while the Yankees had Jacksonville garrisoned with negro Regiments.²¹ I have heard since that the Yankee forces have been withdrawn from Jacksonville, and therefore do not know whether or not Mother has moved. I hope that she has, as the Yankees are liable at any time to occupy the place and commit ravages on the river. I wish we had some one in command of the Department of East Florida who would not be affraid to risk the lives of his troops when he has every opportunity, by so doing, to destroy, capture or drive the enemy off. The idea of about twelve hundred *negroes* holding the town of Jacksonville against a *superior* number of our troops.²¹ I suppose that Gen. Finegan would have attacked them in the town, but the gunboats would have shelled him! ! How terrible! He might have got several men killed!²² I think that the service would be

21, March 3, 1863 the Union forces occupied Jacksonville for the third time. The invading military consisted of the 1st. and 2nd. South Carolina Colored Infantry which were later reinforced by the 6th. Connecticut and the 8th. Maine. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), pp. 171-172.

22, Sgt. Fleming does not take into account the fact that Florida was stripped of the cream of her manpower for the fighting further north. General Finnegan had a vast area to defend with a minimum of supplies and few combat experienced soldiers.

highly benefited by sending all of the troops in Florida, including their Commander, to part of the Country where they could hear in earnest the whistling of a shell and the roar of Artillery; and where, as has been the case several times with our Regiment, troops go into a fight and get half their number placed hors du combat.

I was glad to hear that you were teaching, as I suppose your duties are not very erksome, and you must be much more - I won't say agreeably, but satisfactorily situated.

I enclose you a few stamps. I wish that I was able to send something more valuable; but everything is so intolerably high that I spend about all I make. That you can form some idea of the prices in this vicinity I mention one article that I bought this morning. A package of envelopes at *ten cents a piece*.

Seton tells me that he saw Uncle George in Florida. Do you ever see the Williams of St. Augustine? Write as often as you can.

Your affe nephew
F. P. Fleming

(This series of letters will be continued in the next issue)

LETTERS OF THE INVADERS OF EAST
FLORIDA, 1812

edited by REMBERT W. PATRICK

In September, 1812, a small detachment of the United States Army, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas A. Smith, was camped near Moosa Old Fort. Not more than five hundred yards from the American forces was the unkempt and open quarters of a small band of men who called themselves the "Patriots of East Florida." Just across the San Sebastian river from these camps lay the town of St. Augustine with its formidable fort, Castillo de San Marcos, manned by Spanish regulars and colored militia from the Spanish West Indian possessions.

Notwithstanding the warlike atmosphere in and near St. Augustine, the United States and Spain were at peace. For more than four months, however, Colonel Smith's detachment of approximately two hundred men had faced the beleaguered Spanish citizens and troops in St. Augustine. All during that long, hot summer of 1812 there had been no fighting, but the Spanish had received reinforcements by sea and the Indians had joined forces with them to destroy prosperous plantations and scalp those quandom Americans who had not fled to Amelia Island, or St. Mary's, Georgia. The Indian depredations had sent most of the Patriots fleeing north to find their families and to protect their property, and scarcely forty men were left of a force which had once neared four hundred in number.

Thus the position of the American army detachment had grown increasingly precarious during the last weeks of August and the early days of September. The often reinforced Spanish garrison was now far stronger than Colonel Smith's detachment, and the Indians were threatening to cut his supply lines to the St. Johns river. The small remaining band of Patriots were useful only for rounding up stray cattle from the interior, and they could not be depended upon even for this service. Fever, dysentery, and other diseases confined more than one-

third of Smith's forces to their crude huts which offered some protection from the summer sun and rain. By a quick sally from St. Augustine, the Spanish could have captured the small American force.

Although the Spanish had every right to defend their colonial possession, East Florida, they were merely standing on the defensive except for certain encouragements and munitions which they supplied their more aggressive Indian allies. The American force near St. Augustine was a part of a long-planned step to acquire East Florida, and Spain was avoiding any acts or actions which would lead to a declaration of war by the United States. For thus far the Congress of the United States had refused to sanction the administration's attempt to acquire the territory of a nation with which they were at peace. Aggressive Spanish action might lead to war, and Spain, which was allied with England against Napoleon in Europe, could not afford war with the United States.

The United States had long wanted the Floridas. Because of the conflict in Europe and the preoccupation of England and Spain in the battle with France, President James Madison, with the knowledge and aid of Secretary of State James Monroe and the sanction of ex-President Thomas Jefferson, had laid plans for the acquisition of East Florida early in January 1812. In that month President Madison had selected and directed George Mathews, a fiery veteran of the Revolutionary War and a one-time governor of Georgia, to acquire East Florida. Mathews had been given a wide latitude in the exercise of powers which included the right to command the services of the American army and naval forces in accomplishing his secret mission. And Mathews had acted with energy. With the aid of the young and wealthy John Hustoun McIntosh,¹ he had

1. Although a native of Georgia, John Hustoun McIntosh had been a resident of East Florida for seven years. At this time he was thirty-nine years of age and an enthusiastic supporter of Mathews' plan for the annexation of East Florida. While McIntosh was no military leader, he backed the Patriot cause with thousands of dollars, most of which eventually was a total loss to him.

John Hustoun McIntosh has often been mistakenly identified as his more famous cousin, General John McIntosh, who won military fame in the Revolutionary War. John Hustoun was a child of ten when that War ended.

organized a revolution in East Florida, and these revolutionists, or "Patriots" as they called themselves, had captured Fernandina and Amelia Island in March of 1812. These "revolutionized" and "independent" areas of Florida had been delivered to the United States, and the Patriot army, closely followed by Mathews and Colonel Smith's army detachment had proceeded on as far as Moosa Old Fort. As these forces had progressed from point to point, the Patriots took possession of the country, declared it independent, and delivered it to the care of Colonel Smith to hold for formal annexation to the United States. Only the steadfast refusal of the Spanish to surrender St. Augustine and the fear that the strong fort there could not be taken by assault, had prevented the capture of all the settled areas of East Florida.

George Mathews had been disappointed by the partial failure of his scheme, but an even greater blow was soon to befall him. To save his own face, President Madison repudiated the act of Mathews and dismissed him. But Madison was not ready to abandon his Florida project. Governor David Mitchell of Georgia had been appointed to Mathews' place, and the American troops continued to occupy East Florida "to the walls of St. Augustine." In spite of a declaration of war against Great Britain in June 1812, and the strenuous efforts of the administration, the United States Congress had refused to sanction the acquisition of Florida. Notwithstanding the refusal of Congress to adhere to his plan, Madison had allowed the American troops to remain in East Florida.

Thus it was that on September 11, 1812, a small, tired and hungry force of the United States Army was camped on Spanish territory near St. Augustine. On the following day a wagon train, under the protection of forty men, was to move west through the Twelve Mile Swamp to Picolata on the St. Johns. There the wagons were to be loaded with provisions and sent back to the American camp. Since the wagon train was to leave early

on the morning of the twelfth, those who wanted to write letters to officials, members of their family, or friends, wrote or completed their letters on September tenth. Only eight letters were posted on the following morning and these were written by five men. Of these Colonel Smith's letter was devoted to the problem of securing supplies for his camp, and Private Robert T. Brown's was only a brief note. Lieutenant James Ryan gave some information in his two letters; Captain Fielder Ridgeway wrote three individuals to reveal something of his personal affairs and the condition of the army detachment; and William Kinnear penned the longest and the most informative letter.

Although the wagon train departed on the twelfth, these letters never reached their destination. Late in the afternoon of that day the wagons and their protective convoy of forty men were attacked by a much larger band of Indian-led colored troops. The wagons and the eight letters fell as spoils to the attackers. These letters were taken to St. Augustine and eventually were added to the Spanish archives of Florida. When the United States acquired Florida in 1821, the Spanish East Florida Papers by the terms of the treaty of acquisition were to be delivered to the United States. This delivery was made and the East Florida Papers, which contain approximately 65,000 documents, are now in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.²

The following letters were copied directly from the eight original captured letters which were written in September 1812.

2, The United States seized the East Florida Papers in October, 1821, to prevent their being sent to Cuba. For an excellent account of this seizure, see Irene A. Wright's, "The Odyssey of the Spanish Archives of Florida" in A. Curtis Wilgus (ed.), *Hispanic American Essays* (Chapel Hill, 1942).

Camp before St. Augustine
11th Sept. 1812

Sir: ³

I wish to be informed by the return of Capt. Williams, ⁴ whether you expect a supply of salt Provisions and a wagon or waggons to transport it soon. From the frequent depredations committed by the Indians there can be no longer any reliance placed on the Patriots for a supply of beef; indeed the Troops have been compelled to perform all the labour of butchering and bringing what has been furnished to camp. From the manner in which the Contractor has complied with his contract I am left to dread everything and hope for nothing, every movement thus far having been defeated by his defalcation. If you cannot supply the rations agreeably to the Contract I wish to be notified of it as soon as possible that I may appoint some person to purchase and supply on public account, we have been without spirits ⁵ for some time. The Contractor must furnish drivers to his teams.

I am respectfully Sir
Your Obt Servt
T. A. Smith
Lt. Col.
Riflemen

-
- 3, This letter was addressed to George Ruddle, who had general supervision of the contractors which supplied Colonel Thomas A. Smith's forces. Colonel Smith was a Virginian and the commander of the post at Point Petre near St. Mary's, Georgia, when the revolution began in East Florida. On July 6, 1812, he was promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel.
 - 4, Captain John Williams served in the Marine Corps and had previously been stationed on Cumberland Island. Because of the critical need for officers, he was temporarily attached to Colonel Smith's command and commanded the escort which protected the supply route from the St. Johns river to Smith's camp. In the attack on the supply train on September 12, Captain Williams was mortally wounded.
 - 5, Whiskey and other alcoholic drinks were believed essential for medicinal purposes as well as necessary for the well-being of the men. Drinking was almost the sole diversion of the officer and enlisted man in Florida. Without "spirits" Colonel Smith knew he could not keep up the morale of his men.

Camp before St. Augustine
11th Sept., 1812

Dear Ash ⁶
Sir

The *dons* ⁷ still quiet tho as we understand many threats.

We have a man who came into camp a few days ago, who deserted from the Matanzas about three months ago. he stated he went to the nation and was made prisoner by the Indians, who was carrying him to St. Augustine. Between this and Picolatti ⁸ he gave them the dodge and came into camp, he also afirmed that thare was about forty Indians on this side the St. Johns. that the houses at Picolatti was burnt and the Blockhouse knocked down to the ground. Colo Smith dispatched an express to Colo Newnan ⁹ who was at Fatios ¹⁰ on the St. Johns. he had but a few moments returned from Picolatti when the express arrived. it has this moment returned. the Indians about 25 in number did attact Picolatti, but was repulsed by our boys. the Corporal who commands thare says he could get to fire on them but seldom. that they got fire to the Skinn and Store houses before he could get to fire on them at all (which was both entirely consumed) he says he is certain he killed one of them (the corpl had five men).

Colo Newnan sets out this day or tomorrow for the nation with his detachment.

On the morning of the 9th a Mr. Armstrong of the patriots who had been employed for some time in driv-

6, This letter was addressed to John Ash of Savannah, Georgia, a friend of the writer, Lieutenant James Ryan, who was a Georgian.

7, The United States soldiers often referred to the Spanish as "Dons".

8, Picolata, one of the supply bases for the Army was on the St. Johns river, was almost due west from St. Augustine. The authors of these letters often misspelled Picolata.

9, Colonel Daniel Newnan, who was a native of North Carolina and a former United States army officer, was at this time commanding a detachment of Georgia volunteers which had been ordered to Florida by Governor Mitchell of Georgia.

10, Francisco Fatio operated a plantation on the St. Johns. Although he was not a "Patriot" his plantation house and buildings were used by the Patriots and the army.

ing cattle for us was shot and sculped about three miles from our camp.

the diserter mentioned above we consider a suspicious character, therefore take care of him.

I am Respectfully
Sir Yr Obt Servt
J. Ryan

Camp Before St. Augustine
11th Sept. 1812.

Dear Sir ¹¹

The Dons continues quite peaceable. The Indians continues their hostilities; on the morning of the 9th a Mr. Armstrong of the patriots who has been employed driving Cattle for sometime, was Shot and Sculped about three miles from camp. A few days ago the Indians made an attack on picolati about 25 in number, after burning the Skin and Store house, they was beat off with the loss of one of their fellows.

Colo Newnan sets out this day or tomorrow for the Nation.

Our camp continues very sickly Generally from forty five to sixty on the Sick Report of a day. Capt. Williams has lost two of his men since you left us. viz Sergt Porter and Beard I will thank you to examine the post office for Letters for me.

Please to write and give us the news if any. at least if you have Recovered your Letter of Appointment yet. Let me know how Massias ¹² comes out.

I am Respectfully
Sir Yr Obt Servt
J. Ryan

11, This letter was written to Lieutenant James Barton of the First Regiment of Dragoons, stationed at Point Petre.

12, New York born, Captain Abraham A. Massias of the riflemen was the military commander of Amelia Island. Because he had been accused of being sympathetic toward the pro-British and pro-Spanish groups in Fernandina, an investigation of his conduct was ordered by Colonel Smith. Massias, however, successfully defended himself and his conduct received the approval of Smith.

Camp before St. Augustine
East Florida
Sept 11th 1812

Dear Brother, ¹³

After being in this Country near two years and have frequently wrote you, I must Say I am not a little Suprised in not receiving but one letter from you or any other friend in that Quarter; that one dated in Augt. 1811 - in that time many changes and occurances may have taken place which I should be happy to here, let me know how the people stands the War with you, how is the sale of Produce, who is dead who is married and who is not, we have been encamped in this Province for about 6 months-about 21/2 miles North of the Fort of St. Augustine our station is about 90 miles South of the U. States, we suffer much with the warm climate and bad water and from the want of Supplies of provisions. We have a Small force, the Indians west of this province has become hostile agt us, has sculped Several of our men, (two of my comp'y) the Spaniards in our front and the Indians in our rear who has it in their Power to Cut off our Supplies and retreat to the U. States, our Supplies as to Hospital Supplies as well as provision are bad. we are now become sickly. our aim is at Fort St. Augustine; five times the force we have will not be able to take by storme, its the best and most Secure Fortifyed Fort I ever See if we take it we must hem them in and starve them out but even our present force will not do that, for the Spanish have the Indians to Sculp us when they can find us.

I have not time or room to give you a full sketch of all our movements at present in this province, I have had some little Domestic disputes, tried by a Genl Court Martial and acquitted with honour. ¹⁴ lately my health has been bad in this Climate, I have a wound in my right

13, Captain Fielder Ridgeway of Maryland addressed this letter to Thomas N. Ridgeway, Lower Marlboro, Colbert County, Maryland.

14, Ridgeway had a poor record in the army. Although he escaped punishment in this instance, he was found guilty by another court martial in 1814 and was dismissed from the service.

leg I am afraid will not get well in this Climate, the five years of the most of the men will be out in a few months then I shall return for the benefits of my health and that Shortly. I have a greater wish to return to Maryland once more than ever and nothing but bad health or dishonor will keep me from there-and that in a short time. I now Say pray write me on the receipt of this-let me Know if Miss Elizabeth Weems is married or Miss Mary Parran, and all the Young ladies my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Weels and Walter Doctr. Parrans family and all my friends etc etc.

I am Sir, very respectfully
Yr obt Servt
Fielder Ridgeway
Capt R. Rig

P. S. direct your letters
to me at Saint Marys Ga.
where I shall get them.

East Florida
Camp before St. Augustine

Dear Mother and Brother¹⁵

If your anxiety equals that of mine I anticipate your agreeable suprise on the receipt of this after a variety of incidents to tedious to enumerate Fortune has at length directed me to this place a place which previous to my knowledge of it could form no Idea it is in fact but a fit receptacle for savages and wild beasts the scenery of the country exhibiting nothing except a desart-pine barren and vast regions of untrackless swamps where nothing can be heard by the lonely traveller save the screeching of the owl or howling of the wolf his fears anticipating an attack from the more dreadful lurking Indian. yet this is the place of which we hold possession and for which we stand in daily fear of our lives. We lie encamped two miles from the strong fortress of St. Augustine in East Florida situated on a

15. This letter was addressed to "John Kinnear, Sheppards Town, Jefferson County, Virginia, to the care of James Brown".

point of land open to the sea the land upon which it is situated is entirely level as a plain and exceedingly open as far as any object is distinguishable upon its surface to the naked eye. The atmosphere is likewise coeval with the imperfections of the country pregnant with sickness and death. the small detachment of two Hundred men and Colonel Smith is scarcely sufficient to maintain its ground against a numerous enemy consisting chiefly of west india Blacks strangers to fear renders our situation extremely critical we have already experienced the loss of ten brave men murdered by the Indians and Negroes one of them a Mr. Maxwell charged with dispatches for Colonel Smith from the Blockhouse (where a number of our troops are stationed and where our provisions are stored) was way laid and dreadfully tortured and murdered having his nose ears and privities cut off scalped and otherwise barbarously used. two more of our men likewise charged with dispatches to Piccallatti a fort in our possession on the river St. Johns were served in the same manner. Five more of our men induced by the intreaties of some Minorcan women (who resided two miles from the fort) and who from a pretended fear of the Indians wished to be taken to the fort ventured down the river in an open boat to deliver them when upon approaching the beach where they stood received a volley of fire arms which proved fatal to them all three of them were scalped one missing supposed to have been drowned and one not scalped. but I will stop here for the present and proceed to inform you that doct McCormick 1st Surgeon in the United States army discovering in me talents sufficient for a second mate in the surgical capacity received me as such which I have faithfully performed ever since. We left Cumberland ¹⁶ 25th April 1812 and arrived in Amelia Island the 26th when after continuing there some time were ordered on here where we have been encamped two months in which place my time is fully occupied by

16, Cumberland Island, located off the Georgia coast just north of the mouth of the St. Marys river, was a temporary supply point for naval vessels and transports.

attending the sick of which there are many having 33 sicknesses on my charge in one day some of which are very dangerous and contagious the typhus fever being very dangerous having lost numbers of our men very suddenly by the same but to proceed to my former narrative I stop to inform you that we experienced a very rough tempestuous passage from Norfolk to Cumberland in so much that we were in danger of our lives I have nothing more to Communicate at present but, must beg you to remember me to all enquiring friends and I earnestly conjure you to write me as quick as possible as I ardently desire to here from you all When you direct your letter lett the superscription be directed to Capt. John Williams St. Marys' State of Georgia If ever I should live I shall come home by way of N. Carolina from your silence I should suppose you had not received my letter I wrote a letter likewise to my uncle John and I should be very much satisfied if you would inform me whether he received it or not.

No more at present from

Your affectionate
an Dutifull Son,
Wm Kinnear¹⁷

Camp before St. Augustine
East Florida
Sept. 11th 1812

Dear Sir,¹⁸

Hearewith you will find enclosed a letter to my brother of some importance to me, I enclose this letter to you because I think you will be carefull in putting it in the Post office yourself and not trust to others, any letters that may be in the office for me be please to send them. I should say more to you but Ryan wrote you lengthy. My respects to Capt Miller and family

¹⁷, The captors of these letters wrote "Till Death" immediately after Kinnear's signature.

¹⁸, This letter was addressed to Lieutenant James Barton at Point Petre.

Write me respecting my Boy ¹⁹ Massias wrote me he has been very sick Ask Capt M. if he should be sick if he will tooke care of him he shall be paid. dont fail to write me.

I am Sir Respectfully
Yr obt Servt
F. Ridgeway

Camp before St. Augustine
August 11th 1812

Sergt John A. Tally, ²⁰

I have not had one pound of butter for many days (I am sick) I have request Lieut Stallings and Mr. Ruddle to procure me some I suppose its Scarce and they have not taken the pains that I hope you will to procure me 4, 5 or 10 pounds Also chickings, ducks, I prefer the Mascovey Duck if they can be had. I will be glad if you can Send me a Small Roast Pigg if you cannot procure any of those things by the return of the Carts, you can Speak for them and send the next time, give them to Scroggins or any one of the men who may drive the Carts, as they will water feed and keep them from dying. I write this to you because I think you will do your best to procure them for me. If your official duties should prevent your attention to this-Show this to Sergt T. Davis and ask him to procure those articles for me I think he will take the Same pains to get them for me he knows I would do the Same for him. between you bouth I think you may get those articles.

Tell poor Thomas my feet is in such a state I cannot walk there at present, name to him any thing I can

19, Ridgeway's boy was a slave whom he had acquired and hoped to train for use as a personal servant. Captain John Miller of Maryland was in command of the skeleton force at Point Petre.

20, Sergeant John A. Tally, one of Ridgeway's men, was stationed at Fort Stallings, a blockhouse at Davis' Creek on the St. Johns. This post was under the command of Lieutenant Elias Stallings, a Georgian, who built the blockhouse.

do for him, shall be done, tell Bonds ²¹ his case shall be attended too.

Yr &
Fielder Ridgeway
Capt Rifle Regt

Tell Sergt. Davis
and your
Self to use your
own money and it shall
be returned directly. I
have no change neither
can I get a bill changed here.

Camp Before Augustine
Sept 11: 1812

Sir ²²

After my best complements I wish to inform you that I am well hoping these lines may find you and your lady in good health. I received your letter by Segt Kagsby and have sent you the articles that you Requested by Scroggan I have nothing important to inform you so remain very Respectfully your friend

Robert T. Brown

21, Thomas and Bonds were men of Ridgeway's command: Thomas was ill and Bonds had evidently broken some military law.

22, This letter was addressed to William C. Terrill, "Davis Creak or by Scroggan". Scroggan or Scroggins, as Ridgeway wrote in the preceding letter, either drove a supply wagon or was a courier.

TEQUESTA 1948

Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, has appeared since our last number. It is issued annually and this is number eight. Throughout it is on the high level of former issues—and more, this is the best number yet.

The last three issues have been under the direction of Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau as editor, and his policy has been to confine the articles to subjects of South Florida interest, the result is that the history of that region is steadily being written and published.

Jacob Housman

The first article is a narrative of Jacob Housman of Indian Key. Dr. Dorothy Dodd has brought together all printed as well as archive material that can be found and has made a story largely from court records and similar authentic sources which is a unique chapter in Florida's history.

Housman arrived in the region after "wrecking" had become a system of semi-piracy. He certainly did nothing to raise the level of its respectability, but fitted right into the picture and became the number one example of efficiency in seizing and keeping most of the cargoes of vessels wrecked between Biscayne bay and Key West. He took over an island, Indian Key, from some squatters and for a dozen or so years was dictator of the coast, defying both civil and military authorities on occasion. He transformed a barren rock into a "miniature Eden" evidently from his wrecking profits and lived there a law unto himself. Having been instrumental in the creation of Dade county, he brought the county seat to Indian Key, and all the county officials were in his employ. By degrees the law caught up with him, and when the island was devastated by an Indian attack in 1840, he was done for.

Thomas E. Will

"Thomas E. Will, Twentieth Century Pioneer" by Dr. J. E. Dovell of the University of Florida, is the first

full account of the work of that foremost early reclainer and developer of the Everglades. It is written by one who had made a study of Dr. Will's work in connection with the author's researches on all phases of the Everglades and its problems.

Before he was attracted by the possibilities of Everglades reclamation, Will had made his mark in conservation, particularly in forest resources. That was in 1910. From then until he died in 1937, Dr. Will gave his mind and his heart and what money he had to Everglades development. They were years of great expectations, still higher hopes, and almost continuous disappointments, with some bitter frustration; which more often than not is the reward of the pioneer. But when U. S. road twenty-seven through South Bay to Fort Lauderdale and Miami, named by resolution of the Florida Legislature "The Thomas E. Will Memorial Highway," was opened to a flood of traffic in 1941, this was abundant evidence of a dream coming true.

South Florida, 1870-1890

W. T. Cash, Florida state librarian, brings together scores of little-known facts in his "The Lower East Coast, 1870-1890" during the period when settlements were beginning. Growth is shown by comparison of population and property assessments - and what a wilderness was the coast from Brevard county to Key West in 1870! Apparently there wasn't a church nor a school until Key West was reached.

The most important of the land grants and settlers of an earlier period are noted: John Egan of 1808 and his son James of 1821 on the present Miami river, Douglas Dummitt and his pioneer orange grove of 1830 on Merritt's Island ; Richard Fitzpatrick of 1827, and the able and energetic but unfortunate Dr. Perrine of Indian Key.

The beginnings of railroad building are recorded; and there are quotations from the narratives of travelers, especially from F. T. Townshend's "Wild Life in

Florida" published in London in 1875, and Ralph M. Munroe in "The Commodore's Story" by Munroe and Gilpin. H. T. Titus became a resident and developer, and Titusville was for long the terminus of the railroad slowly making its way down the coast.

Politics, which is the author's particular interest-as it is of many historians - comes into the picture, for in many pioneer communities with their infant governments that seems to be a more important subject than crops. There are some inside stories of the famous, and infamous, election of 1876, and of that of 1878 in Brevard which was held "without any attention to law."

The early newspapers of the region are noted, of which many began publication and died in infancy, though a few were long-lived, as the *Titusville Star* established in 1880 which is still published.

There is much on the Key West of that era, which during most of the time was the largest city in Florida, and even in 1890 had a larger population than Jacksonville.

The numerous sources listed make a good bibliography of the region.

Urban Geography, Miami

"Miami: A Study in Urban Geography" by Millicent Todd Bingham, as "a type study" says the editor "of the location and growth of a city as influenced by its location is a spectacular example in urban geography . . . was written in French by a student of the University of Grenoble and published by that institution . . . To the European audience it was a startling thought that a small settlement could have grown into a metropolis in the brief space of thirty-five years."

All features of the geography of the region are summarized: structure, climate, vegetation of the natural regions, animals, Indians ; and then the city itself: site, growth, industry and commerce, agriculture, and tourist trade. In this study by a specialist we have an accurate picture of southeastern Florida of 1930.

The Bahama Channel

“Discovery of the Bahama Channel” by Dr. Robert S. Chamberlain is a scholarly investigation of the reasons for the use of this waterway between Florida and the Bahamas. Spain in the sixteenth century was one of the greatest empires the world has known. This empire was built on the subjugation of the New World and the seizure of its accumulated wealth. There were two reasons for our St. Augustine: to hold back the other European nations encroaching on that empire from the north, and to protect the stolen treasure on its way to Spain. When the Bahama Channel was found to be the most practicable route of the treasure ships, St. Augustine came into being.

BOOK REVIEW

Florida's Flagler by Sidney Walter Martin. (The University of Georgia Press. Athens, Georgia, 1949. 280 pp. \$4.00.)

Henry Morrison Flagler was a logical product of the age in which he lived. In our America of the 1870's and 1880's there were dozens of men like him—free and easy but hard-working spirits, richer than Croesus, taking orders from no one, making their own rule-books as they carved out industrial empires.

Flagler's role in American history is a significant one; in Florida, his activities were even more noteworthy and forceful. Throughout his life and since his death Flagler has been the object of comment which has ranged from eulogy to execration. Story, gossip, and fact have become interwoven, and it is difficult to extract "Flagler the man" from "Flagler the legend."

A scholarly study of his life has long been wanted. Before Florida's history from Reconstruction to the boom can be adequately written, detailed research on many facets of economic, social and political activity in the State must be made available. Particularly is there a need for unbiased biographies of men who were leading figures during this vital period.

Many hoped that Sidney Walter Martin's book would be the definitive study of Flagler. His "Florida's Flagler" falls short of that. It renders great service, however, in intensifying interest in Flagler's life and works.

The author shows that Flagler's career followed the traditional Horatio Alger pattern. Born into a poor but Christian family of some standing and culture in western New York, his father was a part-time preacher and farmer. Income from either occupation was small, and at the age of fourteen young Flagler travelled westward seeking his fortune. Arriving in Republic, Ohio, "with only a French coin, a nickel, and four pennies in his pocket," Henry began working as a country clerk for his half-brother, Dan Harkness. His pay was five dollars per month, plus room and board. In 1853, Mary

Harkness, a cousin, became Flagler's first wife. Growing prosperous as a grain commission merchant, he became acquainted with John D. Rockefeller, also in the grain business. Then he branched out into the liquor distilling business. This seems a strange occupation for him, since he was always violently opposed to whiskey and its attendant evils. By 1862, Flagler had a fortune of \$50,000 but investing his money in a salt manufacturing business he was soon bankrupt.

Moving to Cleveland, Flagler made another start in the grain business. It was during this period that he became associated with Rockefeller. Flagler, Rockefeller and Samuel Andrews were interested in the new petroleum industry which was developing largely in western Pennsylvania. It was from this association that Standard Oil Company evolved into one of the wealthiest and most powerful business units the world has known; and Flagler played an active role in this development. Martin credits him with the pregnant idea of corporation, and with being the negotiator for lucrative rebates and drawbacks which poured millions into Standard Oil's tills. About 1882, he gradually retired from active participation in Standard Oil, with one of the largest fortunes in America.

His wife's prolonged poor health was the reason for Flagler's first trip to Florida. They were in Jacksonville for several weeks, and were pleased with the climate. Mrs. Flagler died in 1881, and two years later Flagler married Ida Alice Shourds, and they came to St. Augustine on their honeymoon. Enchanted with the place, they decided to return South each winter.

Martin credits Andrew Anderson, a St. Augustine physician, with being largely responsible for the first of Flagler's Florida investments. In fact, it was on land that he purchased from Dr. Anderson that the sumptuous Ponce de Leon Hotel was constructed. In 1885 Flagler bought his first Florida railroad, the Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Halifax River Railroad. He purchased other railroads, and by 1888 extended his

holdings to Daytona Beach. Through his efforts all Pullman vestibule trains were operated between Jacksonville and New York, and a stream of winter tourists poured into Florida.

Throughout the 1890's Mr. Flagler pushed his railroad south along the East Coast, until in 1896 the road was completed to Miami. In addition to the Ponce de Leon, he built several other fabulous hotels—the Alcazar in St. Augustine, Ormond Beach hotel, the Royal Poinciana and Breakers in Palm Beach, and the Royal Palm in Miami.

An interesting chapter in “Florida’s Flagler” deals with a subject, which perhaps more than any other engendered controversy and criticism. Flagler’s second wife became insane and he was determined to divorce her. Although in Florida insanity was not grounds for divorce, Flagler laid his plans carefully and carried them through successfully. In 1901 the Florida legislature enacted a law which was known popularly as “Flagler’s Divorce Bill.” Many newspapers of the time accused Flagler of bribing legislators to secure this law. Immediately after its passage he instituted divorce proceedings, and when the divorce was granted he married Mary Lily Kenan. For her he built a marble palace, *Whitehall*, in Palm Beach.

The most valuable section of the book is that on the development of the Florida East Coast Railway and hotel system. The road past Homestead was called “Flagler’s Folly” and certainly it seemed like folly to try to build a railroad across the Keys. But Flagler’s dream was finally realized when the first train reached Key West in January 1912. It was operated until a hurricane in 1935 badly wrecked large sections of this overseas extension.

Although historians will question Professor Martin’s bias, “Florida’s Flagler” undoubtedly has wide appeal. The volume’s worth would be enhanced with a clearer exposition of Flagler’s activities as one of the topmost robber barons of Standard Oil and of the era. On this

the author quotes liberally from Ida Tarbell, but he does not always reach her conclusions about the oil company. Not even Allan Nevins's conclusions are agreed with entirely. The reader might like to know more about Flagler's dealings in Florida land. How much land did he secure from the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund? What were the activities of the Model Land Company? What was Flagler's profit from this company? Curiosity is aroused over the causes of the serious rupture between Flagler and his son. Martin states that Flagler was not actively involved in Florida politics. One wonders, however, if and how much he were indirectly involved, and if he supported the conservative faction in State politics which was attacked by Napoleon Broward, John N. C. Stockton, J. M. Barrs and others. The establishment of Florida's Railroad Commission in 1897 is not even mentioned. This is a serious omission.

"Florida's Flagler" will be enjoyed by the layman. There are excellent sections describing construction of the Ponce de Leon hotel, building the railroad along Florida's East Coast and across the Keys and erecting Whitehall. It seems to the reviewer that too much emphasis is put on Mrs. Flagler's insanity, and that the author assumes the role of a defense attorney for Flagler.

There are a number of minor slips, some of which might be charged to inadequate proof-reading. The format is good, it is well printed and bound, there are excellent illustrations and an extensive bibliography. The volume is an interesting and worthwhile contribution to Florida's history.

SAMUEL PROCTOR

The University of Florida

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In continuation of its series of quarterly program meetings, the Jacksonville Historical Society presented two addresses on February 10 before a large gathering of the history-minded. Mrs. Margaret Fleming Biddle carried her hearers back to early days in picturing "Hibernia, Fleming's Island" - a picture which should be recorded in print so that others now and in after years might see the picture too.

Dr. Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida told of "The David Yulee Papers : A New Source of Florida History." These papers, recently given to the University by Senator Yulee's daughter, Mrs. Wallace Neff, are an extensive as well as new source of our State's history for many decades from 1830.

At the Spring meeting on May 12 Mr. James C. Craig gave a talk "The Yellowed Pages Speak." He has been digging into early Jacksonville newspaper files which tell of the town and what happened there and how -and much did happen of interest.

At this meeting officers were elected for the following term. William D. Barfield, attorney, is president. Mr. Barfield has long been interested in Florida's early history and his biography of William P. DuVal, Florida's first civil governor, is the most important study of that colorful pioneer. Other officers elected then are: Frank H. Elmore Jr. and H. H. Buckman vice-presidents, Mrs. Oscar Rawls recording secretary, Mrs. John S. Porter corresponding secretary, Miss Dena Snodgrass treasurer, and Mrs. Herbert Lamson historian. Elected to the board of directors are Miss Audrey Broward, Mrs. Frances Ewell, P. H. Gaskins, Mrs. W. E. Mott, Mrs. Linwood Jeffreys, Mrs. W. S. Manning, Mrs. J. L. Medlin, James A. Austin, Joseph E. McCarthy, Mrs. James R. Stockton, Dr. Frank G. Slaughter, and Miss Florence Morrish.

(Only seven of the above nineteen are men, which may partly account for the steady growth and activity of the Society. When the Florida Historical Society was founded in 1856 there was no woman among its 134 members.)

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NO HOME FOR THE SOCIETY IN TALLAHASSEE

The governments of many states provide homes for and give other aid to their State historical societies.

At the annual meeting of the Society in 1947 the question of asking for space in some State owned building in Tallahassee was discussed and a resolution was adopted requesting the Society's Legislative Committee to draft such a bill and endeavor to secure its passage, but no agreement was to be made that the Society would accept the space that might be offered.

This was accomplished, and we were much heartened. Under the leadership of past-president Boyd, who registered as a lobbyist for the Society, and through the able and continuous efforts of Mr. John C. Blocker and Mr. Velma Keen of our Legislative Committee, and the indispensable work of our friends in the Legislature, a bill was passed against seemingly insurmountable difficulties on the next to the last day of that unusual session.

It was thought that a permanent home for the Society might in time be the result, but after adjournment Governor Warren vetoed the bill.

While the location in St. Augustine is desirable because of its large part in Florida's long history, and our rooms are satisfactory, these quarters, might be unavailable at short notice, and the increased rent and other expenses there are steadily using up our treasury balance.

It would seem that Florida, with a history longer than any other state and quite as interesting and important as any, might well provide a home for her State historical society.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

Our annual meeting on April 8 and 9, held in Miami at the invitation of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and the University of Miami was as successful in every way as was the noteworthy meeting with the same cordial and thoughtful hosts in 1941. A number of members came from a distance, and with a good local attendance heard an excellent historical program of three sessions, with addresses also at a luncheon and the annual dinner. The annual business meeting followed, with a discussion of the Society's present problems and plans, all of which are outlined in the Minutes which are included here, together with those of a meeting of the directors.

THE PROGRAM

Thursday, April 7, 1949

Board of Directors meeting

Friday, April 8, 1949

MORNING SESSION

Presiding: President Mark F. Boyd

Invocation

Addresses of Welcome

Arthur Griffith, President, Historical Association
of Southern Florida

Dr. Bowman F. Ashe, President, University of
Miami

The Andrew Jackson Clique in Florida, 1821-1837

S. Walter Martin, University of Georgia

Excavations at the Site of San Luis de Talimali

John Griffin, Florida State Archaeologist

LUNCHEON

Presiding: Marjory Stoneman Douglas

Historic Sites and Monuments

Lewis G. Scoggin, Director, State Park Service

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AFTERNOON SESSION

Presiding: Rembert W. Patrick, University of Florida

Florida as a Two-Party State, 1848-1885 (General theme)

I. *The Know-Nothing Movement*

Arthur Thompson, University of Florida

II. *The Political Action of the Freedmen's Bureau*

George R. Bentley, University of Florida

III. *The Republican Party as the Minority Party after 1876*

Edward C. Williamson, University of Florida

Discussion Leader

Rembert W. Patrick, University of Florida

ANNUAL DINNER

Presiding: Mark F. Boyd

Toastmaster: F. M. Hudson

Speaker: Hervey Allen

Saturday, April 9, 1949

MORNING SESSION

Presiding : Arthur Griffith

John Gomez

John C. Blocker, St. Petersburg

General Harney

Oliver Griswold, Coral Gables

The Cape Florida Lighthouse

Charles M. Brookfield, Coral Gables

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, McALLISTER HOTEL, MIAMI,

APRIL 9, 1949

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was called to order by President Mark F. Boyd at noon on April 9, 1949.

The Recording Secretary presented the following reports which had been approved by the Board of Directors in meeting on April 7, 1949.

MEMBERSHIP REPORT

February 1, 1948 to April 1, 1949

Total paid members, February 1, 1948	715
New members, February 1, 1948 to April 1, 1949	124
Libraries	<u>4</u>
	843
Deaths	16
Resigned	32
Dropped for failure to pay dues	68
Moved, no forwarding address	<u>3</u>
Total loss of members	119
Total paid membership, April 1, 1949.....	724
Total increase in membership (with \$4.00 dues in- stead of \$2.00)	9

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

February 1, 1948 to April 1, 1949

Cash balance, February 1, 1948.....		\$2337.59
Receipts:		
Membership dues	\$2831.90	
State Library Board Fund.....	1950.00	
Sale of Quarterlys	125.00	
Sale of typewriter	35.00	
Accommodation books sold	31.00	
Refund	7.50	
Total receipts		<u>4980.50</u>
Total to be accounted for		\$7318.09
Expenditures:		
Printing five issues of <i>Quarterly</i>	\$2174.10	
Salary of Secretary	2100.00	
Accommodation books	76.00	
Typewriter	164.00	
Rent	475.00	
Taxes	1.41	
General expenses-postage, insurance, lights, telephone, office supplies, an- nual meeting, etc.	511.59	
Books	45.05	
Total expenditures		<u>\$5547.19</u>
Balance, April 1, 1949		<u>\$1770.90</u>
Statement of operating deficit, 1948-1949:		
Balance, February 1, 1948		\$2337.59
Balance, April 1, 1949		<u>1770.90</u>
Deficit for fourteen months		\$ 566.60
Statement of special funds, included in April 1, 1949, balance		
Robertson Memorial Fund	\$ 4.00	
Life membership fund	400.00	

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Archaeology fund	57.78
Building fund	25.00
Total of special funds	\$ 486.78

BUDGET

April 1, 1949 to April 1, 1950

Estimated income:	
Balance, April 1, 1949	\$1770.90
Membership dues, 700 @ \$4; 20 @ \$10	3000.00
State Library Board Fund	1800.00
Sale of Quarterlys	75.00
<hr/>	
Total estimated income	\$6645.90
Estimated expenditures:	
Salary of Secretary	\$1800.00
Printing-four issues of Quarterly	2000.00
Rent	600.00
Annual meeting expense	100.00
Insurance	96.00
Telephone	100.00
Books	25.00
Postage and copyright	110.00
Freight and express	12.00
Post Office box rent	6.00
Electricity	17.50
Office supplies	50.00
Clipping service	36.00
Membership, Ass'n for Local History	5.00
Taxes	2.50
Contingencies	40.00
<hr/>	
Total estimated expenditures	\$5000.00
<hr/>	
Estimated balance, April 1, 1950	\$1645.90
Estimated deficit for 1949-1950:	
Balance, April 1, 1949	\$1770.90
Estimated balance, April 1, 1950	1645.90
<hr/>	
Deficit	\$ 125.00

Dr. Patrick moved the acceptance of these reports and commendation for the faithful and excellent services of Mrs. Alberta Johnson. Mr. Justin Havee seconded the motion which was approved by unanimous action.

In commenting on the membership report, Dr. Boyd emphasized the point that notwithstanding the membership drive the Society had done little more than hold its own. Mr. David True believed the report evidenced real achievement, for there was a net gain in membership in the year when dues had been doubled. Dr. Boyd called attention to the excellent achievements of Mrs. Ruby

Leach Carson and Mr. Samuel Proctor in securing members; and on the motion of Mr. John C. Blocker, the Society authorized the Corresponding Secretary to write appropriate letters of appreciation to Mrs. Carson and Mr. Proctor. The membership drive, Dr. C. W. Tebeau stated, should be continued, and moved that the incoming officers be authorized to continue the drive for new members. The motion received a second from Miss Snodgrass and was unanimously passed.

Although the Library Committee made no report, the Recording Secretary read the record of the Board of Directors meeting in which Mrs. Johnson mentioned the numerous and valuable contributions made to the library during the past year. The importance of the papers and books given by Mrs. J. A. Robertson, Mrs. H. H. Buckman, Mr. Frederick Dau, Mrs. James Hollister, and Mrs. Herbert Williams was so outstanding that upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors, the Society authorized the Corresponding Secretary to write appropriate letters of appreciation to these individuals for their gifts.

The following proposed bill was reported by Mr. Blocker, Chairman of the Legislative Committee:

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Florida:

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions of Florida to furnish to the Florida Historical Society, a non-profit organization of Florida, adequate floor space and facilities in connection therewith, rent free, in perpetuity, in some state-owned building located in the city of Tallahassee, Florida, for the housing of the library and collections of said Florida Historical Society, and for the purpose of using such space as an administration office and reading room, preferably in the new Supreme Court building.

Section 2. This Act shall become effective immediately upon its becoming law.

Dr. Boyd stated this proposed bill to be in accord with the plan accepted by the Society in 1947 at the annual meeting in Tampa. Dr. Tebeau moved, and Mr. Blocker seconded, that the Society adopt and endorse the proposed bill.

Mr. True objected to the selection of Tallahassee as headquarters because of the distance from South Florida and suggested Gainesville as a more central point. Dr.

Tebeau referred to the action of the Society in Tampa, and Dr. Boyd stated that space could be provided at this time in a state building in Tallahassee. After considerable discussion the motion was adopted.

On the motion of Dr. Tebeau, the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to circularize the members of the Society requesting and urging support for the proposed bill when it was introduced in the present legislature.

Mr. Blocker of the Legislative Committee introduced two proposed bills: one which would provide for the optional establishment of county historical commissions, and the other for keeping the state census returns. In the general discussion on these proposals, it was suggested that the state census was only one aspect of the problem of keeping the archives, and that all vital records should be kept in the State Library. In the opinion of Mr. Havee, the State Library should specialize on the keeping of the state archives and should make extensive use of microfilming. Dr. Boyd thought the Society should concentrate on the securing of quarters at this meeting of the State Legislature. Mr. Blocker agreed with Dr. Boyd and moved that the two proposed bills be carried over for discussion and action at some succeeding annual meeting. Mr. Havee seconded, and the motion was carried.

The Recording Secretary gave the favorable report of the Board of Directors on the following proposed amendments to the Charter and by laws of the Society:

That Article I, Section 3 of the by laws be altered to read, "Special members shall be of the following categories: Life, Honorary, Subscribing, Institutional, and Student."

That Section 8 be added to Article I of the by laws as follows: "A student membership shall be open to regularly enrolled students in high schools and colleges upon certification by a member of the faculty of the school or college wherein the applicant is enrolled. The dues for student members shall be \$2.00 per year."

That Article V of the Charter be amended by adding the following: "The president of the Society on his retirement from that office shall remain as a member of the Board of Directors for the following two years."

The proposed amendments to the By-laws and Charter were discussed separately and adopted.

The Corresponding Secretary read the following resolution as approved by the Board of Directors:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS: The Florida Historical Society at its annual meeting of 1945 requested the University of Florida to establish and offer a course in Florida history; and

WHEREAS: the University offered this in September, 1945, and interest in this course has steadily increased until now it attracts an annual enrollment of more than three hundred students and has encouraged graduate work in Florida history resulting in an increased number of master's theses; and

WHEREAS: the University is earnestly gathering materials relating to Florida's past, and the full use of these cannot be realized without a research professorship in Florida history;

BE IT RESOLVED: That the Florida Historical Society, in order to encourage the writing of our State's history, suggests and urges the University of Florida to establish such a professorship, similar to that in nearly all of the state universities of the other Southern states, to be known as the Julien C. Yonge Chair of Florida History.

On the motion of Mr. Havee, which was seconded by Mr. Blocker, the Society unanimously adopted the resolution as read.

The Corresponding Secretary read the following resolution as approved by the Board of Directors:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, on March 4th, 1949, there appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* of that date an article written by Leigh White entitled "St. Augustine, Florida" and

WHEREAS, in this article Mr. White referred in a critical manner to a few places of uncertain historic value to which the public was invited upon the payment of an admission fee, and

WHEREAS, St. Augustine is the oldest city in the United States and is filled with places and stories of proved historic importance, and as such a city is of great value to the citizens of Florida, and especially to members of the Florida Historical Society, and

WHEREAS, while we deeply regret the impression spread abroad by the above article, we nevertheless feel that the criticism of improper representation of St. Augustine's history should be a warning to all lovers of the Oldest City and serve as an incentive to correct such misrepresentation whenever and wherever such conditions are found to exist.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: that the Florida Historical Society at its annual meeting held in Miami on the 9th day of April, 1949, calls upon the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, the St. Augustine Chamber of Commerce, and the City of St. Augustine to examine the adverse statements and implications presented in this article and if found to be true, to use sincere and earnest efforts to correct such misrepresentations.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED; that copies of this Resolution be sent to the above referred to organizations, and to the St. Augustine *Evening Record*.

Miss Snodgrass moved the adoption of the resolution. After Mr. Havee seconded the motion, it was carried without dissent.

Dr. Boyd gave a summary of the meeting of the representatives of the Florida Historical Society and the local historical societies. Although no definite action was recommended, numerous proposals were made for a study of the problem. General opinion was in favor of the steps taken to bring cooperation and the desire for continued consideration was expressed. Dr. Tebeau moved that the incoming president of the Society appoint a committee to work with representatives of local historical societies of Florida to continue the work inaugurated by Dr. Boyd with the ultimate aim of drafting proposals to effectuate closer cooperation between the state and local historical societies. After receiving a second by Mr. Williamson, the motion was unanimously accepted.

In a general discussion of affairs of the Society, Dr. Boyd stated that the proposed monthly news releases had not been possible, but that Miss Snodgrass was preparing a series of two hundred historical questions and answers on Florida. This historical series would be a feature in the *Miami News* and would also be carried in the Perry newspapers of the State. Miss Snodgrass described the series of questions as simple ones which would attempt to stir historical interest. The motion of Dr. Tebeau and Mr. True of appreciation for and approval of Miss Snodgrass' plan and work was unanimously approved.

Dr. Boyd reported that the Lee Howard Company had made photostats of Florida historical documents, and that these were on display in the room. Although the intention had been to use these reproductions in the advertising campaigns of banks, the plan was being abandoned. The Lee Howard Company had made approximately one hundred copies of twenty-seven historical

documents, and the company would supply these to interested persons or institutions at a fraction of their costs.

After the conclusion of Dr. Boyd's remarks the following officers, directors, and committee members were elected:

President: Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau
1st Vice-President: Mr. Richard P. Daniel
2nd Vice-President: Dr. Webster Merritt
Recording Secretary: Dr. Rembert W. Patrick
Treasurer, Librarian, and Corresponding Secretary:
Mrs. Alberta Johnson

Directors:

District 2: Mr. Russell L. Frink of Jacksonville.
District 3: Dr. Dorothy Dodd of Tallahassee
District 4: Mr. Samuel C. Collier of Everglades.
District 6: Mrs. Henry Kohl of Palm Beach.
At-Large: Mr. G. G. Ware of Leesburg
At-Large: Mr. William I. Fee of Fort Pierce.

Nominations Committee for 1950:

Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, chairman
Mr. W. T. Cash
Mrs. W. S. Manning
Mrs. T. M. McDuffee
Mr. Samuel Proctor

Expressions of appreciation for those responsible for the 1949 annual meeting in Miami were expressed. The Corresponding Secretary was authorized and instructed to write letters of thanks on behalf of the Society to Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Chairman of the Program Committee, Mr. Arthur Griffith, President of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Mr. Joseph M. Cheetham, President of Miami Pioneers Society, Dr. Bowman F. Ashe, President of the University of Miami, and the manager of the McAllister Hotel.

Dr. Boyd declared the 1949 annual meeting adjourned at 2:00 P. M.

REMBERT W. PATRICK
Recording Secretary

Approved:

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU
President

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
APRIL 7, 1949, McALLISTER HOTEL, MIAMI

The meeting was called to order by President Mark F. Boyd at 8:20 P. M. with Mrs. Carson, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. McDuffee, Mr. Patrick, Miss Snodgrass, Mr. Tebeau, and Mr. Worcester present.

The minutes of the preceding meeting of the Board of Directors were approved as printed in the **QUARTERLY**.

Mrs. Johnson presented the membership report (attached No. 1) which was accepted for presentation at the annual business meeting of the Society. The report of the treasurer (attached No. 2) was then presented. Miss Snodgrass requested an explanation of the \$1.41 paid for taxes, and Mrs. Johnson stated this tax was for two lots owned by the Society. Since these lots were a drain on the funds of the Society, Mrs. Johnson was requested to find the value of them, the possibility of sale, and the right of the Society to sell the lots. On the motion of Mr. Patrick, seconded by Mr. Worcester, the treasurer's report was approved. Expression of gratitude for the services of Mrs. Johnson were made and it was agreed that some commendation should be noted for her work in presenting the treasurer's report to the Society. On a motion by Miss Snodgrass, which was seconded by Mr. Worcester, the travel fare and living expense of Mrs. Johnson for the annual meeting of 1949 were ordered to be paid by the Society. The budget for the coming year (attached No. 3) was read and explained by Mrs. Johnson. The motion of Mrs. Carson approving the budget was accepted.

There were no reports from the library, finance, membership, and archaeology committees. Mrs. Johnson enumerated the large number of gifts to the library and called special attention to those of Mrs. H. H. Buckman, Mr. Frederick Dau, Mr. James Hollister, Mrs. J. A. Robertson, and Mrs. Herbert Williams. Miss Snodgrass moved that the Board of Directors recommend to the annual meeting of the Society the writing of special letters of appreciation to the donors. This was unanimously accepted.

Although there was no report from Mr. Richard P. Daniel, chairman of the state-wide membership drive, brief statements were received from the various directors. Mrs. Carson met her quota of three members for each member in Collier County and Mr. Samuel Proctor sent in from Alachua County one-third (35) of the total number of new members which joined the Society during the past year. It was agreed that a recommendation for special recognition for Mrs. Carson and Mr. Proctor be made to the Society.

Dr. Boyd read the report of the Legislative Committee which included drafts of three proposed bills. The first proposed bill was the outgrowth of the decision of the Society in 1947 annual meeting at Tampa to request rent free space for its library and headquarters in some state building in Tallahassee. Dr. Boyd reported on his efforts to have the bill introduced in the Florida House of Representatives and Senate, and read a copy of the letter which he had forwarded to Governor Warren. On a motion by Mrs. Carson, which was seconded by Mr. Worcester, the Board approved the proposed bill and a resolution urging members of the Society to write to their representatives and senators in support of the same.

Two other drafts of proposed bills, (attached No. 4) one to establish county historical commissions and the other to preserve the state census returns, were discussed. It was agreed that the first should be reported to the Society unfavorably and the second reported with no comment.

Dr. Boyd presented a resolution which requested the University of Florida to establish a research professorship in Florida history to be known as the Julien C. Yonge Chair of Florida History. (The resolution and statements of purpose are attached as No. 5). Miss Snodgrass' motion for approval of the resolution for report to the Society was seconded by Mrs. Carson, and passed.

PURPOSE OF THE RESOLUTION

The state of Florida has a unique place in the history of the United States and of North America. No other state of the Federal Union has the historic past of Florida, with its early explorations and settlements, its revolutions and counter-revolutions. Florida was the scene of great imperial conflicts among the powers of Western Europe, was the locale of struggles for independence, and, after attaining self-government, remained the national potential link between American and Latin-American cultures.

Historic Florida has as great if not greater rights to recognition as have the other states. Studies of the social, economic, and political past of Florida can make our citizens more culturally unified, help our government to avoid a repetition of mistakes made in the past, and bring economic advantages to a state which attracts millions of tourists.

The Florida Historical Society holds that the study, research, and writing of Florida history should be given more encouragement. The Society is cognizant of the contributions which the University of Florida has made in the field of Florida history, such as the establishment of the P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History, the collection of historical records, and the directing of a large number of masters' theses. The Florida Historical Society has been encouraged by the cooperation of the University in acting so quickly on the Society's recommendation to institute courses in Florida history. The fact that these classes in Florida history now have a total annual enrollment of more than 300 students has justified the Society's belief in a widespread latent interest in the history of the state.

Notwithstanding its record of past achievement, the University of Florida should do even more to encourage the study of state history. Its leadership should be of such nature as to further develop undergraduate and graduate study, research, and writing, and prepare a base for Florida history in grammar and secondary schools. As one method of accomplishing these purposes, the other states of the South have established research professorships. The emphasis which Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina have given to state history is well-known. Within the last decade the universities of North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana State, and Alabama Polytechnic Institute have created special chairs of state history. Since Florida has a longer history than any of the other Southern states and since the state of Florida does provide considerable funds for research in political science, the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting strongly recommends the establishment of a chair of Florida history at the University of Florida, the incumbent of which should be charged with

the direction of under-graduate studies and graduate research in Florida history, and should be allowed some time, perhaps half-time, for research and writing in Florida and Southern history.

Dr. Boyd introduced a resolution relating to the *Saturday Evening Post* article on St. Augustine (attached No. 6). After a general discussion, the motion was seconded and passed.

Although stating that Mr. Julien Yonge's term as editor of the QUARTERLY did not end until June, Dr. Boyd suggested the election of an editor at this meeting of the Board. Without exception everyone spoke of the contribution which Mr. Yonge has made to the Society during his long years of service. Dr. Boyd felt that Mr. Yonge should have help in his work, and reported that Mr. Yonge intended to appoint an assistant editor. Dr. Boyd's statement that "Julien C. Yonge is the heart of the Florida Historical Society" was the consensus of the directors. Mr. Yonge was unanimously re-elected editor of the QUARTERLY for a three year term beginning in June 1949. Attention was also directed to the services of Mrs. Johnson who had served the Society so faithfully and well as Librarian and Corresponding Secretary. How she had assumed the additional duty of treasurer, and how she had worked with practically no vacation in the last six years. Dr. Boyd expressed the opinion that the best method of appreciation would be by an increased salary, but because of the financial condition of the Society only heart-felt thanks could be given to Mrs. Johnson.

Mr. Worcester and Mr. Patrick introduced proposals for amending the Charter and By-laws of the Society; one to place each retiring president on the Board of Directors for two years, and the other to establish a student membership. The Recording Secretary was instructed to prepare and present these proposals to the annual meeting.

Dr. Boyd made several reports which included a description of the Lee Howard Company's, reproduction of historical documents, the abandonment of the proposed monthly news release, the question and ans-

wers on Florida history being composed by Miss Snodgrass, and the afternoon meeting on state and local historical societies. It was agreed that this information should be presented to the annual meeting with recommendations of approval for the work of Miss Snodgrass and the continuation of the study and drafting of proposals to effectuate closer cooperation between state and local societies.

In reply to a question by Miss Snodgrass, it was agreed that the Librarian should cooperate with local exhibitions of responsible parties by loaning material from the library. Discretion, however, should be used as to the type of material loaned, and the conditions under which display would be made should be considered by the Librarian. On the problem of the Society's backing for a commemorative coin, it was agreed that no action should be taken to sponsor such a project.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:20 P. M.

REMBERT W. PATRICK

Recording Secretary

Approved:

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

President

OUR NEW OFFICERS

President Charlton W. Tebeau, head of the history department of the University of Miami where he has taught for the past ten years, received his Ph. D. degree from the University of Iowa. Evidencing his keen and long-held interest in Florida's history: he was a charter member of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and for the past three years has been editor of *Tequesta*, the outstanding publication of that association. With his continuous assistance in building up the Florida history section of the University's library, that will ere long be one of the most important libraries of Florida history.

As chairman of the committees on arrangements and program, the success of our annual meeting in April last

was largely due to him. As our president, the Society will continue the growth and usefulness which has marked the three terms of Dr. Boyd.

Our new director from District 6 is *Mrs. Henry Kohl* of Palm Beach who has long been a member of the Society. Her historical interests include the Daughters of the American Revolution, in which she has held state and local offices. It was during her term as Regent of the Seminole Chapter of that organization that a marker was placed by that chapter at Juno on the site of the former Dade county court house. Juno, the southern terminus of the famed "celestial railroad" was the county-seat of Dade for a number of years in the last century. *Mrs. Kohl* plans to broaden the Society's activities in her district through local societies.

Mr. Russell L. Frink, elected a director of the Society from District 2, is a native of Jasper. A graduate of Washington and Lee University, he is now a lawyer of Jacksonville. He has held numerous offices in local and statewide associations, social, governmental, and philanthropic, and is now an official of several of these, including the chairmanship of Florida Railroad Association. An active member of the Jacksonville Historical Society, he has long been a member of our Society also.

Mr. William I. Fee, elected as one of our directors from the state-at-large, has been a business man of Fort Pierce since 1904. Now retiring from his various business enterprises and from some of his public activities, he is gathering material for a history of the Indian River region, in which he has been interested for nearly half a century. One of his important public works has been mosquito and sand fly control in which he was a pioneer and has served as president of the Florida Anti-mosquito Association for two terms. He has been made a life director of the Indian River Citrus League, and life member of several local organizations of which he has served as president. He has been a member of our Society for twenty-five years.

Mr. Samuel C. Collier was elected a director from

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District 4. A native of Memphis, he is a son of Barron G. Collier whose works in Florida are well-known to us all. He is a graduate of Yale, is a veteran of World War II, and is one of those who are continuing the work of his father in Florida.

Elected a director from the state-at-large is *Mr. G. G. Ware*, a native of Bradford county who has been a banker of Leesburg since 1909. Besides the presidency of the First National Bank he directs or is interested in several business enterprises. Mr. Ware is a past president of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce as well as of the Florida Bankers Association, and has been president of other regional and local organizations. He has an especial interest in the development of Florida's forest resources and is chairman of the Forestry Committee of the Florida Bankers Association. He has been a member of our Society for nearly twenty years, and is much interested in the history of central Florida.

AN ASSISTANT EDITOR OF THE QUARTERLY

Our by-laws provide that the editor of the **QUARTERLY** may appoint members of a staff. Under this provision Edward C. Williamson has been appointed Assistant Editor. Mr. Williamson is a graduate of the University of Florida where he majored in history and received an M.A. degree. His thesis was a biography of Wilkinson Call. He has completed his academic work for the Ph.D degree at the University of Pennsylvania and is now writing his dissertation which relates to Florida history from Reconstruction to the end of the century. An instructor of Florida history at the University of Florida, he is also a part-time collector of Florida historical manuscripts for the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University.

Mr. Williamson is a veteran of World War II in which he served as an artillery captain on the Western Front and took part in the battles of Normandy, Northern France and the Rhineland. He holds the Croix de Guerre, Bronze Star with two oak-leaf clusters, and the Presidential Unit Citation.

NEW MEMBERS

	<i>Nominated by</i>
William Shepard, Daytona Beach	Alberta Johnson
Will S. Lindsley, Miami	C. W. Tebeau
Mrs. Thomas Milton Hood, Tallahassee	R. L. Goulding
Mrs. Wm. Ely Chambers, Hewlett, N. Y.	Alberta Johnson
Donald E. Lester, Ft. Lauderdale	C. W. Tebeau
L. W. Blake, Bradenton	Mrs. Lillie McDuffee
W. Clayton Page, Cocoa	Rev. John F. McKeown
Ruth Washburn, Fort Myers	Rev. Michael C. Clasby
Carl Williams, Fort Pierce	W. I. Fee
Brian K. McCarty, Fort Pierce	W. I. Fee
Sydney Jones, Miami	C. W. Tebeau
Dewey Macon Johnson, Quincy	C. Horace Curry
Mrs. Erle B. Nelson, Miami Beach	Virginia Wilson

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Mark F. Boyd, past president of the Florida Historical Society, is editor of the "Journal of Tropical Medicine." He has specialized historically on the first Spanish period in the Tallahassee region.

George R. Bentley is Associate Professor of Social Sciences, the University of Florida.

Rembert W. Patrick is Professor of Social Sciences, the University of Florida.