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THE PENSACOLA INDIAN TRADE

by PETER A. BRANNON

Any account of the trade with the southern Indians out of Pensacola must of necessity be a historical recording of the contacts of Spanish (and British to an extent) West Florida with the Alabama Basin region to the north. The "Pensacola Trade Route" incidents make much of the romantic story of the early settlement of the Gulf country.

Over a long period of years, while doing archaeological research in the former Creek country of Alabama, I realized that I never saw much Spanish trade goods. The character of European material found on old Indian sites demonstrates British influence very positively. There is some French stuff, quite a bit of Italian or Mediterranean European, and some Oriental material, but there is no Spanish silver (except a few coins) and so far as can be identified, no evidence of fire arms, iron hatchets and that type of material which came from Spain.

Lachlan McGillivray, a rich trader in the Alibamo country, the father of General Alexander McGillivray, controlled the trade relations out of Charleston, Savannah and Augusta up to the close of the American Revolution. He went home with the British from Savannah in 1783 and the State of Georgia took possession of his property. There are records in the Montgomery County, Alabama, court house dated as late as 1821, which show guardians being legally appointed in the settlement of this old McGillivray property. So far as historical records in Alabama go, Lachlan himself had no tie with the Pensacola merchants. Alexander McGillivray was credited with being a silent partner of Panton, Leslie and Company, who were the principal traders in the entire South from Georgia to the Mississippi, with headquarters at Pensacola.

The American State Papers, under "settlements of Spanish claims in West Florida" show William Panton was granted lot

16, in the town of Pensacola, built on and fenced in 1781.¹ John Forbes and Company, successors to the Panton firm, claimed this lot through Panton's possession from 1795.

Albert J. Pickett in his *History of Alabama*, published in 1851, (1900 edition)² makes the statement that Alexander McGillivray, who died 17 February 1793, was buried in Panton's garden in Pensacola. The story of Panton, Leslie and Company; John Forbes and Company; Forbes, Leslie and Company; and that "House of Panton," which included James and John Innerarity, is recounted in *Florida Historical Quarterly* (xix,107.Oct.1935) by Mrs. John W. Greenslade, the granddaughter of John Innerarity, who was the last manager of the old British firm.

The Pensacola trading house sent goods up a trail to the north and northeast which went out of Pensacola along the ridge between the Escambia and Perdido rivers to cross the Conecuh a short distance east of the present Brewton, Alabama. This trail proceeded to a point a little east of the present Montgomery and thence to Tuckabatchee, the largest town in the Indian Nation. From here the traders carried their goods as far north as the present Talladega County and we find some British goods out of Pensacola recorded as having gotten into the hands of the traders on the Chattahoochee River. Most of the Pensacola trade, though, centered on the Tallapoosa and Coosa rivers and not far above the junction. Numerous historical references indicate conflicts between the natives and travelers who followed the Indian trail which subsequently became the Federal Road, in their journeys to the Tombigbee country from the Milledgeville area of Georgia. Pensacola goods likewise followed the trail of the present road northwest out of Pensacola which proceeded to Mobile and to the Mississippi River. The records show that the main house of the Company

1. Brannon, "House of Panton," *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 6, 1934. *American State Papers. Public Lands*, vol. 4, p.189.

2. p.430.

at Pensacola generally carried a fifty thousand dollar stock and had a trading establishment for swapping skins at Chickasaw Bluff, near the site of the present Memphis.

Bartram visited Manchac on the Mississippi,³ this same Chickasaw Bluff trading post in 1777 (1776), so we must conclude there was a trading post there prior to that time, and inasmuch as the route to this place seems to have been through Mobile, it must be concluded that Pensacola goods went that way.

Col. Benjamin Hawkins, late of North Carolina, an original appointee of President Washington as a Commissioner to treat with the Indians, and who served as the U. S. Agent in the Creek Nation from 1796 until his death in 1816, gives the towns and traders as follows:

TRADERS IN THE UPPER CREEKS

The 26 towns are the mother towns:

1. **Tallassee.** James McQueen, a Scotchman; has property. The oldest white man in the nation; was a soldier under Oglethorpe when he first came to Georgia in the year 1732. He is healthy and active; has had a numerous family, but has outlived most of them.

William Powell, a little property and not desirous to accumulate much.

2. **Tuckabatchee.** Christopher Heickle, a very honest, industrious man; in debt to Mr. Panton. He has been 40 years in the nation. A native of Germany; was a good pack horseman, but not sufficiently intelligent for a trader.

Obadiah Lowe, a meddling, troublesome fellow; has some property.

3. **Autossee.** Richard Bailey, a native of England. 33 years a resident among the Creeks; has property, but is in debt to Mr. Panton and to the public factory. He has two sons; they have been educated; the oldest by the U.S.; the youngest is now with the Quakers; he was banished the 28th of May by the National Council at Tuckabatchee and has since been permitted to return, and was killed by a fall from his horse.

Josiah Fisher, a cooper; an inoffensive man.

4. **Hothlewaulee.** James Russel, has the character of a good trader. Abraham M. Mordecai, a Jew of bad character; in debt to Mr. Panton, Mr. Clark and the factory.

William McCart, his hireling, said to be honest.

3. Bartram, William: *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida.* London, 1791. p.411.

5. *Fuscehatchee*. Nicholas White, a native of Marseilles, an old trader, a good trader, 30 years in the nation.

William Gregory, his hireling, of a good character.

6. *Cooloome*.

7. *Ecunhutkee*.

8. *Sauvanogee*. John Haigue, commonly called Savannah Jack; much of a savage.

9. *Mooklausau*. Michael Elhart, an industrious, honest man; a Dutchman.

10. *Coosaudee*. Robert Walton, an active man; more attentive to his character now than heretofore.

Francis Tuzant, an idle Frenchman; in debt to Mr. Panton and to the factory.

John Mcleod, of a bad character.

11. *Wetumcau*.

12. *Hookchoie*.

13. *Hookchoieoochee*.

14. *Tuskeegee*.

15. *Ocheubofau*.

16. *Wewocau*.

17. *Poccuntallauhassee*. John Proctor, a halfbreed.

18. *Coosuh*. John O'Kelley, a halfbreed.

19. *Aubecoochee*.

20. *Nauche*. James Quarls, has a bad character of an honest man. Thomas Wilson, a saddler.

21. *Eufaulauhatche*. James Lesley, appears to be a decent, respectable man. He died in the spring of 1799.

22. *Wococoie*. James Clark, a Scotchman, a hard drinker; in debt to Mr. Panton.

John Gilliard, his hireling.

James Simmons, an indolent, careless man.

23. *Hillaube*. Robert Grierson, a Scotchman; has property.

David Hay, his hireling, a Pennsylvanian.

Stephen Hawkins, an active man of weak mind; fond of drink and much of a savage when drunk.

24. *Ocfuskee*. Patrick Donnally, formerly tricky, but reformed and has property.

25. *Eufaulau*. John Townshend, a man of good character.

26. *Kialjee*. John O'Rieley, an Irishman, who drinks hard.

Townlay Bruce, of Maryland, formerly a clerk in the Indian Department; removed for improper conduct. A man capable of business; excessively attached to strong drink; an enemy to truth and his own character.

TRADERS IN THE LOWER CREEKS

I. *Coweta*. Thomas Marshall, a steady trader; has accumulated considerable property.

John Tarvin, in debt to Mr. Panton; called Johnny Hauho by the Indians, a name expressive of the man; he is honest.

James Darouzeaux, an old resider and interpreter in the nation.

Hardy Read, an illiterate trader.

Christian Russel, an active, honest Silisian; a tanner, shoemaker from choice, a doer by trade; a seaman; constantly in motion and trying everything for an honest livelyhood.

2. *Coweta Tallauhassee*. James Lovet, a trader of some activity; illiterate, without regard for truth.

3. *Cusseta*. Thomas Carr, of long standing in the nation; has property, cattle and negroes; is in debt to Mr. Panton; appears to be an honest, funny seaman; says he is a Scotchman, but has the Irish dialect.

John Anthony Sandoval, a Spaniard; in debt to Panton, Clark and the factory, and out of credit.

4. *Uchee*. John Smithmoor, in debt to Mr. Panton.

5. *Ooseuchee*. Samuel Palmer, a honest old man, of little property.

6. *Cheauhau*.

7. *Hitchitee*. William Grey, an active, good natured man, of loose character, but more attentive to his character now than heretofore.

8. *Palachoclee*. Benjamin Steadham, an old man; a saddler; has an industrious, honest son at Tensaw, and one of halfbreed, and two daughters at Palachoclee, who live well; are industrious and have property; the girls are good spinners.

9. *Oconee*.

10. *Sauwoogolo*.

11. *Sauwoogeloochee*.

12. *Eufaulau*.⁴

THE TRADE

The Indian trade with the Alabama-Coosa country was an exchange of glass beads, bottles, blankets, needles, thimbles, muskets, bullets, lead, liquor (rum) and trinkets which pleased the natives. The merchant received in exchange what must be more generally called leather, rather than furs. The fur animal in the South was not comparable with that medium of exchange of the Hudson Bay Trading Company of the northern regions. In the middle Alabama country is found considerable evidence that the French traded with the Indians, for there is an abun-

4. (Brannon, *Southern Indian Trade*, Montgomery, 1935, pp.27-32). See also Hawkins: *Letters*, Georgia Historical Society Collections, 1916, *passim*; and Pound, Merritt B., *Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent*. Univ. of Georgia Press. 1951.

dance of fragmentary olive oil and perfume bottle remains. Venetian beads, which must have come from the Mediterranean, "Black Jets," which are credited with originating in France, are likewise found. The French were the first Europeans to trade cork screws to the Indians. After 1763 there were no French licenses to the merchants. In fact the French did not encourage trade except through their posts at Fort Toulouse and Fort Tombeckbe. With the close of the American Revolution, Great Britain lost the opportunity of trade through Savannah and Charleston, and George Galphin, who had served with the Colonists, inherited most of the British trade of the East. Even though Spain owned West Florida and dominated the Mobile country until after 1812, the British influence was strong in that territory and the Scotch merchants in West Florida took advantage of their opportunity.

Archaeologists, from evidences and reports of the very earliest contacts between the whites and the natives, have established the fact that a great trading path extended from Pensacola, by the junction of the Coosa and Alabama on to the Cumberland, north of the Tennessee and to the Great Lakes. With a branch off at Tuckabatche, a trade route went on out across the Mississippi River and to the West. Archaeologists are convinced that the Indians in the middle country of America visited the Gulf region, and we find in the Deep South, much Lake Superior copper which had been traded to these Indians. Likewise, there are numerous conch shells and salt water evidences in the upper country, proving the inter-trade relations over these pre-historic paths. The middle Alibamo country sought by the Pensacola merchants as a trading ground, was literally the "cross roads" of the American South. The routes and trails went from the Atlantic coast at Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, on across the present Alabama and to the west of the Mississippi. Trade routes went from the St. Johns area, the Apalachicola area, Pen-

sacola and the Gulf, due north to Canada, crossing in the great Alabama drainage area of the Gulf country.

A pertinent evidence of the influence of the Pensacola trade is the finding of the application of the seal of West Florida as an inscription on silver gorgets. These trade ornaments quite often occur in archaeological finds, some of them having the British Colonial seal in its exact points, while others have the crest side of the West Florida seal. One must assume that those replicas or imitations, which show the figures of George and his Queen on the reverse, and the British Colonial seal on the obverse, would emanate either at Charleston or Savannah; and that where the West Florida seal, either front or back is shown, came in through British merchants at Pensacola. Medals in bronze and sometimes Sheffield ware occur in the trade objects turned out, sometimes suggesting that some of them came from Pensacola and some of them from the Atlantic coast.⁵

The "Pensacola Trade Route" is well known in Alabama history especially on account of the several incidents of a murderous nature which took place along the trail. Murder Creek, a tributary to the Conecuh River, which watershed makes the Escambia in Florida, gets its name from the fact that at a celebrated camping place where the trail crossed a stream northwest of the present site of Brewton, Alabama, Colonel Kirkland and a party of Royalists traveling in the late 1780's from South Carolina to Pensacola and accompanied by General Alexander McGillivray's man servant, were waylaid at this point and all but the servant were murdered. Savannah Jack and a celebrated white man of the Hillibi town, the Cat, two traders, having visited Pensacola and learning that the

5. Note references to the British West Florida Pensacola trade in Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 331, 332.

For other details of the Indian trade see Capt. Hugh Young, "Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida" in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. xiii, pp.91-92. This includes a "list of articles exchanged by the Indians with the factors with customary prices at the trading house."

South Carolinians had a sum of money in their baggage, murdered the party and escaped with the loot. The incident and the scene made the site famous and to this day it is called Murder Creek. On this same trail and even as late as 1813, Indian traders and groups of Upper Creek natives who had gone to Pensacola with them, clashed with the new settlers at another stream-crossing not far from Murder Creek and known in Alabama geography of today as Burnt Corn Creek Crossing. Whether the accusation is justified or not, we at this late date cannot determine, but those who have written of Alabama's history seem to think that all the bad Indians went to trade at Pensacola and the better ones went to trade with the English on the Atlantic.

There might be some justification of this assumption from that fact that Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, U. S. Indian Agent and his assistant agents controlled the natives east of the present Macon County, Alabama, better than they did those who lived in the Coosa Valley and south to the Gulf. Lachlan McGillivray, the trader originally out of Charleston, who married the half-breed daughter of the French Commandant at Fort Toulouse and whose son Alexander McGillivray, was later the partner of the Panton firm at Pensacola as previously stated, certainly controlled the Indian trade in the Alabama-Coosa Valley, even when Col. Hawkins who lived on the Flint River in Georgia, enforced the original Colonial licenses of the traders on the Chattahoochee and farther east.

OPERATION OF THE TRADE

Trading parties, whether they visited Pensacola or Charleston, were generally made up of either the traders of several towns or one trader who went along to look after the interests of several. They carried down, to the trading center pack-horse trains of ponies, onto which were loaded the goods for trade: skins, oils, herbs, roots, nuts and such, and they returned with

the purchased goods loaded onto what they termed "leads", made up of ten horses tied together. These proceeded single file, none of them bridled, along the narrow "path", but each ten under the control of a driver who was responsible for his load. The senior McGillivray, who came into the Nation from Charleston sometime around 1730, is said by Pickett to have been hired by his cousins in Charleston who gave him a pocket knife as his first driver's commission into the Nation.⁶ This knife he swapped to the Indians in the interior for four skins and with the trade goods that he got in Charleston for these four skins, he started that trading house, which at the time of the close of the American Revolution, was the largest one in the Nation. The sleigh bells and hawk bells, so very numerous in the archaeological remains found on old town sites, are evidences of the popularity of this form of adornment of these pack horse ponies who were ringed with strings of these bells in order that they would not get lost when turned loose at night. William Bartram in his very interesting story of his travels through this Gulf country, notes many cases of trading parties with which he came in contact.⁷

No story of the trade relations with the Creek country out of Pensacola could be complete without reference to that notorious soldier of fortune, Maryland-born William Augustus Bowles. Bowles is said to have resided at Pensacola for sometime, though it is a known fact that at one time he was an enlisted man in the British Navy. Mr. Bowles had a checkered career. He was an actor and a portrait painter in the British West Indies; he served a prison term in Madrid and one in Manila, and he spent some time at St. Helena, to be eventually captured through the intrigues of Colonel Hawkins and Mr. Forbes of the house of Panton, at a called Council at Taskigi on the Coosa.⁸ He was

6. Pickett, *op. cit.*, (1900 edition) p. 343.

7. Bartram, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

8. *Am. State Papers. Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, *passim*; Pickett, p. 471.

an intrepid and consistent enemy of Panton; and in character, served the British on the Chattahoochee for a time, endeavoring to win the influence of the Alabama Basin Indian traders to the Atlantic Coast merchants and wean them from Spanish Pensacola.

Bartram, on his visit to Pensacola in September 1776 (this date may be 1777 as the journal is confusing) says there were several merchants in the town.⁹ He does not name them. Swanson and McGillivray, the merchants at Mobile, forwarded Bartram's roots, herbs and seeds which he had collected up to that time, on to Dr. Fothergill at London. If there had been a British merchant at Pensacola at the time, it would seem that Bartram would have mentioned him by name, particularly in view of the fact that during his visit he was cordially received by Governor Chester and Mr. Livingston, secretary of the colony.

The trading posts in West Florida in Spanish days were probably subsidized in one way or another by the Spaniards but they were kept by Scotch and British merchants. There are records of these posts as located at St. Marks, St. Johns, Apalachicola, Pensacola and Mobile. Most of the more easterly posts than Pensacola were in operation as early as 1771.

Alabama history is replete with references to settlers who made more or less prominent establishments on the trade routes. You may see mention of "Milly's House on the Pensacola to Tuckabatchee Trail," or "Woccocoi Clark's place in the present Coosa County." The latter refers to the trader, an Englishman, who lived at Woccocoi, on a branch of the Coosa River and who ran a seventy horse pack train to Pensacola. This gentleman, well known in Alabama history, had a celebrated Indian wife whom he called Queen Am. Milly, who lived on the Tuckabatchee trail, was the widow of a British soldier, a deserter from the Army when the troops started home

9. Bartram, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

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from Savannah in 1783, and who died of smallpox at Cusseta. She maintained a tavern, ran a toll-gate bridge, maintained a trading house and in her career there, is said to have had husbands of three different colors. Even so, she was an impulsive, generous and respected woman who grew to old age on that stream in Montgomery County, which perpetuates her name today. The "Pensacola path" coincident with portions of the later Federal Road, figured prominently in the literature on the South of that period.

THE BRITISH-CREEK TREATY OF 1765

In May 1765 the British officials of West Florida assembled a "Congress" at Pensacola of the Upper and Lower Creek Indians, who attended in large numbers, to discuss their various relations, especially the Indian trade. A treaty was drawn up and signed by the British officials and the principals.

The following is extracted from the journal of the proceedings:¹⁰

Wednesday May 29th 1765.

Present

His Excellency Governor Johnston, John Stuart Esqr

Superintendent

Indian Chiefs & Interpreters as usual.

The Congress being opened the Mortar¹¹ spoke as follows [translation:]

You must look upon us as a poor People & your younger Brothers who are now come to converse with you, in former times we were entirely unacquainted with the Customs of the White People, but since they have come among us, we have

10. Brannon, *op cit.*, pp. 50, 51; *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1763-1766*. English Dominion, vol. 1, p. 215.

11. The Mortar was one of the four "Great Medal" chiefs of the Upper Creeks and hence was considered to be of especial importance by the British.

been Cloathed as they are, and accustomed to their Ways, which makes it at this day absolutely necessary that we should be supplied with the goods in the Nation.

The King of England knows his Red Children are very Numerous, & must be Cloathed, they are all indigent & I hope the King, the Governor, the Superintendent & all other White people are sensible that they are so, & as I have this day considered the Conveniency of the English in granting them Land to plant, so I expect they will in return Consider me and my People. This Land was formerly part of our hunting Ground, but now many of us are grown old & Incapable to kill Deer enough to purchase Cloathing. We had formerly good Success in hunting but are now obliged to Cross the Cherokee River for Game, which Considerations induce me to desire, that as Deer skins are become Scarce, The Trade may be reduced in proportion, so that we may be enabled to Clothe & maintain our Families, that is to say, that we may be able to buy a Blanket, for four pound Leather, when we come to Trade at Pensacola; a Pair of boots for 2 lb. Leather; a flap for 1 lb. a Blankett for 6 lb. a Gun for 12 lb. a Check Shirt 3 lb. a White 2 lb. a hatchett 1 lb. Callico per Yd. 2 lb. as some of their Women are very big, Gartering per ps 3 lb. Nonsopretties 1 lb. Silk Ribbon 2 yds. for 1 lb. Broad hoes one for 2 lb. fine Shirts 5 lb. Rum per Bottle 1 lb. Leather; Price of Kettles to be reduced, in the price one pound, Barley Corn & small Beads 12 strands for 1 lb. Leather, Sixty Bullets for one Skin, 16 flints for one skin the Quantity of Gunpowder to be increased from the old Measure, the price of handfs of every kind to be Lowered 1 lb. Leather, Looking Glasses to be reduced in the price, 1 lb. Leather. Thick Saddlers Laces, 6 yds for 1 lb. Leather, Small black Duffles for 4 lbs. Leather, fine Broad Ribbon, to stand as it does, these are rates at which I expect to Buy Goods in my Nation: which, I imagine the English can afford to sell them

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at, & as their Merchandize arrives here without the Expence of Land Carriage upon Horses, they can afford to reduce the prices at Pensacola Still lower, Paint is an article of which the Red people are very fond and the Traders now in our Nation only give a little on the point of a knife for one pound Leather therefore I hope the Superintendant, will direct a proper measure for selling Paint, I expect to buy knives at the same Price at which they are Sold by the White People in the Woods, if I have omitted any thing I desire that some of my Warriors may mention it, & if the Trade is fixed upon the above footing it will make them happy & I desire that they will immediately restore whatever they may have taken at different times from the White People. . . .

I have reason to Suppose that you do not receive me like a friend, as I observe all the Flags you hang out, are Crossed with Red, Whereas I expected to see every thing White, were you to go into my Nation & see me with all my Warlike Implements about me you would think of me as I now do of you. here he ended his Discourse.

To which the Governor made the following answer.

I know that your people are poor, it has pleased God to make us Richer than them, & that we shall Supply them with what they may want as far as we Can and altho' You have Granted to the English these Points of Land on which you used to hunt, yet you may still Continue to do so.

The Trade being reduced too Low amongst you will frequently occasion a scarcity of Goods, no person of any repute Trades to the Cherokee Nation which was in a great measure the occasion of the late Cherokee War.

Your endeavors to serve your Country, by Lowring the trade, are highly Commendable. You have spoke like a Man, & as such will no doubt be easily convinced upon hearing our reasons that it will be for the Good of your Country that the Trade

should Continue upon the old footing, it is very true some articles might bare a Little Lowring but those people who, in time of War, at so great a risque, carryed Goods into your Nation, must have Proffits Equivalent, as Trading Licenses are granted from each province in America indiscriminately, it is not in the power of any Single Governor to reduce, or Augment the Trade, in the mean time, however, for your Satisfaction, I will call a meeting of the Traders to your Nation & Consult them upon that Head, altho I am well assured that if the Trade is Lowered, none but Vagabons & runagadoes will go to trade among you.

The Superintendant has long known the Cherokee Nation, but never yet has found a Trader amongst them Who dare go down to Charlestown least he should be apprehended, for Debt, or some missdemeanor. . . .

As to the Red Cross in our colours, it is no Emblem of War, but what we allways use & you have often seen amongst us.

Though The Mortar had made a good case, Lo, the poor Indian ¹² did not get what he asked for. The treaty contained the following rates of exchange:

RATES OF GOODS IN THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEK NATIONS

	lbs.	
2 yds of Strouds for	8	Leather
1 Blanket	8	
1 do. Shagend	6	"
1 White Shirt	3	"
1 Check do.	4	"
1 Fringed Housing	10	"
1 laced ditto	6	"
1 pr. Gartering	4	"
1 do. Dutch pretties	2	"
3 yds. Quality binding	1	"
2 do. Silk ferret	1	"
1 do. Indian Calico	4	"
1 Trading Gun	16	"
10 Flints	1	"

12. An American Indian, so called from a line in Pope's *Essay on Man*.

THE PENSACOLA INDIAN TRADE

15

10 Hawks Bells	1	"
1/2 pint Gun Powder	1	"
40 Bullets	1	"
1 Romall handkf	2	"
Saddles according to Quality	4	"
1 Snaffle Bridle	1	"
5 Strands Barley Corn Beads	1	"
20 Strands Common Do.	1	"
1 pr. Trading Scissors	1	"
1 Knife	1	"
1 Cutteau	3	"
1 Trading Razor	2	"
1 oz. Vermillion	1	"
3 spans Brass Wire	1	"
1 pr. Ear Bobs	2	"
1 Large Silk Bengall	4	"
1 Small ditto-	3	"
12 Pea Buttons	1	"
Brass (Kettles no)		
Tin (fixed price)		

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING A VOYAGE TO
THE MIAMI REGION IN 1793

by RICHARD K. MURDOCH

That the southern portion of the Florida peninsular possessed no significant commercial value in colonial days was generally conceded, but its strategic importance as guardian of the Bahama Channel was fully recognized. Governors of Florida, both English and Spanish, stressed the possible dangers if this region were permitted to fall prey to enemy occupation. In spite of the acknowledged importance of the area as a military outpost, no program was undertaken by the Spanish authorities to erect permanent military bases south of the fort of San Marcos in St. Augustine and the battery on the shore of Matanzas Island. Only when a direct threat materialized, such as the landing of the adventurer, William Augustus Bowles, ¹ on the southern shore of Florida, did the governor take active steps to employ military forces to clear the enemy from Spanish colonial soil. The reluctance to utilize the military can be explained by the scarcity of armed forces, land and sea, both in St. Augustine and Havana. This situation rendered constant patrol activity virtually out of the question even as an obvious means of discouraging further inroads along the coast. ² Under such circumstances it was not surprising that scattered individuals, usually of foreign origin, began to appear along the coast, either to trade with the Indians, or to establish homesteads where they

1. Information on William Augustus Bowles, the adventurer, exists in many archives. He landed on the east coast of Florida in 1788, collected a small band of Indian supporters and made an attack on Hambly's trading-post near Lake George. After his departure from Florida, several of his English accomplices apparently remained behind and eventually scattered throughout south-central Florida. For a short sketch of Bowles, see *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, III, 133, footnote; also Caughey: *McGillivray of the Creeks*, *passim*.
2. Several reports were forwarded to Havana in the years 1788-1792 containing complaints that there were insufficient soldiers in that province to garrison Fort San Marcos adequately, let alone patrol the outlying regions of Florida. For a typical report of this sort, see Quesada to Conde de Lerena, November 15, 1791, AGI:SD, legajo 2642.

hoped to exploit the meager agricultural resources of the land without interference from the Spanish authorities. A portion of these new arrivals were refugees from their former governments; some were admittedly nothing but adventurers in search of easy wealth, while others were sincere settlers drawn by the prospect of free land in a spot inaccessible to bureaucratic officialdom. But regardless of origin and of purpose, all were unwanted interlopers and their continued presence on Spanish colonial soil was repugnant to the authorities in St. Augustine who found it hard to explain their failure to dislodge these strangers. Inertia, the general shortage of military resources, and the impassible terrain all worked to frustrate any effort to remove these people.

A combination of events late in 1792 made it obvious that this lack of direct action was not a permanent solution to the problem of these foreign settlers. War clouds were spreading in Europe,³ Indian troubles were wide-spread along the Florida-Georgia frontier, and the possibility of a renewed gathering of adventurers in the southern part of the province, all combined to force the incumbent governor, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada,⁴ to adopt a definite policy. Unconfirmed but nevertheless disturbing reports reached St. Augustine that a number of persons resident illegally along the south-eastern shore of the province were suspected of having had close association with the Bowles fiasco of 1788. There seemed to be ample grounds to suspect that their presence in Florida might mean further activities by that adventurer or some other of the same persuasion. A report had reached Quesada during the late summer that there was a definite plan underway to raise a band of 18,000 settlers in South Carolina to descend on some portion of the Indian

3. War between France and England broke out in 1792 and it was patently obvious that Spain would soon be forced to enter the conflict.

4. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, the second Spanish governor after the retrocession, assumed office in 1790 and remained in East Florida until ill-health forced him to request relief from his duties in 1796.

country, possibly in North-central Florida.⁶ The governor decided that it was incumbent upon him to investigate these rumors in order to guarantee the future safety of his province. As he was then plagued with the fear of a French attack on St. Augustine,⁶ there seemed to be considerable doubt as to the advisability of sending any of his meager military force to investigate the rumors. Faced with an apparent dilemma, he decided to employ a more devious but less expensive device. He proposed to his council that a small unarmed schooner be dispatched ostensibly to carry official papers to Havana, but actually under secret orders to make a careful investigation of the situation along the southern part of the coast. In this way it might be possible to prevent a leak of information from St. Augustine prior to the completion of the investigatory expedition. The governor was aware that there were many non-Spanish settlers in and about St. Augustine who were in communication with these interlopers further south along the coast.

It was eventually decided to send the schooner, *Juan Nepomuceno*, a dispatch-boat normally employed in the Havana-St. Augustine-Charleston run, with her crew augmented by three trusted colonial servants. The vessel was placed under the command of Gideon Hawkins,⁷ an Englishman who had remained in the province after the retrocession of 1783, and who was an old hand at navigating in the tortuous coastal waters of the eastern shore. The task of keeping a careful log of the voyage was assigned to John Hambly,⁸ one of Quesada's most trusted

5. For the original report, see Campo de Alange to Las Casas, March 13, 1792, AGI:SD, legajo 2560.

6. News of the impending outbreak of hostilities between Spain and France reached America early in March, 1793.

7. Little information seems to be available concerning Gideon Hawkins except that he appears to have been a resident of East Florida for some years prior to 1783 and that he was a sailor and pilot.

8. John Hambly, apparently a Royalist refugee from the United States, held the position of Indian interpreter for more than a decade. He was the son of William Hambly, also an Indian interpreter and agent. These two, John and William, are often confused in Spanish records.

Indian agents and interpreters, and apparently a man of considerable education although lacking in writing ability. Finally, to command the entire expedition, the governor selected a close personal friend, Captain Sebastian Verezaluze,⁹ who held the position of senior pilot in St. Augustine. It was his responsibility to oversee the activities of the other two men and to insure that they performed their assigned duties with dispatch and sincerity. Both he and Hambly were fully apprised of the true purpose of the expedition in order that they might be prepared for any occurrence.

The schooner set sail on February 23, 1793 and remained away until the morning of March 16 when the anchor was dropped once again in the harbor of St. Augustine. Both Hambly and Verezaluze were given immediate audiences by the governor and each presented him with a full report of the activities that had taken place during the voyage. External evidence seems to indicate that Hambly had kept a day to day log of the expedition while his companion may have prepared his account from brief notes just prior to meeting the governor. In general content the two reports were similar although that of Hambly contained more detailed geographic and meteorological information, perhaps an indication of a more observing mind. On the other hand, Verezaluze included considerable more information about navigational problems and the suspected settlers than did Hambly. The governor prepared a covering letter to inform the authorities in Havana of what had taken place prior to the expedition and also what the mission had accomplished. The tone of his letter indicated that he was well pleased with the information that had been reported to him although he seemed a little apprehensive as to what the future might bring.

As a matter of fact this report reached Havana just at the

9. Captain Sebastian Antonio Verezaluze, a Basque, held the semi-official position as pilot due to his long years as captain of a merchant vessel. His name appears in at least six spellings in Spanish documents.

time when the authorities there were in receipt of orders from Madrid to be on the watch for hostile actions on the part of France. The report seems to have been buried under other documents of a more pressing nature, as the governor-general made no immediate reply to Quesada other than to acknowledge the receipt of the dispatch. If nothing else did develop from this expedition to the southern coast of Florida, it did at least leave behind a rather interesting description of the coastline and of the region around the present city of Miami. The following documents, four in number, were selected from a larger group since they actually comprise a single unit. In order, they are: a covering letter written on March 18, 1793 by Quesada addressed to the governor-general in Havana to inform him of the overall purpose of the expedition; a copy of the governor's secret instructions to Hambly and Verezaluze; Verezaluze's report on the progress of the mission; and Hambly's day to day account of what transpired both at sea and on land. The original documents are to be found in the East Florida Papers now on deposit in the Library of Congress. While all the documents are in Spanish, Hambly's original report was in English and was presented by the Indian agent to the governor who in turn forwarded a Spanish copy to the governor-general. The original English version is reproduced in this paper. Every attempt has been made in translating the documents to retain de full Spanish meaning although the punctuation has been altered frequently to meet current usage, and shorter sentences have been constructed to make the language more readable.

I

[Translation]

Quesada to Las Casas, San Augustin, March 18, 1793

Most Excellent Sir:

[I write] in order to inform Your Excellency of what has been reported to me concerning the possible whereabouts of Charles

Lewis¹⁰ who is believed to be established on the Rio Gega.¹¹ Ever since last month, the skilled pilot of the bar [St. Augustine], Sebastian Verezaluze, accompanied by the Indian interpreter, John Hambley, of whom I made mention in [dispatch] number 302 of September 26 last, has been scouting the coast under my instructions [southward] from the Matanzas, in order to find the hiding place of the aforementioned. The diligence of these men has produced the information which Your Excellency may read in the attached copy of [the account] of their activities. It is reliably reported by them that Lewis has settled on that river known as the New.¹²

A certain Robins,¹³ employed in the house of Lewis, was one of the principal confidants of Bowles in the latter's first expedition to this province in the year '88, and it appears quite likely that he settled on the New River during the last six months. He is inclined to support Wellbach¹⁴ and the continuing partiality shown Bowles by the Creek nation.

Keeping in mind all of this, I hope Your Excellency will be pleased to inform and caution me as to what I should do in this circumstance (half measures count for nothing) to break up this nest of enemies which is without doubt the preferred [step], as otherwise it will become easier, day by day, to com-

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10. Little is known of Charles Lewis except that he appears to have made an illegal entry into East Florida some time after 1783. His children later laid claim to several sections of land in the region to the north of present-day Miami, on one of the branches of the New River. *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, IV, 62-63.
 11. Rio Gega or Giga was the name sometimes applied to the Bahama Channel.
 12. The mouth of the New River is located within the city limits of Fort Lauderdale and is approached from the sea through New River Inlet.
 13. No information appears to be available concerning Joseph Robbins (Robins or Rovins) and his family.
 14. George Wellbank, referred to by Georgia authorities as a "low, illiterate fellow," came to East Florida in 1788 with Bowles, took part in the 1792 venture, and remained as a free agent near St. Marks for at least another year. Several references are made to Wellbank or Willbanks, in the *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, volume I. For a short summary of his career in East Florida, see Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, p. 224, footnote 186.

municate between the Indians and the Island of Providence.¹⁵ It appears to me that an easier method and one less liable to arouse the savages further and to increase the number in the camp of the enemy who does not recognize our territory, will be to persuade a band of the same Indians by means of offering a reward, to seize Lewis secretly and convey him and his family as prisoners to Apalachee or to whatever place seems best to Your Excellency.¹⁶

Verezaluze has informed me of the news that he received from Robins that three vessels from Providence have actually made free use of the Rio de Ays.¹⁷ I cannot say more on this subject except that it is well known that the vessels of this ant-like nation¹⁸ continuously make use of the shore because the lack of population along the coast renders it, I believe, incapable of being guarded.

May the Lord keep Your Excellency for many years.

San Agustin, March 18, 1793

II

[Translation]

Instructions

The real purpose of the present mentioned voyage is to investigate with secrecy and skill the condition in which the Englishman finds himself, supposedly established with his family on the coast of Florida between the Rio de Ays and Boca Raton.¹⁹ Don Sebastian Verezaluze and Don William Hambly²⁰

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15. Island of Providence in the Bahama Islands is now called New Providence Island and contains the capital city, Nassau.
 16. The suggestion that Lewis and his family be taken prisoner accounts for the governor's efforts to keep secret the purpose of the expedition.
 17. Rio de Ays or Ays River presumably refers to one of the tributaries of the Indian River in the neighborhood of Stuart in Martin County.
 18. The reference is to England.
 19. The town of Boca Raton (Rat Key) is located in the southern part of Palm Beach County. The reference here probably is to some portion of the ocean front in this area, or possibly to Boca Raton Inlet.
 20. Internal evidence indicates that the governor actually meant John rather than William Hambly as it was the former who went on the expedition.

are the only ones to whom this last, [the true purpose], is entrusted. For [the benefit of] the crew and the public, it is announced that the destination is to be Havana.

The sailor, Gideon Hawkins, instructed about the aforementioned conditions, is designated as skilled pilot. When the anchor has been cast in the bay after having mentioned audibly [to the crew] the news that the vessel is to go on to Havana, he is to give notice of having to land briefly to inform himself concerning several fine horses which it is reported the adventurer Bowles gave to the aforementioned Englishman in '88.

After having anchored the ship at the mouth of the river or in the channel on which it is thought the Englishman has his habitation, they are to take the water-casks which they have purposefully emptied, with the [announced] purpose of filling them, and they are to tow the casks to take on water [to a point] as near the house of the Englishman as they can go without arousing suspicion. Verezaluze, Hambly and Hawkins shall go with the sailors in the boat towing the casks behind, and the three shall carry firearms as if they were out hunting and as if in this occupation, they shall approach the house. Then employing the most friendly terms they shall carry on a conversation with the inhabitants without asking any unfriendly questions or [performing] any act that might lead the inhabitants to believe that the arrival [of the boat] was anything but by chance.

As it is believed that Hawkins is known to the Englishman, he may question him about the aforementioned horses expressing indifference yet a proper amount of curiosity.

Hambly and Verezaluze are especially commissioned not to lose a single opportunity from the time of their entry into the boat to their return to the schooner, to be in the company of Hawkins lest they be out of touch with him and out of hearing when he converses with the Englishman. This is to be done

lest he converse in a way less than friendly. They are also to see how he, [the Englishman], is dressed, as also the mother and her full-grown four sons.

After leaving the house still on friendly terms, they are to complete rewatering and then return on board where Hambly shall go below decks and write down an approximation of all that has passed and all that he has noted with his famous memory while it is still fresh. And Verezaluze shall do the same thing, having gained especial knowledge by observations of the depths of water in fathoms and of the turns of the river, as well as of all other landmarks which he judges necessary to reach the house easily, be it at night or day, and on any occasion. He is also to consider what should be the best means and manner to anchor the boat in the river, entering at night, in order to begin the watering operation as they are ordered to depart the next day.

Hambly with apparent unconcern is to request information briefly about the real hiding place of one Williams,²¹ who is known for certainty to have lived for some years in some place on this coast.

When all have gone back on board, the order shall be given to return to this Plaza, but not before having sailed far enough from the coast in order not to permit those on shore to conclude that they are not headed for Havana which is the destination about which they are to let the Englishman and his wife hear.

III

Report of Verezaluze [Translation]

Account which I, Sebastian Verezaluze, render of the expedition to the New River region of this Province carried out under secret orders from the governor of the Plaza, and made in the

21. No information appears to be available concerning Williams.

schooner, *Juan Nepomuceno*, belonging to the Royal Treasury.

We sailed from this bar on February 23 last and left the bar of the New River on the 9th of the present month. The distance is eighty leagues²² from this port and ten from the Boca Raton. We cast anchor outside [the bar] in six fathoms of water headed in a southwesterly direction, parallel to a hill on the coast, and in a spot west-northwest of the aforementioned bar. We found the bar to have a depth of somewhat more than six feet of water and a breadth [of channel] of twelve yards. After we were over the bar, we entered the mouth of the river on a north-westerly course and encountered five and one-half feet of water for a distance of twelve to fourteen yards. We took a course west by northwest, always trying to navigate in the center of the channel which was six feet deep for a distance of five miles from the bar. In that place the river divided into three channels; the right one extended in the same direction to the west-northwest; that on the left toward the southwest; and the one in the middle toward the west. We sailed up the last [channel], and at a distance of twenty to thirty yards after entering this stream, there were several sharp turns in the channel. These turns stretched for a distance of sixty yards. We sailed up to the north almost to the source, always in six feet of water. We retraced our course through these curves and sailed into the northern branch past a mangrove swamp. We sailed until we came to a tributary creek and then passed by a swamp following the same course as before. After leaving this spot and along the rest of the way to the landing, we sailed in plenty of water. At a distance of one mile from the aforementioned mangrove swamp and the spot where the creek branched, we discovered a small house, a barn and a chicken coop. This

22. The reference is presumably to the Spanish *legua marina* which is equal to 5555.55 meters. Eighty leagues would thus be equal to approximately 275.6 statute miles or just about the distance from St. Augustine to New River Inlet.

location was at a spot a short distance beyond a grove of pines which we encountered on the left side.

Joseph Robbins, an Englishman of about forty years, lives in this house together with an American white youth of about twenty-four, a mulatto girl with her female child about four. We brought the vessel alongside the pier in order to be as close to the shore as possible, and anchored in four fathoms of water. The distance from the pier to the house was about ten yards, and from the bar to the house about eight miles. It is worthy of note that a half mile after we crossed the bar, we found the water of the river to be entirely fresh. According to the report, the aforementioned Joseph Robbins lives in the small house belonging to an Englishman named Lewis, who had four weeks earlier departed on his schooner with his family for Providence with the intention of returning in four weeks, that day to be the 6th of this month. The aforementioned Robbins said that he had been there for five or six months, and that Mr. Lewis had lived in that house for several years, and that the latter had a plantation two miles to the west of this house. He also reported that Mr. Lewis had five horses which a certain Bowles had given him. These animals as well as the house, barn and chicken coop, all belonging to Lewis, were now in his charge.

We went into the house about three in the afternoon of the 6th. We slept that night near the pier, and we spent all of the 7th there until sunset. We then set sail and reached the bar at nine o'clock that night and we anchored near there in six feet of water. On the 8th at ten in the morning, Robbins together with the youth, the mulatto girl and her child, all arrived in a canoe, for I had asked him at his home to come to eat with us at the bar if he would enjoy it. They were on the schooner until we were ready to sail out over the bar. This was at four in the afternoon of the same day, the 8th. They took leave of

us with many thanks for our assistance and with the expectation that on our return from Havana, they might come with us to this Plaza.

After crossing the bar, we set our course to sea as though we were sailing for Havana as we had previously told Robbins. Then at night we put about and set our course for this port which we reached on the 16th of this month.

Florida, March 18, 1793

IV

Hambly's Journal

Journal of a voyage from St. Augustine to New River in the schooner, *St. Juan Nepomuceno*, made at the order of the Governor.²³

23rd Feb'y - Sailed from St. Augustine and got over the bar about 9 o'clock in the morning - Wind SE - Beat to windward all day and some part of the night and came to anchor about 3 miles to the north of Matanzas.

24th -The wind still at SE -Beating to windward all day and some part of the night - Made but little way to the southward and came to.

25th -The same as above.

26th - About 10 o'clock in the morning the wind still at SE - Making but little way - Came to anchor about 7 miles to the north of Muskettoes.²⁴

27th - About 8 o'clock in the morning the wind came to nearly northwest - Weighed anchor and stood to the south - Passed the Muskettoes about 10 o'clock - Stood along the coast and

23. No attempt has been made to correct the author's errors and inconsistencies in spelling and grammar although some modification of capitalization has been undertaken.

24. Muskettoes presumably refers to Mosquito Inlet (Ponce de Leon Inlet) in Volusia County.

passed, Cape Canaveral²⁵ at sundown - Very boisterous night.

28th - Passed Indian River²⁶ early in the morning - The wind blowing very hard at north-northeast - Obligated to sail for the keys - In the night very boisterous - Lay to under the foresail.

March 1st -Got in to Key Biscain²⁷ and came to an anchor about 10 o'clock.

2nd - Weighed anchor early in the morning and stood up the Sound²⁸ and came to an anchor off the mouth of the River Miamis²⁹ - Went on shore while the people were filling water - Saw Bowles's old camp where stands two large lightwood posts at about 12 feet distance and about 14 feet high - Seems to have had a piece mortized in on the top and appears to have been the entrance of some old fortification - In the pine barren saw 2 old tarr kilns - Where Hawkins said he made tarr during the last war³⁰ - Set the woods on fire and came on board - In the afternoon, went into the mouth of the river and caught a few fish, called snappers - We cast.

3rd -At sunrise weighed anchor and stood down the Sound and came to an anchor at Bear Cutt,³¹ the north mouth of Key Biscain. Went on shore being told by Hawkins there were plenty of game but found none.

4th - The people went on shore to cut wood-Hawkins and Mr. Sebastian went up a small creek and caught plenty of fish

25. Cape Canaveral (Canaveral) in Brevard County is one of the major landmarks on the eastern coast of Florida.

26. Indian River may refer to one of the inlets to the Indian River, a sound which parallels the coast for many miles. This inlet may be Sebastian Inlet in Indian River County.

27. Key Biscain (Biscayne) lies just to the south of Miami.

28. The Sound presumably is the present Biscayne Bay.

29. The Miami River enters Biscayne Bay at a point just to the north of Brickell Park.

30. The reference is to Hawkins' participation in the war for American independence when East Florida supplied the English navy with a considerable amount of valuable naval stores.

31. Bear Cutt is the stretch of water between Key Biscayne and Virginia Key.

-half after 2 o'clock weighed anchor and came down to the barr at Key Biscain - Came to anchor at sundown - Wind SE.

5th - Weighed anchor at daylight - Got over the barr about 8 o'clock - Little wind at SW - Sailed along the coast and came to an anchor off the mouth of New River at 3 o'clock - Being ebb tide, could not get in - Mr. Sebastian and Hawkins sounded the barr - Caught plenty of fish.

6th - In the morning saw three or four Spermacantia³² Whales - Sounded the barr again and found 4 feet at low water - But a bank inside very shoal - Shifted the ballast more forward - Got over the barr about one o'clock - Sailed up the river - 5 1/2 feet water with rocky bottom - At 5 miles distant from the barr, the river forks, one branch running north³³ - another to the south and the middle one something to the north of west - About three miles from the forks up the middle branch, the English people reside - At half after three o'clock came to the place - A white man who was at the landing and seeing the vessel, run up and said here they come high and dry - And came out of the house with his rifle gun in his hand and asked from whence we came - Hawkins very imprudently answered from Providence but he was soon told that we were from Augustine and bound to the Havanah - That having the wind a head we had put in there to get fresh water, catch some fish and ca.-That he might make himself easy that we did not mean to hurt him but on the contrary he should be welcome to take part of what we had with us - We then went on shore, shook hands with him and again told him he might make himself perfectly easy - That we did not mean to disturb him or any other person - This made him contended and he desired his wife who is a mulattoe woman, to take up some fresh water trout which they had ready cooked. Mr. Sebastian sent on board

32. Spermaceti.

33. The northern branch of the New River is now called Opossum Creek.

for some wine, rum and biscuits (they having no bread) and we sat down and eat and drank together - Our supper was cooked on shore and they took part with us - He was asked if a Mr. Lewis did not live there - He answered that him and his sons had been gone from thence about three weeks for New Providence with a load of fish oil and venison hams - That himself and family consisted of himself, wife and three sons (one of whom is lately marry'd) and were expected back but they could not tell exactly when - The people now residing here are Joseph Robbins, about 40 or 45 years of age, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high and blind in his right eye - A mulattoe woman named Rachel with her female child 2 1/2 years old - Named Susannah - Joel Radcliff³⁴ about 25 years of age 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high - Robbins was with Bowles when he landed at the head of Indian River and went under the Title of Capt. Robbins - The house stands on a pine bluff on the south side of the river, about 10 yards distant - A small fowl house opposite - About thirty yards from the dwelling house up the river stands a small house which we found to be a blacksmith's shop with a forge, bellow and ca. in it - A bench with a vice fixed to it - Hammers tongs - 2 small bars of steel - A small anvill - a whip and cut saw and a chest with sundry tools in it - This shop, tools and ec. it is said belongs to Lewis and that when here he makes harpoons et ca. for his own use.

7th - Robbins and Radcliff went up the river a hunting and asked if we would wait untill they came back that if they killed anything, we should have part to carry with us - We told them that if the wind did not come fair, we would wait - In the afternoon they returned having killed nothing - In the evening, we got supper together and then took our leave of them and came down below the forks of the river and came to anchor.

34. No information appears to be available about Joel Radcliff.

A VOYAGE TO THE MIAMI REGION IN 1793

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8th - Came down the river and come to about 1/2 miles from the barr (the river from the barr to the forks is not in any place above 200 yards from the sea beach) - A short time after we came to Robbins, the mulattoe woman and her child and Radcliff came on board untill we got very near the barr when they left us - Robbins left his rifle gun on board, which was sent on shore to him after we got over the barr - After shifting the ballast we made sail and stood to the south'd untill dark- Then stood to the north'd untill 12 o'clock when the wind shifted to the NNE and obliged us to stand to the south'd.

9th - About 8 o'clock in the morning, passed New River and stood along the coast to Bear Cutt - At 12 o'clock came to an anchor - At 2 o'clock got over the barr - A little more than half flood - 5 feet water - Stood down the Sound and came to an anchor at Key Biscain about 4 o'clock.

10th - Got under way in the morning to get out but finding the wind at east, came to an anchor at Soldier Key³⁵ - Went on shore - Shott some blue herons and caught a parcele of lobsters.

11th - Got under way a little after sunrise and got out - Wind ESE -A fine day and good breeze - Passed Jupiter³⁶ at sundown.

12th - At seven in the morning stood in for the land - Could not see it at sundown - Just before dark made the land.

13th - Early in the morning stood close in to the land which proved to be Mount Turtle³⁷ about six leagues to the south of Muskettoes - Came to an anchor - After 8 at night got under

35. Soldier Key lies to the south of Safety Valve Channel.

36. Jupiter Island lies to the north of Jupiter Inlet in Martin County.

37. Mount Turtle (Turtle Mound State Monument) is located near the northern extremity of Mosquito Island not far from the ruins of the New Smyrna settlement.

way and stood off and on, and got a little to the north of Mount Turtle and came to an anchor - Wind NNE.

14th - Got under way about 10 o'clock and stood off and on until 1 o'clock but gained nothing, came an anchor - After sun-down got under way again, the wind at east but growing quite calm - Came to an anchor at half after 10 o'clock.

15th - At daylight weighed anchor - Light breeze at SE - Passed the Muskettoes at seven o'clock - The wind freshens - A fine breeze - At 4 o'clock came to an anchor off Augustine Barr.

16th - Got over the Barr of Augustine about 8 o'clock and landed about quarter after 9.

SETTLERS FROM CONNECTICUT IN SPANISH FLORIDA

LETTERS OF AMBROSE HULL AND STELLA HALL HULL 1808--1816

Edited by ROBERT E. RUTHERFORD

Part II

Ambrose Hull was one of the Protestant Americans who answered Spain's call of 1788 for immigrants to settle and develop the Florida lands. Hull obtained a grant of 2,600 acres in the New Smyrna area early in 1801 and began building his settlement, as narrated in Part I in the last issue of this *Quarterly*. Unfortunately, his first attempt was cut short by an Indian raid in which he suffered damages amounting to several thousand dollars. Nevertheless, Ambrose and his wife, Abigail, with her sister, Stella Hall, soon began rebuilding. The letters previously published relate the story of their early years in Florida, or until 1806. In that year, on a trip to Hempstead, New York, Abigail passed away. Stella, who accompanied Abigail and Ambrose to Florida in 1801 and then returned with them to Hempstead in 1806, married Ambrose before the year ended.

The following letters relate the story of Ambrose and Stella after their return to Florida late in 1806, and continue until 1816. These were years of both happiness and misfortune. After the so-called Patriot War in 1812, the Hulls left their plantation near New Smyrna and made their home at St. Marys, Georgia. However, even though they lived in the United States, their lives centered about the Florida scene, so they may still be considered as a part of the Spanish-Florida story. While living in St. Marys, the Hulls often longed for their old Florida plantation, and so, on December 10, 1820, Ambrose purchased three hundred acres on the west side of the St. Johns River, and later on March 7, 1821, he obtained two hundred additional acres in the same area.¹

1. Petition by William Gibson, executor of the last will of Ambrose Hull. *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*. Historical Records Survey, WPA, (5 vols., Tallahassee, 1941). Vol. III, *Confirmed Claims*, 295-296.

Stella Hall Hull to Ruth Hart

New Smyrna May 25th 1808 ---

Dear Sister Ruthy--

. . . I am very impatient to hear once again from your quarter of the World - and am much surprized and not a little hurt that I have not had the satisfaction as yet, of a single line from our Sister Hannah or Brother Edmund - I have written repeatedly to them as well as yourself since we arriv'd in Florida - and really think I have some reason to complain of the neglect of Friends that are so near and dear to me - and who cannot but be sensible how much it is in their power to contribute to my happiness in this particular, and that it cannot fail to afford me inexpressible pleasure to hear frequently of their Health and Prosperity -

I am very desirous to hear from Edmund, and to know how he has disposed of himself as he did not appear altogether determin'd when he left Hemp. - what course to persue - I wrote him sometime in Janry and endeavor'd to persuade him to make us a visit - as it must now be very dull in the United States, I think he had better try his Fortune this way - at any rate he may come and see us without any great sacrifice of time or money - and he will then be enabled to judge for himself what can be done -- I wou'd not be understood that the times are very bright and lively with us -- but we are jogging on in a sober quiet manner, and trust that with the smiles of a good Providence our persevering Industry we shall be able in a few years to acquire an Estate sufficient to support us through life (not in splendour) but in ease and independence - it is a great point gain'd when we can bend our desires to our circumstances when we are so far contented with our condition that we can enjoy all the good, and pass lightly over the evil that happens to fall in our way - Yet how many miserable beings there are who seemingly in the possession of every Earthly blessing - are not

SETTLERS FROM CONNECTICUT IN SPANISH FLORIDA 35

capable, - are not wise enough to enjoy any thing, but go on growling to the end of the chapter - but enough --

I must now inform you that I send this letter by William Hull who is going on to Connectt with his Br. Abiather by way of N. York if a passage can be obtain'd to that place if not via. Charleston - Mr Hull is writing by this conveyance to Mr Hart - he joins me in love to you and all our Brothers and Nephews and Sister Hannah -

Yours Affectionately

STELLA HULL

PS. I wish you to desire Br Edmund, or Cousin William or some one of your household, to examine at Waits Lottery Office in Maiden Lane, the fate of a Ticket which I hold in St. Marys College Lottery Baltimore - the number 7028. you see I'm still dabler in a game of hazard - it is well enough now and then to try Fortunes caprice, she may by chance throw something in ones way - you will write me soon, I have a right to expect so at least

Stella Hall Hull to Ruth Hart

New Smyrna Apr 3d 1809

Dear Sister Ruthy,

I imbrace the opportunity that now offers of writing you a few lines by Br Edmund - who is on the Wing for your place of residence - I am extremely sorry that it is not in our power to detain him longer with us - but he seems determind on trying his fortune in the Western part of your State

I was very glad to hear that your prospects were so favourable, and I really hope that in order to enjoy the benefits thereof you are more attentive to your health than you use'd to be - as for our prospects they are not quite as encouraging as I cou'd wish, but bad as they are we are not yet on the forlorn *hope* - Fortune has long frown'd upon us and she still knits her brows

- but so long as we are permitted by the blessing of Heaven to enjoy health and provide comfortable for our dear little Babe we shall not repine --

You have undoubtedly heard before now of our family addition - but to describe the endearing qualities, the pretty looks and playfulness of my little Mary - a Mother cou'd not do her justice on a whole sheet of paper, I must therefore refer you to Brother Edmund for particulars as I believe he thinks her if not one of the handsomest, at least one of the best children in the world, she is about eight months old and in the midst of teething, but with very little difficulty - Mr Hull appears to be as fond of her as a reasonable Father shou'd be of such a child -

I shou'd be much pleas'd to make you a visit this season cou'd we do so with propriety, but it seems to be absolutely necessary for us to continue here this season whatever we may think proper to do the next if it shou'd please God to prolong our lives . . . remember me affectionately to your *good Husband* and *dear Children* - and believe me -

Yours Unalterably,
STELLA HULL

Stella Hall Hull to Ruth Hart

St. Augustine May 19th 1810

Dear Sister Ruthy

I have delay'd writing you for a length of time - as we were expecting every week to come to Augustine - to which place we have at length removed, and where we calculate to spend the Season - our Plantation at Smyrna goes on as usual, Mr Hull has hir'd an Overseer to superintend the place in his absence - we made a good crop the last season - which has long since been prepar'd for Market - but have not been able to dispose of it as yet - In the present perplex'd state of things here it is impossible to make any new arrangements in the way of business -

we can only wait and see what will be the final issue of the great Patriotic struggle - and the consequent disposition of these Provinces, we shall then be able to judge what course to pursue - we do not calculate to remain here after this season, unless a favourable change takes place - now all is doubt and uncertainty there are various conjectures concerning our political destiny - some are of opinion that we shall come under the influence of the English Government - others say the Mexican - and some are sanguine in the opinion that we shall at last breathe the air of Freedom, under the protecting wings of the American Eagle -

It appears from some late accounts that the Island of St Martins is in the hands of the British - which has open'd a communication with the Island of New Providence - as we have considerable intercourse with the latter, I think it strange that we hear nothing from Nancy - I know not what to think of Hempstead - it is almost two years since I have recei'd a line from that quarter you seem however inclin'd to observe a profound silence, whatever your reasons may be for so doing, I cannot conceive they are altogether justifiable on christian ground I'm sure they are not - I have felt extremely hurt I assure you - but I forbear to complain - I hope you are all well -

Mr Hull desires to be affectionately remember'd to you and yours --

Your Sister, STELLA HULL --

NB. BrEd inform'd me that Mr Hart had exchang'd my low prize Ticket in the Baltimore Lottery which I sent on to him for Ticket No 12024 in the B. River Lottery which was drawn the last season - the event of which I have not yet heard

Ambrose Hull to Seth Hart

St Augustine 18th Feby 1812-

Brother Hart -

Your favor of the 13th ult of brotherly enquiries & communications was received last evening, and perused with many pleas-

urable sensations - And to show you that I am equally well disposed to a renewal of brotherly correspondence - I embrace this early opportunity of conveying a line even towards you -

It is true, there has been a lengthy lapse of time since we have been favored with a line from you or your family, or any one of that connection Altho' I have written you occasionally, as had Stella her two eldest sisters - invariably unanswered -

For the last twelve Months, I have not written you, to my recollection

Time & distance were begining to erase former impressions, - and later scenes & connections are succeeding to those which have passed away--

It will always be a source of sincere satisfaction to me, brother Hart, to hear of you, as well as from you, & especially of the prosperity of yourself & family, - in which I can truly say, I have ever felt an unfeigned interest - And it gives me real pleasure to be informed that your prospects are brightening, and that you have, already, so ample a competency so well assured - and also, that your sons (God bless & preserve them) bid so fair to become usefull & ornamental to themselves & family - not forgetting the dear little after crop to enliven your tender & pleasurable sollicitudes --

As to my own little family, aside of the past, no man can be more fortunate or happy in an most ammiable wife, and most excellent Mother of two fine little daughters - Mary Street, and Carolina Augustina Antonia Arredondo - the oldest is considerably advanced in her fourth year, and the youngest in her second - And altho' initiated members of the Catholic and truly Apostolic Church, - I hope our good protestant Sisters, will consider them no less entitled to their charitable good wishes - ²

2. Even though Ambrose Hull was a Protestant and was permitted a "liberty of conscience," according to the instructions for the administration and distributions of lands, dated September 9, 1797, the toleration of the settler's religious faith on the part of the Spanish officials was not to extend beyond the first generation: *American State Papers*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Doc. 114.

I experienced some considerable losses of property & other difficulties for a time after I returned from the Northward, as you have been informed - but my affairs have since taken a more favorable turn -

I have shipd, upwards of one hundred Bales of Cotton within a few weeks past, a considerable production of which, had been long on hand, & altho the markets are still moderate, it will probably nett me a handsome amt, payable quarterly - And have lately obtained titles in fee simple, from this government, to an estate in lands, which, in the event of the political change, so long contemplated, will probably be a competent security, at least, for the common necessities of my little family - ³

We anticipate, at times, the satisfaction of again visiting our northern friends, - but the difficulties which present themselves, on such, particularly as it respects our little brood with necessary attendants, unless we could have a direct conveyance from this to N. York, which seldom occurs, - that we continue to postpone it - and as to removing much further northward, at my time of life, after having been so long accustomed to a milder climate, is an idea that I have not latterly indulged.

You have no doubt considered yourself more particularly neglected by me, on the sum of my pecuniary obligations to you and I confess, with apparent reason - tho' I have been more perplexed in the subject than I ever was, on any other of the kind - It has not been for the length of time past, because it was difficult or inconvenient for me to show that amt, or that my accustomed views or impressions on the subject of punctuality had forsaken me - but the utter impossibility of conveying that sum to you, for want of opportunity & a suitable medium - I returned last week from St. Marys & Amelia Island, at both of which places I received considerable sums of money - and during

3. Ambrose Hull must have known that according to international law, if his land titles were properly recorded, when the change of flags occurred there would be no question concerning his ability to retain his lands.

my stay there which was nearly three weeks, I tried my utmost to procure Bank notes to the acct of your dun, to enclose on to you - & could not obtain them - The circulating Medium both here and there, is almost solely Spanish gold, in which there is a considerable loss in remitting further North, - in consequence of which, every description of Bank paper is greedily snatched up for the purchase of remittances - Some expedient, however, shall be shortly concerted & executed to the effort of discharging this long, & unintentionally protracted obligation - Your sister Stella desires to be very affectionately remembered to her Sister Ruthy & yourself - While I am, as ever, your Sincerely, affectionate brother - -

AMBROSE HULL

Ambrose Hull to Seth Hart

St. Marys 25th June 1814

Brother Hart

Your letter of the 26th Feby. of friendly and brotherly enquiries & communications, came duly to hand, & was a source of mingled pleasure & regrets - I should have replied without delay had not Stella been in daily expectation of being confined - the result of which I was anxious to know, & which she has since communicated to her Sister Nancy - & other circumstances, have led me to delay writting till this time - in short some recent expectations of being able to communicate a more favorable turn in my affairs, has been the cause - but the iron hand of fate, still holds her inexorable grasp - The last letters we received from you, were the two of which you desire information, under date of July 1812 - and which we found in Octr following, when we came to St Marys - These letters were not answered, - not for want of goodwill & the best dispositions toward you & yours - but from an unwillingness to pain you with a new detail of disaster & misfortune - I had resolved to write no more, unless I

could, at least, for once, find something desirable to communicate -

[Patriot War]

The last letter I wrote you, was in Feby 1812 at St Augustine just after my return from Amelia Island, - where I had shipd for Charleston upwards of 100 Bales of Cotton, which we had saved from a wreck to the southward of my place, including my crop of the season before - I had at the same time & place hired out my Negroes for the ensuing year at great wages, in quarterly payments - & was then progressing with the government for titles to my original grant of 3000 acres of land - all which, seemed to presage a favorable issue to the incessant & indiscribable difficulties, perplexities & misfortunes which I had been subjected to from the time I first came to this Country - And on the very day in which I had secured my land titles an express arived anouncing that the U. S. Troops has taken possession of Amelia Island & that a considerable force, joint by the people in the Northern part of the Province were in rapid march to take possession of St Augustine - I confess, to me the information was not unwelcome, (leaving the propriety of the measure to the governments to adjust) neither was it to the actual Spanish inhabitants - business there, had been long at a stand - and those in the employ of government had long been suffering for large balances due them and no prospect of obtaining them - The town, & province might have been taken possession of without the loss of a single life, as nothing more than a show of resistance was contemplated - Tranquility could have been immediately restored & preserved, - & every man left free & undisturbed in his pursuits - Instead of which, a detachment of U. S. Troops encamped before Augustine, together with a large party of Patriots, as they ridiculously stiled themselves, idled away eight long months, without a single attempt upon the town - and then sneaked off, like a parcel of Poltroons and Vagabonds - during this period,

both ludicrous & distressing - we were cooped up in St Augustine, with the misserable inhabitants - I then obtained permission to come on to St Marys with my family, to look after my Negroes &c; - I found them, it is true - but there wages, which amounted to nearly \$2000 - I could not obtain a cent of - My Cotton Consigner in Charleston - after paying a balance due for my Negroes, & some others which I had directed - tho' still with a balance in his hands of \$1000 - which I had reserved for a number of very necessary purposes, among others, to pay your unfortunately procrastinated balance thought proper to stop payment - & which sum, I have not yet received - The disturbances and disorganization still continuing in E. Florida - I obtained permission from that government, to remain on this side - I rented a plantation here the last season, & was progressing with a very promising crop till the 16th Septr., when the whole was swept by the most terrible hurracane that was ever known here - I then hired out a part of my Negroes, & rented another plantation for the present season, where we now reside, & are employing the remainder --

This, brother Hart, is a faint outline of my progress in the west[?] since I wrote you last - and a summary of the reasons for my long silence -

. . . should life & health be continued, - my intentions are either to return with my family to St Augustine, or remove them to the neighbourhood of Augusta in this State, - according to the aspect of the times & my own affairs -

. . . I enclose you \$50 - which with the \$50 - you received thro' Edmund, you will please endorse on my note - I will endeavour to send you another \$50 - within a more conscionable [time] Your Sister Stella joins me in most affectionate remembrances to her Sisters, yourself & all the little folk - Our little ones are incessantly asking me, when I will carry them to the *Norra'd* to see their Uncles & Aunts & little cousins - would to God, I could give them a favorable answer - Let me hear from you often - &

believe me as I am, most sincerely your affectionate brother --

AMBROSE HULL

Rev. Seth Hart
Hempstead
Long Island
State New York

Ambrose Hull to Seth Hart

St Marys 17th June 1815

Brother Hart

Time, altho' it drags heavily - still glides swiftly - I did not think, when I wrote you last - & received your answer - that another year would so nearly elapse - before there would be another interchange of communication between us - I have been long since worn out, with the almost eternal subject of misfortune, in its seemingly endless variety of shape - And presumed, that my friends must have been also - For this, & no other reason, - since I, for some years past, written them only at long intervals - It would be truly a source of pleasure to me, to write frequently could I have any thing ordinarily pleasing to communicate or could we even regain our former tranquil ground of medium competence & security - I have had an almost perpetual struggle since I came to this southern quarter - not only with the elements - but brutal man, even to preserve life, independent of the ordinary means of subsistance - Murder & robbery has become so rife in this neighborhood that we feel little security, especially at night - A very worthy young man was murderd and robbed by 6 Spaniards, a few hundred yards from my field, about a fort night since & a neighbours house attempted by two others, a few nights after - Since my evil genius led me hither - a comer of the world, where the traces of a divine superintendance, are hardly discernible - I confess, I have had much cause of thankfulness for the preservation of life, particularly - And could I be permitted to realize my property,

& there by render that Justice so long due, & which I so ardently desire to every description of human beings, who have even a benificent claim upon me - I should be quite satisfied about the things of this world - This, as yet, not being the case - & being also a point, beyond my controul, is a source of unavoidable & unceasing disquiet - agravated, not unfrequently, with fair, but illusive prospects - It is true, we possess our ordinary means of subsistence - deducting our accustomed drawbacks - some out of which, under the head of losses, & other disappointments, I have from time to time furnished you - we are not able as yet, to command but very little beyond it - I would not complain even of this - were there no pressing demands upon me - Beside those of high pecuniary obligation - I am under others, that, morally & beneficently, are equally binding - In consequence of hiring out the principal part of our Negroes last year at high wages, & business being tollerably brisk - we calculated upon a considerable balance over current expenses, & that payments would be promptly made - This no doubt would have been the case, had it not been for the predatory visit at St Marys, about the time wages became due - Altho' every person there, suffered more or less, I am convinced, those indebted to me, might have paid their several balances long before this - Their losses have been made an apology for delay - had we even as yet, prevented doing what we intended - Stella had set her heart so much upon doing something for her more unfortunate Sister and is so much hurt, with the momentary disappointment - that she can not even bring herself to write - till she can do something better -

Fair words, are said to be cheap - & promises predicated upon solemn obligations are but too often lightly regarded - & misfortune may have led mine to be so esteemed - [torn] I trust, a favorable change will prove, that the misfortune was the only cause - I feel [torn] I had no inconsider-

able cause of complaint against you, for neglect of writing - you dwell in the scene of our fathers, brothers, & old acquaintances - & could hardly touch a subject, but would be more or less interesting - & I have no other connection, with whom to correspond, except my Sister - My dwelling is in a strange land - & to you a land of strangers - & about which, you can feel little interest, except so far as it may concern my little family - I beg you will therefore, write me frequently. . . . Stella joins me in much love & goodwill to Br Hart her two Sisters - & our three little brilliants send dutifull respects to their uncle and Aunts, & love to their little cousins -

Yr affectionate br - A HULL

Reverend Seth Hart
Hempstead
Long Island
State N. Yourk

Stella Hall Hull to Ruth Hart

St Mary's May 25th 1816

Dear Sister Ruthy

Your letter of Feb. 18th was received late in March - & nothing short of severe indisposition cou'd have prevented my acknowledging earlier, your kind & sisterly communication - I have been frequently subject, since the birth of my second Daughter, to very severe turns of rheumatic & nervous affections - which have, at times, reduced me to the verge of life - I have now a grateful interval of relief - tho' weak & debilitated --

. . . . I have three daughters - Mary, Caroline, & Cornelia - who in general are remarkably healthy children - & cou'd we be so fortunate as to see the Stars and Stripes waving upon the Fortress of St. Augustine - we shou'd have a reasonable assurance of duly providing for them -

We still remain at this place, as a healthy comfortable situation

- altho' the greater part of our Negroes are this year employd on the Florida side of St. Marys river - & we shou'd have return'd to that Province this season - had their affairs been even tollerably regulated - our situation after all the variety of wayward fortune we have heretofore experienced - has now become truly tantalizing - the price of cotton, for the first time since Mr Hull undertook planting has become ample, & bids fair to continue for years - we are under the necessity of planting poor land & paying an exorbitant rent - instead of planting our own ground, which is of the first quality - & availing ourselves of the new kind of culture - that of Sugar cane - which from the experiments made, might enable us in one year to redeem all our past misadventures - how long this state of things is to continue, time will determine - & perseverance may obtain its just reward

Your truly Affectionate Sister

STELLA HULL

Summary

Ambrose Hull died in November, 1821,⁴ at the age of fifty-seven,⁵ while visiting in New York. Shortly thereafter, in June of 1823, Stella Hull passed away on her plantation on the St. Johns River.⁶

Ambrose, Abigail, and Stella Hull typify, in many ways, the early settlers who dared venture to a new frontier. Leaving the comforts of their established life behind them, they accepted the challenge of an unknown land. Ambrose Hull gave up the relative ease and security he enjoyed among his friends as a Protestant Episcopal minister to become a cane and cotton planter in a foreign land. Harassed by Indians, rampaging "Patriots," a

4. Petition by William Gibson, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, Vol. III, *Confirmed Claims*, 291.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, *Confirmed Claims: A-B-C*, 241.

6. John Rodman to Daniel Boardman, St. Augustine, July 8, 1823, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

SETTLERS FROM CONNECTICUT IN SPANISH FLORIDA

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hurricane, and marauding Spaniards, he nevertheless carved from the Florida wilderness, an extensive and successful plantation and built a spacious stone house for his family. These letters to their friends and relatives tend to show that, in spite of their misfortunes, they did not give up hope nor did they become too much discouraged, but were often thankful for the blessings which came to them.

Spain made a wise decision when Ambrose Hull and other Americans were invited into the Floridas, as their Yankee ingenuity and industry made a beginning towards developing the land and populating the area. However, to expect that these Anglo-Americans would become loyal Spanish subjects, to the extent that they would sacrifice their lands, or even their lives, to defend a border against another flag, especially that of the land of their birth, was not to know the American settler. The settlers who came to Florida did not become ardent Spanish patriots when they declared their loyalty, nor were they flag-waving Americans. Ambrose Hull was interested only in a way of life for which he searched from Connecticut to Florida. The particular flag he saluted made little difference. He preferred that the Stars and Stripes fly over the fort at St. Augustine, but he remained aloof from the radical "Patriots." As a result his home was destroyed by those who could not wait for the United States to take over Florida peaceably. Most of the early American settlers who left the United States to settle in the Floridas came in search of a way of life, be the flag what it may.

APPENDIX

Memorial of Benjamin A. Putnam, Adm. of Estate of Ambrose Hull, deceased.⁷

7. St. Johns County Court House, Office of Circuit Court (vault) "Spanish Papers."
Ambrose Hull in the year 1812 was subjected to and sustained of his own property, goods, chattels, and estate in East Florida the losses, injuries and damages herein set forth, to wit:

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

45 acres of Sea-Island Cotton planting and growing, equal to 5625 lbs. or 16 bales containing each 351# at \$.60 per w	\$3330.00	[sic:\$3357.00]
20 do. of common, equal to 200 Bush ^s at \$2.	400.00	
2 acres of Sweet Potatoes, equal to 500 Bush ^s at 25	125.00	
Garden Vegetables equal to say	50.00	
4 Horses at \$50.00 each	200.00	
Stock of provisions on hand left by said Hull in his flight, consisting of corn, potatoes flour, etc.	250.00	
40 Bales of Short Staple Cotton on hand, 14000 w at 31 cents per w	4340.00	
4 Hogsheads of Jamaica Rum, say 120 gals. each at \$1.25 per gal. rum	600.00	
Large Stone dwelling house nearly destroyed, damage at a reasonable calulation	2000.00	
Negro houses destroyed, reasonable amount of damage	500.00	
Quantity of valuable furniture left in house, lost or destroyed	700.00	
	\$12534.00	[sic:\$12540.00]

All of which damage and injuries to the said Ambrose Hull was occasioned by the Troops of the United States protecting, supporting and encouraging those Lawless Marauders who called themselves Patriots at that time traversing the country and committing every species of havoc and devastation to the property of peaceable Spanish subjects, in the said year 1812.

Your Memorialist further shows that no part of said Losses, Damages, and Injuries were sustained by Ambrose Hull previous to the entrance into East Florida of the Troops of the United States or their agents in the year 1812. Ambrose Hull was an actual subject of the Spanish Government, and residing on his plantation at New Smyrna in East Florida with his family where he was attacked by persons styled Patriots associated with and protected by the Troops of the United States in the year 1812, and compelled to fly with his family and such of his property as he could save, and take refuge in the City of St. Augustine.

That as hereinbefore stated his very valuable Dwelling House was nearly destroyed, the furniture entirely, and outhouses, Negro Houses, crops, provisions on hand, horses, etc. all destroyed, taken and carried away.

Said Hull, by these causes, was entirely broken up and ruined, being so reduced as to be unable to repair his damages . . .

Approved 26 June 1834. All which is respectfully submitted by your Memorialist. Dated at St. Augustine 11th., September 1834.

BENJ. A. PUTNAM

Admstr, etc. of Ambrose Hull, Dec'd

To Hon. R. R. Reid, Judge of Superior Court for the Eastern District of Florida.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Florida of the Inca, by Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca. Translated and edited by John Grier Varner and Jeanette Johnson Varner. (1951, University of Texas Press, Austin, XLV and 655 pages. \$7.50.)

The Inca Garcilaso's history of Florida, primarily on account of the De Soto expedition, first appeared in print at Lisbon in 1605. A reprint with emendations was published in Madrid in 1723, and is the best known of the several re-issues. There are translations in several languages. This version is offered as the only complete rendition in English from the original Spanish. It is, therefore, the full and true Garcilaso. The translation has been generally approved in the reviews in professional journals.

The translators and editors have provided an excellent introduction in which they describe and discuss the sources on which the account of the De Soto expedition is based, together with pertinent biographical data on the author. Supplementary data is supplied in footnotes. This added information is to illuminate rather than to correct or criticize the Inca's version of the story. Earlier accounts by Ranjel, Biedma and Elvas and the report of the De Soto Expedition Commission supply the material for the limited number of footnotes.

The author is as interesting as is his history. He was the son of a Peruvian Indian princess of the last of the Inca ruling families and what the editors call a "second" conquistador. He demonstrates in his writing intense admiration for the ability, courage and achievements of both the Spaniards and the Indians. The titanic struggle between the two in Florida which he describes serves to display the qualities which he admires in both. Even with their horses and armor the Spaniards barely manage to emerge alive, but they do, to the glory of both the conquered and the conqueror.

He apparently wrote with the purpose to stimulate further

interest in the conquest of Florida which, incidentally, means the whole of the North American continent. He refuses to be discouraged by the results of the De Soto effort. Speaking of the failure to find gold and silver he argues: "there is no reason to doubt that Florida may have these metals, and that if sought for, mines will be found, as each day they are being found in Mexico and Peru. But should they not be found, it would suffice to establish an empire of such long and wide lands and of such fertile and abundant provinces as we have seen and will see, not only because of what the earth already yields but also because of the fruits, vegetables, grain and livestock that could be brought there from Spain and Mexico. And there is no reason to doubt that for planting and cattle raising, better lands cannot be desired, and that with the riches of pearls already found . . ." give unlimited promise of wealth. He is no less moved by the possibility of winning the Indian to Christianity. He is, in truth, a true product of the Conquering and crusading spirit of sixteenth century Spain.

In fact the greatest value of the account is in the picture de reader gets of the spirit and temper of the age. There is much of the romantic in it, but it does show clearly de widespread interest in the De Soto expedition and the hopes of new wealth inspired by Spanish successes in Mexico and Peru, particularly since De Soto and others in the expedition had already participated in some of the others. It also clearly depicts the crusading religious zeal so inseparable from Spanish imperial and economic interests.

Garcilaso's Florida is a magnificent story replete with deeds of valor, achievement, frustration and eventual failure. One will look in vain for any conclusive clues as to where De Soto's march began and what route it follows. The author disclaims any intention to provide such data. It is an interesting and highly readable mixture of historical fact, folklore, and inspirational

interpretation written a half century after the events described. Here, for example, is the account of Juan Ortiz and the Florida version of the Pocahontas story. This piece of literature has in it many of the elements for a best seller. It is to be hoped that it can be made available in a popular priced edition. The University of Texas Press is to be commended for this service to our history.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

University of Miami

A Survey of Indian River Archaeology, Florida. Irving Rouse (296 pp., 8 pls., 15 figs., 5 tables). Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 44, New Haven, 1951.

Chronology at South Indian Field, Florida. Vera Masius Ferguson (62 pp., 4 pls., 10 figs., 7 tables). Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 45, New Haven, 1951. (\$4., the two)

Subsequent to World War II there has been a steady growth of interest in the Prehistory of Florida. The State of Florida through its office of State Archaeologist, the University of Florida and the Florida State University through their departments of anthropology, and many individuals and organizations have thus lately recognized the urgent need for scientifically controlled recovery of Florida's anthropological heritage. A direct outgrowth of this inquiry has been a steadily expanding bibliography covering the many aspects of Florida's past before colonization, and one of the prize contributions to this assemblage has been the excellent work of Rouse covered by this review.

Many consider the present publication by Rouse (and the accompanying work by Ferguson) as a very definite "must" for the historian as well as the anthropologist. Rouse, very properly, has acknowledged the possibility that his full reading audience might not be fully informed in the current knowledge of Florida

Prehistory; therefore, in a space of 71 pages, he has reviewed his area of study in such a way as to bring his prime objective into sharp focus. Indeed, the purpose of the report is to record the findings at the midden site of South Indian Field near Malabar, Florida, and survey the adjacent cultural area; nevertheless, he introduces the reader to the geography of the region, its geologic past, the general reconstruction of aboriginal life in the Indian River area (based on historical sources) and the sequence of historical events of the region. Also, before embarking on a description of the findings at South Indian Field, Rouse reviews the history of previous archaeological investigations in the general Indian River-Saint Johns River headwaters area. It seems that ever since the Bartrams came up the Saint Johns in 1766 the burial mounds, middens, and village sites of past Indian inhabitants have proven a challenge to those who have wished to reveal the past.

The purpose of the investigations at South Indian Field and the Indian River region was "(1) to determine the cultural content of the ceramic sequence; (2) to correlate the resulting cultural sequence with the series of geologic intervals; and (3) to determine its relationship to the historic periods." The detailed recording of excavation findings reported by both Rouse and Ferguson indicated that only three of the seven known cultural periods of the Indian River region were revealed at South Indian Field. Also, in connection with the problem of geologic correlation, two of the South Indian Field cultural horizons were shown to be comparable with two well defined geologic time periods. As to the historic relationships, the site offered little evidence of occupation in more recent times. Thus, with these local gaps, a site survey of the surrounding cultural area was imperative in order to gain a full interpretation of the original three-phase problem.

The reader who is unfamiliar with archaeological technique

will find the section concerning "Survey of Sites" most illuminating, both as to approach to the problem and the resultant data. Information from 65 sites was used by Rouse in the reconstruction of the cultural and temporal aspects of Indian life in this eastern-central portion of peninsular Florida and as an adjunct to the findings at South Indian Field. The section of the report dealing with general conclusions presents evidence indicating human occupation in the Indian River section as far back as 2,000 B.C. From that period upward there is a continual line of cultural horizons culminating in the Indian tribal group known to the first white settlers as the Ais. With the passing of this tribe, the ethnic record appears to have been taken over by the Seminole invaders.

In summary, Rouse offers numerous thought provoking suggestions in addition to his general conclusions. For example, he offers the suggestion that the Ciboney people of early Cuba were derived from the Preceramic tribes of Florida. These and numerous other problems continue to face the person who reconstructs history before it was written.

FREDERICK W. SLEIGHT

Rollins College

History of Jackson County, by J. Randall Stanley. (n.p.: Jackson County Historical Society, 1950. pp. viii, 281. Illustrations.)

As the first governor of the Territory of Florida, Andrew Jackson ordered the division of the newly acquired area, in 1821, into the counties of St. Johns comprising all of the lands east of the Suwannee River, and Escambia those west of the river. At the first session of the Legislative Council, in 1822, Jackson County was created stretching westward from the Apalachicola River and Duval was carved from St. Johns. It was a natural consequence that one of these counties should bear the name of the Tennessean who had plunged into Florida in 1814 and 1818, and had come again in 1821.

The history of the area of Jackson County, however, begins in the prehistoric years of the continent when the "Marianna Lowlands" was a flourishing area supporting many villages of aboriginal Americans. The limestone foundation of the region, like so much of Florida, is the underlying reason for the low hills and shallow hollows of the topography. The limestone is likewise responsible for the fertile soils which have ever supported a vigorous aboriginal and American agricultural population.

Because of its propinquity to the older settlements of Georgia, Alabama, and other southern states, the fertile lands of Jackson County were among the first settled after 1821. There are many contemporary descriptions of the pioneer who came to the region and felled trees for log cabins and planted cotton and corn in the clearings. Long before 1845, when Florida became a state, Jackson County was but a replica of the plantation economy of the lower South, with the same framework of society and politics.

By the time of secession, in 1861, Jackson was the second leading plantation county of Florida: a population of 5,306 whites and 4,903 Negro slaves. In line with the dominant plantation economy of the South, the Jackson County planters were Whigs who promoted the second bank of the Territory, sought admission to the Union as a state, and endorsed the Constitution of 1838. When the Secession Convention was called in 1861, Jackson County voters selected a delegation of Constitutional Unionists with orders to oppose any quick withdrawal from the United States. Only one of the Jackson County delegates, however, was among the seven who voted against secession, although two other delegates from the county openly apologized for approving the secession movement.

Though the majority were apparently against immediate secession, the people of Jackson County rallied to the support of

the Southern Confederacy under the leadership of their fellow resident, Governor John Milton and their hearty support continued throughout the war. In the Reconstruction period much of the unrest of the "restored state" occurred in and around Marianna, the county seat. With the restoration of "Conservative Democracy" in 1876, Jackson County again became a leading county of the State. "King Cotton" ruled the economic scene until 1917 when the infamous boll weevil had virtually wiped out the crop. In place of cotton fields, the planters turned to peanut fields and by 1947 some fifty thousand acres planted to peanuts produced a crop of thirty-four million pounds, a yield which placed Jackson County among the leaders of the United States in this field.

This county history is a volume filled with detail of the political, economic, and social life of the various periods. Material on the towns and communities has come from letters, papers, newspapers, and the civil records of the county. Some typographical errors have slipped into the volume and a listing of the sources used would have added to the value of the book.

It is indeed pleasant to review this history of a Florida county. A former president of the United States was quoted as saying that: "Local history is the ultimate substance of national history. The history of a nation is only the history of its villages written large." Too little praise comes to the serious writer of local history, for though his work is necessarily limited in area, such history is personal, informative, and interesting, and touches the lives of individuals much more intimately than the annals of the state and nation. It is to be hoped this volume will encourage others to work on similar treatments of many other Florida counties and towns.

J. E. DOVELL

The University of Florida

Florida's Early Industrial Development: 1850-1890

The above is another of the studies of Florida's economic development issued by the Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida. The authors are John N. Webb and Paul A. Fenlon of the College of Business Administration. Copies will be sent to residents of Florida on request.

Florida's Population

Any Florida resident interested may obtain on request a copy of *Florida's Population, 1920-1950. The Urban Trend and Political Representation* (12p.) by John M. Maclachlan, issued by Public Administration Clearing Service, University of Florida.

The Papers of Henry Clay

The Department of History of the University of Kentucky, in cooperation with the National Historical Publications Commission, is compiling for publication the papers of Henry Clay. For such an important project it is very desirable that all letters to and from Clay be located; also, especially, all significant contemporaneous references should be brought to light and studied. Our readers are requested to keep this in mind and cooperate when possible. Address: James F. Hopkins, Department of History, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The forty-first Program Meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida was presented on March 25 last while our *Quarterly* was in the press. It was featured by a look at the present-day Seminole and a thought of his future. Mr. Kenneth A. Marmon, Superintendent of the Seminole Agency at Dania, introduced Mike Osceola, a full-blood Seminole, who spoke on "Problems of the Present-day Seminole." The first of the tribe to be educated in the Dade County public schools, he spoke of the role of his people in Florida's economy today, of their education along with that of their neighbors, and the part they are now taking otherwise in the life of their community.

Mr. Marmon showed a color-sound film of the Seminoles in the Everglades; and Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt read a paper on a pioneer industry of South Florida, the making of starch from the native coontie.

Due to the increase in the cost of printing and other expenses, the Association has of necessity raised its dues to three dollars which includes a membership copy of *Tequesta* their annual historical publication. Any one interested in the history of South Florida, or all of Florida's long history, is welcomed as a member. The headquarters of the Association is 1340 DuPont Building, Miami 32.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE ANNUAL MEETING

We gathered in Jacksonville for our Annual Meeting on April 25 and 26 at the invitation of the Jacksonville Historical Society. The reputation of our hosts for hospitality was even added to, and our numerous members who came from a distance were much pleased with the arrangements and de historical programs.

The general chairmen were Mr. Frank H. Elmore Jr., president of the local society, and Miss Dena Snodgrass, its treasurer; and chairmen and members of the other committees who assisted were officials and members of that society. Our president, Mr. Richard P. Daniel, presided at the opening session and at the annual dinner. Presiding at the other sessions were Mr. John C. Blocker, later elected our president, Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, our immediate past president, and Mr. Elmore.

THE PROGRAM

April 25, Morning Session

Invocation - Dr. L. Valentine Lee

Addresses of Welcome - Hon. Haydon Burns, Mayor of Jacksonville; Frank H. Ehnore, President, Jacksonville Historical Society

Recent Developments in Historic Preservation - Frederick L. Rath, Jr. Director, National Council for Historic Sites, Washington, D. C.

Historical Letters, A Hobby - Dr. C. Herbert Laub, University of Tampa

Anti-Florida Propaganda During the Boom - Dr. Frank B. Sessa, Director of Libraries, City of Miami

Noon Session

Local societies of Florida, by their representatives

Afternoon Session

St. Augustine During the Confederacy - Omega East, National Park Service, St. Augustine

The Fatio Family, A Book Review - Walter C. Hartridge, Savannah

Preserving 'Tarheel' History - Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina

Florida's Preservation of Historical Source Materials - Dr. Dorothy Dodd, Florida State Librarian, Tallahassee

The Annual Dinner

Florida in the Election of 1876 -Watt P. Marchman, Director, The Hayes Memorial Library, Freemont, Ohio

Saturday Morning Session

Manifestations of Confederate Nationalism by Governor Milton - Dr. John E. Johns, John B. Stetson University

Did the Madison Administration Issue Secret Orders to General George Matthews to Incite the Patriot War in East Florida? - Dr. Paul Kruse, Librarian, Rollins College

Letters of Pedro Menendez de Aviles - Joseph Redlinger, Jacksonville

Many of the papers, or synopses of them, written especially for the Annual Meeting, covering various periods, events, and aspects of Florida's past, will be published in early issues of the *Quarterly*.

Miss Audrey Broward of the Jacksonville Public Library arranged an exhibit of Floridiana which added much to the historical interest of the meeting. Sessions were at the George Washington Hotel, and all were well attended. In addition to

our large Jacksonville membership, many of our members came from various parts of the State, among whom were:

Miami

Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson
Charlton W. Tebeau
Justin P. Havee
Frank B. Sessa
Adam G. Adams

St. Petersburg

John C. Blocker
Mr. and Mrs. Walter P. Fuller

Tallahassee

Dr. and Mrs. Mark F. Boyd
Miss Mary Lewis
Mrs. John Henderson
Dr. Dorothy Dodd

Daytona Beach

Mrs. John E. Hebel
Mrs. C. E. Strickland

St. Augustine

David R. Dunham
Mrs. Andrew J. Moulds
Albert C. Manucy

Lakeland

Charles T. Thrift, Jr.

DeLand

John E. Johns

Cuthbert, Georgia

Mrs. Emilio Suarez

Fremont, Ohio

Watt P. Marchman

Okeechobee

Mrs. J. T. Hancock

Fort Pierce

W. I. Fee

Tampa

C. H. Laub
James W. Covington

Winter Haven

Mrs. C. H. Walsh

Gainesville

R. W. Patrick
Mrs. P. F. Skofield
J. E. Dovell
Freeman H. Hart
Mr. and Mrs. Chas. H. Hildreth
Mr. and Mrs. Ripley P. Bullen
Sam Proctor
George R. Bentley
Mrs. M. A. Johnson

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

George Washington Hotel, Jacksonville, Florida, April 26, 1952

President Richard P. Daniel declared a quorum present and called the Annual Business Meeting of the Florida Historical Society to order at 11:55 A.M.

At the request of the President, the Recording Secretary summarized the proceedings of the Board of Directors meeting of April 24. There were five continuing orders of business, the Secretary reported, that should be of general interest to the members at large. In the first place the Directors were anxious to secure an author, subject, and content index of the *Quarterly*. Several attempts had been made during the year to find a way

to accomplish this purpose, but none had been successful. It was difficult to secure the personnel for the important task, but the Directors would continue their efforts and hoped that the indexing would be initiated before the next annual meeting. The second concern of the Board was the serious decrease in membership of the Society. The Directors urged each member to secure at least one new member during the coming year. There are three classes of memberships available to individuals: the \$4 regular, the \$10 contributing-fellow, and the \$100 life memberships. Individuals who become life members are assured that their payments would be placed in the trust fund of the Society and only the income would be used for the current expenses of the organization. In addition to the \$4 and \$10 memberships, annual \$25 or more, institutional memberships are available to libraries and business firms.

In the opinion of the Board, the membership of the Society might be enlarged and the study of Florida history be promoted by closer ties between organized local historical societies and the state organization. With this end in view the incoming officers and directors are urged to investigate ways and means of achieving better relationships and the incoming president is authorized to appoint a committee to study the problem and submit a report to the Board of Directors.

At the request of the Board, Mr. Blocker, Miss Snodgrass, and Mr. Barfield had collected the by-laws of the Society and were working on a general revision of the charter and by-laws. This work would be continued, and on completion, would be submitted to the Directors for approval. If approved, the charter and by-laws would be printed in the *Quarterly* and would be presented to the 1953 annual meeting for its consideration and action.

The fifth problem that had confronted the Directors was the sale of lots owned by the Society in De Leon Springs and Ponce

de Leon Heights. Mr. Dunham was ascertaining the value of the lots and seeking a buyer. If this real estate was sold, the money secured would be placed in the trust fund of the Society.

As authorized by the charter and by-laws, the Board elected the editor of the *Quarterly* for the three-year term beginning in June 1952. Julien C. Yonge was unanimously reelected editor; and, as suggested by Mr. Yonge, Rembert W. Patrick was elected associate editor.

The Recording Secretary reported that the Directors had discussed the feasibility of offering fellowships to encourage research in Florida history. On December 7, 1945, the Directors of the Society had adopted a report favoring the granting of \$2300 fellowships whenever there was sufficient money to provide a three-year grant. Although there were no funds available, the Directors urged the annual meeting to reaffirm its interest in the fellowships.

Mr. Boyd thought the project should be kept before the Society with the expectation that sooner or later means would be forthcoming. Fellowships of from twelve to eighteen hundred dollars per year for three years, the usual time required to earn a doctorate, would be sufficient to attract able students. It was obvious that the Society could not finance even one fellowship from its current income or hope to create a fund from a non-existent annual surplus. There were, however, two other possibilities. If a generous patron of the Society would establish an endowment of from \$40,000 to \$60,000, the income from such an endowment would provide for one continuing fellowship. A second, more hopeful alternative was to seek one or more patrons who would contribute or pledge from \$3600 to \$5400 to provide one \$1200 or \$1800 fellowship for a period of three years. It would be easier to obtain the small gift than the large endowment. Once the Society initiated the fellowships, it could more readily dem-

onstrate its fitness to discharge such a responsibility, and should the first fellow develop into a promising scholar and produce an excellent dissertation, the soundness of the program would be apparent, and support for additional individual fellowships, or contributions toward an endowment, could be more easily obtained. In view of the important potentialities of the fellowship idea, Mr. Boyd stated that it should not be forgotten but should be resubmitted to the Society at frequent intervals. He, therefore, moved that the Society re-affirm its support of a fellowship program to encourage research in Florida history and renew its determination to inaugurate such a program whenever funds became available. Mr. Dunham seconded the motion, and it was passed unanimously.

The Recording Secretary presented the following annual report of the Treasurer, Mrs. Johnson:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER - APRIL 1, 1951-APRIL 1, 1952

Balance: April 1, 1951		\$ 345.00
Receipts:		
Membership dues	\$2,014.70	
St. Augustine Historical Society	25.00	
Life Memberships	300.00	
Sale of Quarterlys	61.55	
Books sold	44.50	
Wenner-Gren Foundation, for illustrations in Quarterly	53.52	
Interest (First Federal Building & Loan)	3.75	
	<hr/>	
Total receipts		\$2,503.02
		<hr/>
Total to be accounted for		\$2,848.02
Disbursements:		
Printing of Quarterlys, 5 issues	\$1,917.55	
Other printing & supplies	39.52	
Florida Clipping Service	6.10	
Copyrights	16.00	
Annual Meeting expense	34.87	
Taxes	1.27	
Books, subscriptions, & dues	30.73	

General expenses: postage, express, box rent, bank charges	74.73	
Total disbursements		\$2,120.27
Balance, April 1, 1952		\$ 727.75
Location of balance		
Barnett National Bank (Jacksonville)	\$ 18.60	
Florida Bank at Gainesville	405.40	
Total checking accounts	\$ 424.00	
First Federal Building & Loan (Gainesville)	303.75	
Total	\$ 727.75	
Endowment Fund		
Paper balance, April 1, 1952	\$ 786.78	
Actual fund (First Federal)	303.75	
Deficit		\$ 483.03

Mr. Boyd moved the acceptance and approval of the Treasurer's report. Mr. Havee seconded the motion and it received unanimous approval.

The following proposed budget for the fiscal year beginning April 1, 1952, was presented:

PROPOSED BUDGET - APRIL 1, 1952-APRIL 1, 1953		
Cash balance, checking accounts, April 1, 1952		\$ 424.00
Estimated income		
Membership dues	\$2,100.00	
Sale of Quarterlys	50.00	
Registration fees	50.00	
Interest from Endowment Fund	9.00	
Total estimated income		\$2,209.00
Total available funds		\$2,633.00
Estimated Expenses:		
Printing of Quarterlys	\$2,000.00	
Equipment	75.00	
Copyrights	16.00	
Annual Meeting expense	50.00	
Supplies	50.00	
Memberships	8.00	
General expense (postage, P.O. box rent, express, etc.)	100.00	

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Repayment to Endowment Fund	100.00	
	<hr/>	
Total estimated expenses		\$2,399.00
		<hr/>
Estimated balance, April 1, 1953		\$234.00

Mr. Elmore moved the adoption of the proposed budget. Mr. Blocker seconded the motion, and the budget was unanimously accepted.

The report on membership was disheartening. As of April 1, 1951, there were 683 members in the Society. During the following twelve months, 22 had resigned, 62 had been dropped for failure to pay their dues, and 19 had passed away. To compensate for this loss of 103 members, only 31 new members have been admitted to the Society. The net loss for the year was approximately 10 per cent.

Mr. Boyd regretted that 19 members had passed away in one year. He thought that a list of these deceased members should be printed in the *Quarterly*. Mrs. Johnson stated that it had been and still was the policy of Mr. Yonge to publish obituary notices in the *Quarterly*.

President Daniel urged the members present to work industriously in securing new members for the Society and requested each one to act as an individual committee for the purpose of contacting prospective members. He asked all the members present at the annual meeting who would try to secure at least one new member during the year to rise and pledge themselves to the task. The response to his plea was unanimous. Mr. Havee requested that a list of the names and addresses of delinquent members be given to the directors. If the directors would write or telephone the delinquent members in their district, he believed the results would be gratifying. He had found through experience that a number of individuals simply overlooked the paying of their dues, but when it was brought to their attention, they readily renewed their memberships.

President Daniel stated that the Board of Directors would select the place of the 1953 annual meeting. He requested that invitations be extended as quickly as possible. Mr. Boyd declared that he would urge the Tallahassee Historical Society to extend an invitation to the Society to meet in Tallahassee. Mr. Thrift invited the Society to meet at Lakeland. Mr. Patrick reported that an invitation had been extended by the Miami Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Walter Fuller, chairman of the Nominations Committee, reported the following nominations:

President, John C. Blocker

1st Vice President, Charles T. Thrift, Jr.

2nd Vice President, J. Velma Keen

Honorary Vice President, John B. Stetson, Jr.

Recording Secretary, Rembert W. Patrick

Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, and Librarian, Mrs. M. A. Johnson

Directors:

1st Congressional District, Walter P. Fuller

3rd Congressional District, T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

5th Congressional District, John E. Johns

7th Congressional District, Karl A. Bickel

Nominations Committee:

Mrs. Ruby L. Carson, Chairman

Richard P. Daniel

David R. Dunham

Mark F. Boyd

Theodore L. Lesley

President Daniel asked for nominations from the floor. When no additional nominations were made, Mrs. W. S. Manning moved that the nominations be closed and that the Recording Secretary cast the ballot for the officers, directors, and nomina-

tions committee members as reported. Mr. Havee seconded the motion. The motion was passed, and the Secretary cast the ballot as directed.

President Daniel thanked the officers, directors, and members of the Florida Historical Society for their support during his term of office. They had made his year a most pleasant one, and he was delighted to turn over the presidency to a man who has enthusiasm, courage, ability, and perseverance.

Mr. Daniel retired and President Blocker assumed the chair. He thanked Mr. Daniel for his remarks, expressed the pleasure he had experienced while working with Mr. Daniel, and brought greetings to the Society from St. Petersburg and the Blocker family. He was distressed and alarmed by the loss of membership during the past year. He promised that he would work to increase the membership of the Society, to create additional local historical societies, and bring them in close accord with the state society. He believed the Florida Historical Society should identify itself with some good cause. In his opinion such a cause would be encouraging the study of Florida history in the primary and intermediate grades and in the high schools. He knew that among the members of the Florida Historical Society there were individuals who had the talent to write the necessary textbooks and to get these textbooks accepted by the public schools. President Blocker asked for support from the members of the Society and promised that he would work industriously to promote the welfare of the organization.

Mr. Tebeau moved that the Recording Secretary be instructed to write a letter of appreciation to Mr. Richard P. Daniel for his services as President of the Society. Mr. Havee seconded the motion, and it was passed unanimously. Mr. Boyd moved that the Secretary be instructed to draft letters of appreciation to Mr. Elmore, Miss Snodgrass, the Jacksonville Historical Society, and

the management of the George Washington Hotel for their work in making the 1952 meeting a success. Mr. Bentley seconded the motion, and it was so ordered. Mr. Havee introduced Mr. Adam G. Adams, President of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and President Blocker welcomed him in the name of the Florida Historical Society.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned by President Blocker at 12:40 P.M.

RICHARD P. DANIEL
President

REMBERT W. PATRICK
Recording Secretary

THE SOCIETY'S NEW OFFICIALS

John C. Blocker, our president, is an attorney of St. Petersburg of which he is a native. Both of his grandfathers were officers in the Confederate Army. He was educated at Georgia Military Academy, Washington and Lee University, the University of Florida, and Cumberland University where he received his law degree. He is a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of Florida and of the United States, and was County Attorney of Pinellas County for more than two decades. He served in France as an officer in World War I and took part in the St. Mihiel and Argonne offensives.

For many years President Blocker has been interested in the history of Florida and especially of Pinellas County, of which he was appointed County Historian; he is also a Director of the St. Petersburg Historical Society, and has collected extensive material for a history of the area. He has served on our Board of Directors and as Vice President.

Charles T. Thrift Jr., vice president, is a native of Virginia, a graduate of Duke University and the University of Chicago, where he received his Ph.D. degree and was a fellow in church history. He has been Professor of Religion in Florida Southern College since 1940 and vice-president since 1946. Among his writings is "The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider." He has long

been interested in Florida's history and has served on our Board of Directors.

J. Velma Keen, vice president, is a native of Georgia but has lived in Florida most of his life. He has the degrees of A.B. and LL.B. from the University of Florida. While practicing law at Sarasota he was chairman of the County Board of Public Instruction, State Attorney, and a Representative in the Legislature. Moving to Tallahassee he has been Assistant Attorney General, a member of the State Advisory Council on Education, and chairman, Continuing Educational Council; and has served on other local and statewide boards. He was formerly a director of our Society.

Walter P. Fuller, our director from the 1st district, a native of Bradenton, is a graduate of the University of North Carolina where he specialized in history and literature. He has lived in St. Petersburg most of his life, engaged in real estate, newspaper, and public utility activities. He has been a member of the Florida House of Representatives and its Chief Clerk, and has held several local offices. His interest in history has continued from his college days and he has been a member of our Society for many years, having served a previous term as a director.

T. T. Wentworth Jr., director from the 3rd district, is a native of Mobile, Alabama, but has lived nearly all of his life in Pensacola, where he has been a merchant, and County Commissioner and Tax Collector of Escambia County. He is now a realtor but devotes part of his time to Pensacola and Florida history, making numerous addresses and radio talks on the subject and has an extensive collection of historical material. He has served a former term on our Board of Directors.

A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BLOCKER

To each member: In greeting you individually, may I not express the hope that you will join with me and the Directors

in working for four objectives: (1) We must increase the membership of our Society; (2) Our State's history should be taught in more of our schools; (3) A fellowship program should assist worthy students; (4) We must encourage local societies throughout Florida.

Faithfully,

JOHN C. BLOCKER, *President*

THE SOCIETY ON TELEVISION

On April 30 the Florida Historical Society had its first television appearance when Miss Dena Snodgrass, one of our directors, was interviewed on WMBR of Jacksonville. The organization of the Society nearly one hundred years ago was mentioned with its purposes and accomplishments, also our extensive historical library and headquarters at the University of Florida, our Florida Historical Quarterly now in its thirty-first volume, and a brief account of our late Annual Meeting.

REMBERT W. PATRICK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Our Board of Directors at their meeting on April 24 reelected the present Editor of the *Quarterly*, now in the twenty-eighth year of his editorship, for the ensuing term of three years; and elected Rembert W. Patrick as Associate Editor.

Dr. Patrick, Secretary and a Director of our Society, is Professor of History and Head of the Department, University of Florida. He is Chairman of the rapidly expanding University of Florida Press, and is a member of numerous other committees of the University. He is associated with the Editor in building the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University, is a member of the State Library Board of Florida, and one of the editors of the *Journal of Southern History*.

It is expected that ere long his present manifold duties at the University will allow him to take a steadily increasing part

in the editorship of our *Quarterly*, where his scholarship, his experience, and his knowledge of Florida's history will assure our *Quarterly* the high rank among historical periodicals which Florida's long and important history warrants.

Dr. Patrick, a native of South Carolina, was educated at Guilford College, Harvard University, and the University of North Carolina where he received his Ph.D. degree. He is the author of *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*, for which he received an award of \$500 from the United Daughters of the Confederacy. He also received the Bohnenberger Award (1946), and a Merit Award from the Florida Junior Chamber of Commerce. He has published also *Florida Under Five Flags*, and was Editor of *The Opinions of the Confederate Attorneys General*. A volume to appear early next year from the University of Georgia Press relates to the attempts of the United States to seize East Florida during the period of the War of 1812, and the so-called Patriot War.

Edward C. Williamson, assistant editor of the *Quarterly*, has completed his tour of duty with the Army and returned to the University of Florida. Major Williamson reached the United States in April after serving for over a year as a military historian with the United States Eighth Army in Korea where he received a promotion to major.

NEW MEMBERS

Nominated by:

C. L. Knight, Tampa (Student, Univ. Fla.)	Mrs. Johnson
Max L. Klein, Green Cove Springs	Mrs. Johnson
Ed Schneider, Student, (Univ. of Fla.)	Mrs. Johnson
I. Leo Fishbein, Miami Beach	Mrs. Johnson
Millard B. Archibald, Jacksonville	Mrs. A. J. Mounds
David Lewis, Student, (Univ. of Fla.)	Mrs. Johnson
Harold C. Anderson, St. Petersburg	Dorothy Dodd
Mrs. Mabel Norris Reese, Mount Dora	
William H. Peters, Interlachen	Julien C. Yonge
Margaret Ann Blocker, Florida State University	John C. Blocker

Olavi M. Hendrickson, Miami	
George J. Baya, Miami	Gaines R. Wilson
Lois V. DeLavan, Tallahassee	Mrs. Margaret Key
Corinne C. Williams, Jacksonville	Dena Snodgrass
Charles H. Hildreth, Student (Univ. Fla.)	Mrs. Johnson
Sam C. Gay, Fort Pierce	H. Maddox
William B. Rahn, Miami	Charlton W. Tebeau
Thomas A. Yon, Tallahassee	Mary Lamar Davis
J. H. Sherrill, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Frank J. Altieri, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
San Carlos Hotel, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Marvin H. Sears, Bradenton	
John E. Johns, John B. Stetson Univ.	H. S. Winters
John W. Cole, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Mrs. H. E. Franklin, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Pensacola High School, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
J. H. McCormack, Pensacola	Hunter Brown
E. Dixie Beggs, Pensacola	Julien C. Yonge
C. E. Wright, Jacksonville	Dena Snodgrass
Rev. Father Gervis Coxen, Pennsylvania	Rev. J. F. McKeown
Robert F. Jones, Student (Univ. Fla.)	Mrs. Johnson
H. Wayne Millard, Ocala	Mrs. Johnson
University of Oregon Library	
Dorsey Memorial Library, Miami	
G. H. McSwain (Contributing member), Arcadia	Marvin H. Sears
Morris E. White, Tampa	Guyte P. McCord
Mrs. Max de la Rua, Sr., Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

DECEASED DURING THE PAST YEAR

W. S. Branch	Orlando
Armstead Brown	Tallahassee
John T. Campbell	Bradenton
W. T. Cash	Tallahassee
Mrs. Richard P. Daniel	Jacksonville
Mrs. Stephen W. Douglass	Key West
Mrs. Edwin S. Fownes	Winter Park
Karl H. Grismer	Sarasota
E. G. Howes	Palm Beach and Boston
Arthur A. Jones	Ormond Beach and New York
Mrs. Frederick W. Kirtland	Jacksonville
Mrs. J. Page Laughlin	Leesburg, Va.
Mrs. H. Willis McFadden	Jacksonville
E. R. Malone	Pensacola
William Proctor	Bar Harbor, Maine
George Selden Spencer	Miami
A. L. Wilson	Quincy
P. H. Gaskins	Jacksonville

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

Peter A. Brannon is Archivist of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, and Secretary of the Alabama Anthropological Society of which he was one of the founders in 1909. He is the author of *The Southern Indian Trade*, Montgomery, 1935, and has contributed numerous papers on the archeology of the Gulf region to periodicals.

Richard K. Murdoch is Assistant Professor of History, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh. His recent publication *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796*, Berkeley, 1951, was reviewed in a recent issue of this *Quarterly*. He has contributed several articles on Florida history to our *Quarterly*.

Robert E. Rutherford has a Master's degree in history from the University of Florida, where he majored in the history of Latin-America.

Charlton W. Tebeau, past president, Florida Historical Society, is Head, Department of History, University of Miami, and Editor of *Tequesta, Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida*.

Frederick W. Sleight is President, Florida Anthropological Society and a member of the faculty of Rollins College.

J. E. Dovell is Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Florida, and author of a forthcoming *History of Florida* in two volumes.

