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RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS IN WEST FLORIDA  
DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR  
PETER CHESTER, 1770-1781

by GEORGE C. OSBORN

As governor of the English Province of West Florida, Peter Chester had many vexing problems to tax his executive abilities and his diplomatic skill. None was more difficult nor more intriguing than that of dealing with the Indians. Even before his arrival in the colony the Indians must have begun to realize that, regardless of which European imperialistic rival eventually won out in the struggle for supremacy in southeastern North America, they were the losers. Friendship proffered by the Spanish, and by the English after 1763 when the Treaty of Paris gave Florida to them and still later by the Anglo-Americans, was not sincere. The amiable gestures were not expected to be beneficial to those to whom they were extended. Whether Spanish, French, English, or American, the motives of the white man in dealing with the Indian were essentially the same. The natives had first claim on the land but the territory was wrested from them by treaty if possible, or by intrigue or by force. Moreover, the Indians could be either a powerful ally or a treacherous foe in the realization of colonial ambitions by imperialistic rivals. Finally, trade with the Indians was usually highly profitable to the European and quite naturally there was no group which did not desire to profit in the commercial relations with the red man. More specifically, there is the Indian problem in the Province of West Florida as directed by John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern District of North America, and as supervised by Governor Peter Chester.

*Congress of 1771*

On October 29, 1771, a significant meeting at Pensacola, a town which was "delightfully situated upon gentle rising ascents environing a spacious harbour", brought together the officials of

His Majesty's provincial government and the "ruling chiefs and principal warriors" of sixteen towns of the Upper Creeks.<sup>1</sup> After the usual ceremony of smoking the Calumet of Peace there were brief speeches of welcome before the business of the conference began. Governor Chester assured his guests of the friendship and protection of the King, George III, and informed them of his orders to treat the Indians "as brothers so long as they should behave peaceably towards the white people." He anticipated an Indian grievance by declaring that any colonist who has settled across the vague boundary on Indian land had done so through error and had returned promptly to the English province when requested to do so. In fact, such mistakes were due entirely to the fact that the location of the boundary was unknown. The boundary should be agreed upon and marked. The governor promised the Indians that any white person committing crimes against them would be punished just as if another white person had been wronged. The red men were urged to "strict observation" of all treaties previously signed in order that harmony and friendship might prevail.

Upon the completion of Chester's brief talk, Stuart spoke at much greater length. He reviewed the many conferences that he, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs since 1763, had held with the tribal leaders. He spoke of the treaties which had been signed and of the boundaries which had been established. He then requested of them a grant of land "on both sides of the Escambia, as far as a boat can go . . . five miles back from the river." Superintendent Stuart concluded his remarks, gave to the Indian chiefs some strings of white beads, sat down and awaited an answer.

Chief Emistisiguo in speaking for his nation, the Creeks, which he said were many, reminded his hosts that at an earlier

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1. The account of the Congress which follows is largely from the *Minutes* in the Peter Chester Papers. A microfilm of these papers is in the Library of Florida History, University of Florida. This collection will be referred to hereafter as the Chester Papers. See also: Mark Van Doren (ed.), *The Travels of William Bartram* (New York, 1940) 332.

meeting Stuart had stated that the "boundary would be like a stone wall, not to be removed without mutual consent." Stuart now proposed "an alteration in the line then agreed upon." Every child among the Creeks had equal property rights in all tribal lands with every warrior. No decision could be made without the consent of the whole nation. The boundary line could not be marked until the following May when the hunting season was over.

After an over-night consultation with his warriors and chieftans Emistisiguo, "as a testimony of my friendship," took upon himself the responsibility of offering the English land on both sides of the Escambia River "as far up as the old Spanish Cowpen." The Superintendent of Indian Affairs produced a map which showed that the proposed gift was "only four miles of very poor land upon the banks of the Escambia River" and not "worth the trouble of altering the old lines and drawing a new treaty." Governor Chester had these lands surveyed and found them to be "nothing but sands incapable of producing any of the necessaries of life." In fact, continued Stuart, this entire area would not produce "so much provisions as your party will consume at this meeting." In spite of this effort to impress upon the Creeks the barrenness of their proffered gift the Indians would not extend the grant further. Then the Superintendent sought to urge his original request upon his guests by assuring them that the English did not desire to interfere with their hunting grounds, that they would not be inconvenienced in the least, that the grant up the river as far as it was navigable "was absolutely necessary for your Brothers here," that the land would be more useful to you in their possession," that such a gift would strengthen the friendship between the white man and the red man and, finally, that the English would then be able to produce enough provisions for the Indians to have ample food when they came to meet with their English friends on such occasions.

At the request of Stuart the Indians retired to reconsider the matter but returned later in the day to repeat their negative decision. Instead of censuring them the Superintendent commended them highly for their firmness and declared that he would not "differ with his friends about a piece of land." By letter he would apply to their nation for the original request and hoped that they would support him in this fair and just application for cession. Near the end of the assembly Governor Chester joined the Superintendent in the expectation that the chiefs would, upon returning to their people, secure the acceptance of the English request. Success, however, did not immediately attend the efforts of the English leaders.

Another tract of land was at issue in this concourse at Pensacola in the autumn of 1771. By a treaty in 1765, made between the Choctaws and the English, the latter had been ceded a tract of land "in the forks above the confluence of the Coosa and Tombeckly [Tombigbee] Rivers." As a result of the cession of this land which was claimed by the Creeks, a war had ensued between the Choctaws and the Creeks. The chronic war had continued and the English, "believing themselves safe from attacks, while the Indians were thus diverted", had at the time of the Pensacola assembly done little to "bring about peace." Chief Emistisiguo desired that his hosts would consider the lands ceded them by the Choctaws as Creek property, thus nullifying the cession. These lands, avowed the chief, were necessary for the livelihood of the Creek nation. English settlers and hunters, continued the Indian negotiator, had encroached on these lands. The English were asked not to allow any more settlers or hunters "to go above the Old Field at Tensa or Tassa." White hunters were killing deer which belonged to the Indians and stores were established in the woods invalidating promises given by the English officials. Contrary to an agreement reached at the Congress at Augusta in 1763, and renewed at later Augusta conferences,

that no half-breed or Indian should be hired as factors in the nation, there were, declared the Chief, many so employed.

In answer to these clearly stated grievances Superintendent Stuart declared the certainty of the cession from the Choctaws but expressed a willingness to prevent the settlement of the grant until the Choctaws and Creeks had concluded their ownership dispute. The Creeks must know, however, that the grant included all French settlements at Tassa Old Field. Moreover, two small Indian tribes "who were settled on the western bank of the Great River formed by the junction of the Coosa and Tombeckly Rivers" had always considered these lands as their property. Some acres they had cultivated and the land which was unfit for cultivation they had retained for hunting. Only since the beginning of the Creek-Choctaw War had these two small tribes been removed. Moreover, continued the Superintendent, Frenchmen living near Mobile on the western bank of the Tombeckly River and those settled on the eastern side of the Tensa branch of the Coosa still retained their property under the English government. "Will you refuse us," argued Stuart, "the same advantages you allowed the French and small tribes when your expectations of friendship and assistance from us exceed any you could have entertained of reaping from the French?"

Superintendent Stuart admitted frankly that regulations governing hunting and trading in their lands had been violated. "My intentions were good" but they were nullified when the English Management of Trade gave this problem to the governors of the various provinces. Laws concerning these issues had not been enacted, but the Indians were promised that attention would soon be given to them. In the meantime, the Indians had a perfect right to the deer skins and guns of all white hunters found in the woods, as well as to the skins and goods otherwise of all unlicensed traders found on their lands. "Men breaking the laws of their country," exclaimed Stuart, "are not entitled to their protection."

Another grievance was presented to the English by Emistisigu. He charged that, in spite of an agreement that no person should drive cattle through the Creek Nation without a pass from the Governor or Superintendent, the English had repeatedly driven cattle through Creek lands and settled "cowpens on our lands without our consent." One settler, James M'Quin, "in opposition to our talks" had made a "settlement near the great Tallassus." With pathos the Chief concluded, "I am now far advanced in life and this is the first time I ever saw plantations settled in my nation."

In his farewell address to his Indian guests, the Governor promised that if such acts committed within the boundaries of West Florida were brought to his attention he would "punish the offender agreeable to the laws." Not all of the crimes had been committed by the English, warned Governor Chester. Lower Creek warriors had visited white plantations, destroyed cattle, plundered the poor inhabitants' property and returned home with their booty. Chester did not accuse any of those present of these crimes but he urged them to "send talks to the lower Creeks to prevent them from such practices for the future." The English did have a grievance against an increasing number of the upper Creek warriors, who frequently came into "our towns, with arms, in search of their enemy." The complaint, often repeated, against the warriors was their riotous misbehaviour when drunk, "with rum which they get for their skins." The Governor hoped that the future conduct of these young men would be such as to "make us esteem them as welcome friends and not as plunderers of our property." In conclusion, Chester thanked the Chiefs for the honor which they had given him by according him "a high rank in your nation."

As the conference drew to a close on November 3, Superintendent Stuart brought to the attention of the Creek tribal leaders one additional grievance. Many provincials possessed Indian slaves which, according to Stuart, had been brought from

“the other side of the Mississippi” River and could not be Creek enemies. Creek warriors endeavored to capture or to kill these defenseless people. Only recently, several shots had been fired by young Creeks at an Indian slave on a Mobile Bay plantation. Fortunately, he had escaped. If the Indians expected to have their insults redressed, they must prevent such insults, concluded Stuart.

After a week of conferences the Indians, who came to Pensacola in friendship, left as they had come. As they smoked the pipe of peace and friendship and received in gifts “a token of the King’s [George III] bounty,” one of the diplomats exclaimed: “If any black remains let it fly away with the smoke.” In addition to the frank discussion of grievances, the agreement to run the boundary line between their lands in May, 1772, the promise of the chiefs to consult their people about the request for a grant of land on both sides of the Escambia River as far as it was navigable, the Indian Chiefs signed a treaty tracing the lands previously granted but now confirmed as the boundaries of the Province of West Florida as held by the English. Although many issues had been discussed, “the important subject at the congress was land.”<sup>2</sup>

#### *Congress of 1772*

Because of the gravity of the Indian menace, Governor Chester, on November 27, left Pensacola for Mobile to attend a congress with the Chickasaws and Choctaws. This was the first conference Superintendent Stuart had called with these nations since 1765. The Indians, wrote Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough, although exceedingly slow in gathering, had, by December 28, arrived in numbers exceeding 1500.<sup>3</sup> On December

2. See Chester Papers, for a copy of this treaty. Also consult Cecil Johnson: *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943), 36; and John Richard Alden, Jr.: *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1944), 321.

3. Chester to Earl of Hillsborough 28th December 1771, in Chester Papers. A concise account of the background of the Anglo-Indian relations is found in Clinton N. Howard: *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947).

31 the Congress formally opened with a group of English provincial officials welcoming the chiefs and warriors of six Choctaw villages in the Coosa District and Payamattaha the great leader and principal Chickasaw chiefs.

When the Indians and the English assembled for the first time in a large circle on the ground, Superintendent Stuart lighted the peace pipe and handed it to Governor Chester. All the English delegates and all the Indian chiefs, in their turn, smoked it. At the conclusion of this ceremony, Stuart introduced Governor Chester. The Superintendent declared that they had come to remove every stumbling block from the road of friendship with the two tribes. Attentive search must be made for all weeds and thorns which had sprung up in this path. The Congress, stated Chester, had been called at the request of the "great King over the Great Water" who was the father of the red men as well as of the white. As the paths which led into the Indian nations were "open and straight, So shall their talk be." The Governor declared that he had the great King's orders to inquire into all causes of discontent among the Indians. He requested his guests' attention while the Superintendent, who knew the men of each Indian village much better than the Governor, addressed them.

In beginning his remarks Stuart reminded the Choctaws that when the French gave up that country they came under English protection. The Choctaws had been neither industrious workers nor hunters and consequently had become "poor and destitute." Subsequently these Indians, stated the Superintendent, had begun robbing the English settlers and killing their cattle. The Indians had robbed the English traders who sought to take to the red men the necessities which they needed. As soldiers for the French, the militant Choctaws had received presents. As the English had not engaged in war since 1763, they had encouraged trade with the Indians. While at the congress, the Choctaws were told, they would receive "testimony of his Majesty's generosity

and bounty” but through no merit on their part. More specifically, Stuart reminded them of a riot some of their young men had caused at Natchez and of robberies elsewhere. He announced to them that “a man’s property is deemed sacred and killing a robber unjustly invading it is allowed as an act of just defence.” Such violence was recognized generally as acts of war. The bad behavior of the young Choctaw warriors disgraced their chiefs. Turning to the Chickasaw chiefs, the Superintendent assured them that they had always been “faithful friends and allies” and were not included in the accusations just made against the Choctaws. At their request King George III had given Stuart permission to appoint John McIntosh as a commissary among them. With the approach of nightfall, Stuart adjourned the congress until the following morning.

With a keen sense of showmanship Paya Mattaha, the distinguished leader of the Chickasaws, lighted his pipe from a fire which his warriors had just produced by friction on a wooden apparatus and, holding an eagle tail in his hand, addressed his hosts and fellow Indians. Admitting that he was of a nation “once great but now much diminished,” he hoped, nevertheless that his words would not be permitted to fall to the ground. The Chickasaw chief declared that he “scorned duplicity,” did not “speak in two tongues,” was not a “man of many words,” but that he would speak openly. Looking directly at Superintendent Stuart, he recalled their two previous conferences. “I did not throw away your talks,” the chief said, “but retained them in my heart.” Paya Mattaha hoped to convince the English that he had “a good memory.” After summarizing agreements made earlier, he enumerated the grievances of the Chickasaws. From the licensed traders, he stated, his people were given short measures and weights. Even worse were the unlicensed traders who were disorderly and created disturbances. The Indians wished to have these unscrupulous men removed and their like prohibited from going among the tribes. Other

white men, whom the chief termed vagabonds, had insulted their towns, stolen their horses, committed innumerable crimes and, even worse, had corrupted the "manners of my people" and rendered them ungovernable.

The Armourer - "doctor of guns" - whom the Superintendent had sent to mend the Chickasaw guns had left with the Commissary. The chief's people had pressed him to ask that another "gun doctor" be sent. Holding a bow and quiver of arrows at arm's length, the Chickasaw leader spoke to his warriors. On these arms your ancestors depended for food, for raiment, for defense. With great difficulty they found a poor subsistence and a sparsely sustained life. You should be thankful to your white brethren, "who have armed you with guns, clothed you and supplied all your wants." Dramatically, the chief handed the bow and quiver of arrows to Superintendent Stuart with the desire that they may be sent to the "Great King as a testimony of my gratitude for his goodness and protection and for the benefit I and my people have received."

Gray haired, erect Mingo Ouma, Red King of the Chickasaws, declared that he lived a great distance away, but, as the last of a long race of kings, he had come to meet the new chiefs of the white men. Tradition told him that his ancestors held the English "fast by the hand" and he would "continue in their footsteps." In these fitly spoken words, he pledged his friendship to those in authority in West Florida.

The speeches of these two chiefs loosened the tongues of many other Indian leaders. For two days, one after another of the Chickasaws and Choctaws spoke before the large assembly of English and Indians, and some of the significant points might be mentioned. One Chickasaw chief, as a present to be sent to the King, gave an apparatus of wood, "which our forefathers used to collect the fire which was first found in the air," and a piece of pottery. His ancestors had first found the "earth of which such utensils were made."

Another spoke of the dire poverty and utter want of his people, of how his heart was gladdened by the return of the Superintendent who, he was sure, brought clothing to keep the red men warm, arms and ammunition to defend them. The Superintendent was like a turkey "perched upon the top of a high tree and we are his brood of children eagerly looking up." Another speaker observed that the red man's poverty was due to his ignorance. He hoped that all of the Indian horses would be heavily loaded with gifts upon their return journey. One chief commended his wife and family, who wanted clothing, to the Superintendent.

Not all the Indian spokesmen, however, confined their remarks to emphasizing their tribal poverty and to seeking gifts from the English. Some of them spoke frankly of their people's grievances against the unscrupulous white traders. The cloth flaps traded to the Indians, complained one chief, were so narrow that "they don't cover our secret parts, and we are in danger of being deprived of our manhood by every hungry dog that approaches us." The practice of the traders carrying large quantities of rum into the Indian villages should be stopped. When the "chattering of the packhorses bells are heard in the distance our town is immediately deserted; young and old run out to met them joyfully crying 'Rum, Rum.'" Everybody got drunk with mischief; confusion and utter chaos resulting. "This is the ruin of our nation," lamented a Chickasaw chief. One Indian confessed that there had been quarrels between his people and white men. The cause of these, he said, was rum which "pours in upon our nation like a great sea from Mobile and from all the plantations and settlements above, particularly from the House of Simon Favre." Could not the Superintendent prevent the sale of the rum to the Indians?

Another Indian begged that a list of articles of trade with their bartering values in skins and a standard of weights and measures be given to every chief and trader so that justice may

be done, Whereupon a second promised to return to his nation and advise his people to "live peaceably and quietly without injuring their [white] traders." Governor Chester promised to recommend to Mr. Stuart that he comply with this request so as to promote peace, harmony, and friendship between the traders and the Indians. The Superintendent of Indian affairs promised that "standard yards and weights" would be given each chieftain before the congress adjourned so that they might compare these with what the white traders gave them. An itinerant commissary would visit their villages and "examine into the state of your trade." These steps would be taken in order that the honest trader may be protected and that the dishonest trader "may be banished from among you." There were responsibilities which the Indians must assume if dishonesty and fraud were to be eradicated. First, the Indians must protect the person and property of the honest white man among them. In at least two tribes, Superintendent Stuart declared, the houses of honest traders had been broken into, their goods stolen and their horses driven away or killed. No trader could supply the Indians with axes, hoes, hatchets, guns, powder, shot, clothing or other articles without his pack horses. No white man of the right sort would remain among the Indians when treated in such a manner. Second, the Indians must not "screen or protect" from the Commissary or any other English official any unscrupulous white trader or dishonest hunter among them. They must assist all officials in reprimanding the evil white man.

Contrary to expectations, perhaps, Stuart informed the Indians that the English did not want any more of their land. "We do not ask any more land of you," he said, "than what you granted us" in 1765. The Superintendent only urged that both Indians and whites appoint men to attend the surveying of the lines so as to "fix those limits which will prevent all misunderstanding in the future." To this request the Indians agreed.

With the presenting of medals and presents to the Indian

chiefs, and urging their people to accept them as their governors, Superintendent Stuart shook hands with each chief and introduced him to Governor Chester. The Governor "saluted them . . . under a discharge of fifteen guns, drums beating and fifes playing." Thus the conference ended.<sup>4</sup> As Governor Chester reported to the Earl of Hillsborough, the meeting was concluded in "great good humour." The Governor declared in his long report to England that the chiefs of these two nations seemed "well affected to our interests."<sup>5</sup>

One immediate result of this Congress was that on January 16 the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Charles Stuart, accompanied by thirty Indians and Colonials, with a surveyor, set out to mark the boundaries between English West Florida and the lands of the Chickasaws and Choctaws. The Indians accompanied the English surveying party as far west as the Buckatannie River. Here they stopped, excused themselves from further boundary line marking by declaring that the rest of the line would run through morasses and sunken grounds which were impassable. They then returned to the environs of Mobile. The English proceeded to the "confluence of the Buckatannie River with the River Pascagoula,"<sup>6</sup> but the completion of this task was left to a later date.

The importance of appointing courageous and honest men to deal with the Indians was revealed by the misconduct of John Thomas, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the Mississippi River. He had not only been involved in corrupt commercial dealings with the Choctaws but more significantly had entered into negotiations with the Arkansas Indians who resided under the sovereignty of His Catholic Majesty, the King

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4. See *Minutes* of this Congress in Chester Papers. The Congress cost the English 6,000. John Stuart to Lord George Germain, August 23, 1776, in Germain Papers in British Colonial Office.

5. Chester to Hillsborough, 20th February, 1772, in Chester Papers.

6. *Ibid.*; A few years later this land was termed "a desolate uncultivated, waste." See Ray W. Pettingill (tr.): *Letters from America, 1776-1779* (Boston, 1924), 226.

of Spain, west of the Mississippi River. When Thomas' intrigues with this nation were brought to the attention of Governor Chester, he took action immediately. He urged that Superintendent Stuart have this trouble maker brought to Pensacola to await news of his fate from England. Fearing that umbrage might be taken by Don Luis de Unzaga y Amerzaga, the Spanish Governor of New Orleans, Chester informed the Spanish official that all negotiations conducted with the Arkansas Indians had been without his knowledge and against his wishes, and that Thomas had been ordered removed to Pensacola.<sup>7</sup> That Chester was correct in his fear of Spanish suspicions was affirmed in a letter which he received from the Spanish Governor protesting against the general fear created among his subjects by the intrigues of Deputy Superintendent Thomas.<sup>8</sup> The Earl of Hillsborough approved the steps which the Governor of West Florida had taken to remove a dishonest official and to "cultivate and improve that good understanding which so happily exists between the two crowns."<sup>9</sup>

As the sultry summer days of 1772 went by Governor Chester despaired of receiving the requested Escambia grant from the Creeks. In fact, he told his Majesty's Government that the Augusta merchants and traders had advanced these Indians large quantities of goods on credit and were demanding for themselves in payment of debts, these lands from the Creeks. Chester strongly disapproved of such schemes and hinted that he suggested to Superintendent Stuart that the latter endeavor to prevent their fulfillment.<sup>10</sup> Upon further investigation the Governor was convinced that the acquisition of lands upon the

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7. Chester to Hillsborough, 11th April 1772; *id.* to *id.*, 22nd April 1772, in Chester Papers.

8. Luis de Unzaga y Amerzaga to Chester, 28th March, 1772 *ibid.*

9. Hillsborough to Chester, 1st July, 1772, *ibid.* Unfortunately before Thomas could be removed to Pensacola, he had a quarrel with an English merchant, George Harrison, at Manchac. In a duel on the field of honor Deputy Superintendent Thomas killed Harrison. See a report of the incident in Chester to Hillsborough, 7th July, 1772; also *id.* to *id.*, 27th October, 1772, *ibid.*

10. *Id.* to *id.*, 13th August, 1772, *ibid.*

Coosa River would not be as advantageous to the West Florida Province, as had been represented to the Creeks at Pensacola the preceding autumn.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the English might withdraw their claims to the land on the Coosa River in order to gain the more desired Escambia River valley. Moreover, if the traders from Augusta pressed their financial claims, the Coosa River territory was much nearer their habitat. It was a good plan whether it succeeded or not.

1772

While contemplating talks with the Creeks on the land grant question, there fell into Governor Chester's hands a letter written in September 1772 by Chickasaw Commissary John McIntosh to Charles Stuart, Deputy Superintendent at Mobile.<sup>12</sup> Northern Indian leaders, confided McIntosh, were endeavoring to form a dangerous confederacy with southern tribes. It was no innovation, exclaimed Governor Chester. For several years efforts had been made towards such an end. Although the West Florida executive was not apprehensive of a rupture of peace with the southern savages, he promised to use the best intelligence possible to secure from the Indian tribes knowledge of their real designs.<sup>13</sup>

McIntosh soon forwarded more information to Mobile. The Chickasaws were daily expecting emissaries from the Illinois Indians, the Cherokees had begun to kill white settlers on the Holston River and war seemed probable. A large assembly of Creek, Cherokee and Chickasaw chiefs had been called for the winter of 1772-1773 "on the other side of the Tonacie River." It was common talk among the Chickasaws that the Creeks were planning to "surprise Pensacola." A rumor from the Illinois Indians had come to McIntosh's ear that the English, French and Spanish were at war or about to begin a war. The same

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11. *Ibid.*

12. John McIntosh to Charles Stuart, 3rd September, 1772, *ibid.*

13. Chester to Hillsborough, 16th November, 1772, *ibid.*

source advised the southern Indians to remain at peace. Rumors of war were circulating among the Indian tribes of the great transmontane Mississippi Valley months before the meeting of the First Continental Congress. In these intertribal and biracial intrigues the Province of West Florida was definitely involved. From the English Plantations office word went out to the provincial governors that there were "dangerous machinations among the savages."<sup>14</sup>

The months passed swiftly as the Anglo-Americans in the original English Colonies hurried from protestations against infringements upon their rights as Englishmen to open warfare against George III's reversal of well-established British Colonial policy. With the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord in the Spring of 1775 war between Englishmen rebelling against their mother country and the English soldiers actually began. These English rebels, soon to become American patriots, immediately sought the needed friendship of France and Spain - England's traditional European rivals. The attitude of the Indians in the southwest toward the belligerents and the potential warring nations assumed greater significance. The Spanish governor of New Orleans viewed with alarm the information reaching him of steps taken at the congresses between the English and the Creeks, Chickasaws and Choctaws at Pensacola and Mobile. He protested to his Majesty in Madrid, who through the proper diplomatic channels in London presented the protest at Westminster. The Earl of Dartmouth forwarded the Spanish grievance to Governor Chester with His Majesty's command for a complete investigation of the two charges presented by the Spanish minister in London. The first grievance was based on the fact that the English had conferred medals on a number of Indian chiefs. The accusation that these tokens of recognition were pinned on the chiefs of tribes residing in Spanish territory with the expressed

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14. Earl of Dartmouth to Chester, 3rd March, 1773, *ibid.* The Earl of Dartmouth was Secretary of State for North America.

agreement that the chieftans renounce their allegiance to His Catholic Majesty and move eastward across the "Father of Waters" into the Province of West Florida seems to have been without foundation. On the contrary, two small Indian tribes had actually migrated westward across the River. The single exception was in the case of John Thomas' conference with Arkansa[s] chiefs which has already been noted. Chester was urged to "strictly enjoin" all West Floridians to avoid "all connection and correspondence with any tribes of Indians living under the protection of and in allegiance with the Crown of Spain." It was the duty of every subject, concluded the English minister, "to encourage and promote" the amity and friendly disposition to peace which mutually subsists between the two crowns.<sup>15</sup>

England felt a growing concern over the role of the Indians in the mounting Anglo-Spanish diplomatic tension. Chester informed London that he was becoming increasingly apprehensive over the possibility that Georgia and Carolina who were "indefatigable in their endeavours" to persuade the Creeks to join them and to alienate the affections of the Chickasaws and the Choctaws. In anticipation of the English rebels sending agents among these Indians, would it not be wise to call the tribal chiefs to a congress at Pensacola to dispel their fears, to renew their vows of allegiance and to supply their economic wants as far as possible? Governor Chester urged such a move.<sup>16</sup> In order to keep the affections of these Indians, the West Florida Governor believed it necessary to retain at Pensacola a "respectable force" of soldiers. Consequently, when three companies of the regiment formerly stationed in the province were ordered by General Gage to Saint Augustine, Chester vainly protested to London.<sup>17</sup>

15. *Id to id.*, 1st September, 1775, *ibid.*

16. Chester to Dartmouth, 17th November, 1775, also Chester to John Stuart, 17 November, 1775, *ibid.*

17. *Ibid.* That officials at Pensacola were not unduly alarmed over the increasing gravity of the Indian situation is evidenced by letters which

Deputy Superintendent Charles Stuart, suffering badly at the hands of patriots in Charlestown, sought safety in Saint Augustine. From this East Florida rendezvous he penned his fears that the friendship of the Indians would be won by the Committees of South Carolina and Georgia. He advised Governor Chester to continue the neutrality policy toward the Creek-Choctaw war in the hope that the struggle would continue and thus keep both tribes more dependent upon the English. Moreover, "it kept both Nations too fully occupied to pay much attention to the intrigues of the French and the Spanish."<sup>18</sup>

The fear of Spanish intrigue with the Indians was brought again into the diplomatic spotlight when Governor Chester received doubtful information from Commissary David Taitt that the Spanish had shelled Saint Augustine. To this news Taitt added his fear that they would attack Pensacola.<sup>19</sup> This news threw consternation into the ranks of the West Florida officials. The Governor conferred with engineers about provincial defense, dispatched messengers to the Indian villages and sent out reconnoitering parties.<sup>20</sup>

As the war clouds began to thicken the English increased the flow of goods to the Indians. From Saint Augustine the Superintendent of Indian Affairs sent his brother, Henry Stuart, to carry supplies from Pensacola and Mobile to the Indians whose friendship the English desired to cultivate. From Mobile in West Florida Henry Stuart supervised a pack train which, among other supplies, carried "3000 lbs of powder and 60 ct. weight of ball" to the Chickasaws and to the distant Cherokees.<sup>21</sup> In order to

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the Deputy Superintendent, Charles Stuart, received from Commissary David Taitt. If these letters were true, merchants, traders, patriots were seeking by gifts of powder and ball and promises to arouse the Creeks against the English in Florida. Several of these letters are in the Chester Papers.

18. John Stuart to Chester, 15th August, 1775, *ibid.* Helen Louise Shaw: *British Administration of the Southern Indians, 1756-1783* (Lancaster, 1931), 108.

19. David Taitt to Chester, 26th September, 1775, in Chester Papers.

20. Chester to Dartmouth, 18th November, 1775, *ibid.*

21. *Id.* to *id.*, 30th December, 1775, *ibid.*

make larger contributions to the Indians it was necessary for more goods to arrive in West Florida from the mother country, and this request Chester forwarded to Westminster.<sup>22</sup> Eventually Lord George Germain was able to inform Chester that a convoy had left England in which there were "goods for presents to the Indians in a large amount." They would better enable the Superintendent to attach "these savages to the cause of government and to procure their assistance in seconding the operation of the King's troops."<sup>23</sup>

### *Congress of 1776*

By the middle of June, 1776, Indian chiefs were arriving in Pensacola for talks with the English officials. A Cherokee spoke of the arrival of Charles Stuart's caravan, how the Superintendent's brother had removed the black cloud which hung over them. Many men had been sent among them recently to make bad talks and, with many promises, to alienate them from the great King. Some of the King's "mad children" had gone so far as to threaten the Cherokees unless they joined the Georgians in their wars of Independence but all, save a few nearest the Georgia boundary, had stubbornly refused. If only the Cherokees "through this path" could receive adequate ammunition, they would treat with contempt such threats.<sup>24</sup> Governor Chester declared to his Cherokee guests, referring to the American colonists: "There are many bad and wicked men at this time among the white people. They have insulted their parent [the King] who has been too lenient with them." Then, he expressed his awareness of the Cherokee poverty and of his great desire to meet their needs. The King would not permit them to remain in dire want. The chiefs were to take the gifts with which they were presented, to accept Colonel Steele who had been named to

22. Chester to Germain, 19th June, 1776, *ibid.*

23. Germain to Chester, 6th November, 1776, *ibid.* Germain was Secretary of State for the American Department.

24. See *Minutes* of this conference in the Chester Papers.

reside among them, and upon returning home to persuade their people to remain loyal to the great King.<sup>25</sup>

In August, 1776, some eight months after his departure, Henry Stuart returned to Pensacola with his pack tram from the Cherokees. He brought news of a "great confederacy" of northern Indians, the Delawares, the Shawnees and the Cherokees to make war upon the frontier settlers of the colonies at war with England. In fact, said Stuart and a Cherokee chief who accompanied him, some 1800 Cherokee warriors had attacked frontier inhabitants of Virginia and the Carolinas. These attacks, Chester believed, had prevented several thousand rebels on the frontier from rushing to join their army in Charlestown against Governor Clinton.<sup>26</sup>

As early as January, 1776, Lord George Germain had warned Governor Chester that he could not be too much on his guard against a rebel attack on West Florida. He was to instruct the Deputy Superintendent Charles Stuart to use his utmost endeavours to keep the Chickasaws, Choctaws and other tribes living near the Mississippi River in such a disposition as to prevent any invasion of the province from that side.<sup>27</sup> Upon receiving Lord Germain's request, Stuart replied that "every endeavour of mine would be used to the utmost."<sup>28</sup> Whereupon Governor Chester declared optimistically that we will be able to prevent "any incursions into the Province" on the west side.<sup>29</sup> By September 1 Chester learned of great preparations which the rebels were making along de Ohio River. Forts were constructed and well garrisoned with more than 4,000 men, so West Florida intelligence declared. Moreover, rumors that these troops were actually planning to attack West Florida greatly alarmed the inhabitants. Chester urged on Germain the necessity for construction of forts at strategic places in the west, especially

25. *Ibid.*

26. Chester to Germain, 1st September, 1776, *ibid.*

27. Germain to Chester, 25th January, 1776, *ibid.*

28. Charles Stuart to Chester, 19th June, 1776, *ibid.*

29. Chester to Germain, 2nd July, 1776, in Chester Papers.

along the Mississippi River, the sending of a "body of troops" to defend these posts and the creation of greater unity among the settlers and Indians to "effectually prevent the rebels from penetrating into any part of west Florida."<sup>30</sup>

This information caused the governor, the Superintendent and other officials, after thoroughly canvassing the situation, to reverse their earlier policy of non-interference with the war between the Creeks and the Choctaws which had been raging since 1765. With a rebel invasion believed to be imminent, the English called the chiefs of these nations into conference at Pensacola. Under the supervision of Chester and Stuart these tribes concluded a peace treaty. They graciously accepted gifts, listened attentively to advice, promised undivided loyalty to their hosts and silently departed with seeming peaceful intent. Chester was satisfied that the English could retain the support of the Creeks and Choctaws provided ample supplies were forthcoming.<sup>31</sup>

In England Germain felt that the West Florida officials were unduly alarmed. In fact he stated that he could "never imagine" any real invasion of the Province possible at a time when numerous Indian tribes had formed a confederacy in support of His Majesty's government.<sup>32</sup> Any lessening of tension in the environs of Pensacola and Mobile which this message from Whitehall might have caused was dissipated by information that the rebels had recently constructed almost 300 boats on "Long Island upon the Holston River." Each boat was said to be capable of "carrying about twelve men with their provisions." That these boats would be used in an attack on West Florida most inhabitants of that province agreed. There was much disagreement as

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36. *Id. to id.*, 1st September, 1776, *ibid.* Two weeks later Chester informed Germain that the rebel forts extended to the mouth of the Cumberland River and that between six and seven thousand rebel troops would be used in the attack on West Florida. See *id. to id.*, 14th September, 1776, *ibid.*

31. *Id. to id.*, 25th October, 1776, *ibid.*

32. Germain to Chester, 7th February, 1777, *ibid.*

to whether the boats would transport an army down the Mississippi River and invade the province from that point or whether the army would originate in western Virginia and proceed by boat down the Holston into the Tennessee River to Chickasaw Landing, thence overland to the Tombigbee River and down that stream to attack Mobile. Settlers along the lower east bank of the Mississippi River were begging Chester for soldiers and equipment for their security.<sup>33</sup>

As the tension heightened Superintendent Stuart called a meeting at Mobile for May, 1777, with Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians.<sup>34</sup> Rebel emissaries had been among these nations and there was much confusion. However, after much talk, accompanied by many gifts, these two tribes renewed their pledges of loyalty to the English Crown. To Lord Germain, Governor Chester declared that he had been informed by General William Howe that West Florida must build its chief security upon the savages. In an effort to comply with Howe's plan, Chester confided to London that these Indians cannot be relied upon too heavily, "many of them seem to be actuated solely by motives of self interest and will receive presents from anybody who will give them."<sup>35</sup>

Added to the woes of Chester and Stuart was the news relayed from Alexander Cameron, Commissary of the Cherokees, that this tribe had made peace with the rebels.<sup>36</sup> Apparently the want of assistance had driven the Cherokees to this step. The rebels, for Cherokee neutrality, had promised to supply their every need in ammunition and in economic goods.<sup>37</sup> The Creeks also were practically out of supplies. Unless a store ship arrived within ten days, bemoaned Commissary David Taitt to the Superintendent, they could not subsist much longer. Shortly thereafter the Creeks began to plunder and to plot against the

33. Chester to Germain, 10th March, 1777, *ibid.*

34. John Stuart to Chester, 12th June, 1777, Chester Papers.

35. Chester to Germain, 12th June, 1777, *ibid.*

36. John Stuart to Chester, 3rd May, 1777, *ibid.*

37. David Taitt to Gov. Tonym, of East Florida, 23rd May, 1777, *ibid.*

lives of English commissioners, who fled precipitately westward.<sup>38</sup>

The entire trade with the southern Indian tribes by 1777 was funnelled through the province of West Florida. There could be no excuse for the shocking complaints from the Indians for the profuse sale of rum. Heretofore West Florida officials had blamed the excessive sale of alcoholic beverages on unlicensed traders from other English provinces or colonies. No longer was this reason valid. The West Florida legislature must arm Superintendent Stuart with such powers that he could stop the "venders of this spirit."<sup>39</sup> Although meager efforts were taken to check this evil no thorough control was achieved.

Spanish rivalry with the English for the hand of friendship with the Indians of the southwest was suddenly reactivated in the summer of 1777 when Governor Bernardo de Galvez journeyed up the Mississippi River from New Orleans to hold a congress with tribal chieftans at Point Coupee. Not only were the Indians within Spanish Louisiana invited to the assembly but the sly Spaniard, said Governor Chester, had invited, entered into negotiations with, and given a considerable number of presents to red men within the province of West Florida.<sup>40</sup>

As the Americans successfully wooed the Creeks and Cherokees away from the English, as the Spanish sought to replace the English in the affections of the Choctaws and some of the lesser tribes in the southwest, and as France entered the war on the side of the Americans, the defense projects at Pensacola were rushed to completion. With the consent of the Provincial Council, Governor Chester inaugurated immediate control of trade with the southern Indians. Indeed, Chester issued a proclamation declaring all commerce with the Indians illegal except in those instances in which he, or Superintendent Stuart, was

38. *Ibid.*, Chester to Germain, 6th October, 1777, *ibid.*

39. Germain to Chester, 11th October, 1777, Chester Papers.

40. Henry Stuart to John Stuart, 11th August, 1777; Chester to Germain, 25th August, 1777, *ibid.*

certain of the tribe's loyalty. The articles of trade were carefully licensed, especially rum. It was hoped that this policy might bring about better relations with the tribes within the bounds of West Florida. The English subjects had not long to wait, for a rebel invading army was already on its way southward.

For some time the British government and its appointed officials at Pensacola had expected a rebel attempt to enter West Florida *via* the Mississippi. By January, 1778, in anticipation of the arrival of the American forces on the Mississippi, a group of Choctaw warriors spent weeks on that stream at Walnut Hills (later Vicksburg) awaiting the arrival of a rebel batteau.<sup>41</sup> They were determined to resist any attempt at invasion. After several weeks of looking in vain for an enemy, the Indians returned to their people.<sup>42</sup> Hardly had they left their post of sentry when the invasion, long dreaded, occurred.

Captain James Willing, the leader of the expedition, left Fort Pitt in January, proceeded down the Ohio River, thence into and down the Mississippi River. Somewhere along the watery journey Willing had been joined by a larger group of banditti until, as they entered West Florida, the rebel band numbered about one hundred. During the night of February 18, part of Willing's group surprised and captured the outpost at Walnut Hills, from whence the Choctaw warriors had just a few days earlier departed. On the following night Willing's expedition took Natchez by complete surprise, hastily dispatched small parties into the surrounding countryside, took charge of the settlement for the United States, raised the American flag, and secured a pledge of neutrality from the settlers before drifting on down stream. On February 23 settlements from Point Coupee to Manchac were visited. From Walnut Hills to Manchac property was destroyed, slaves and livestock carried off to New

41. *Id. to id.*, 15th January, 1778, *ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, *id. to id.*, 25th March, 1778, *ibid.* In this expedition, as in military efforts generally, we are concerned here only with the part played by the southern Indians in the West Florida locale.

Orleans, a few obnoxious settlers were made prisoners and several ships on the river were seized. Uncertainty and uneasiness "prompted an emigration to the haven of Spanish Louisiana."<sup>43</sup>

Now that the invasion had occurred, the English settlers at Natchez did not distrust the Indians. At least two of the provisions of the pledge of neutrality applied to the redmen. In both articles Indians were to be notified of the success of Willing's invasion, and warned not to pillage the Natchez settlement nor to send an expedition against Pensacola.<sup>44</sup> Alexander Cameron told Chester that "no dependence could be placed upon any group of Indians - notwithstanding their repeated assurances of attachment to the King's interest; they could not be brought to act unless led by troops."<sup>45</sup>

Colonel Charles Stuart, Deputy Superintendent, rushed a Commissary to the Indians to create an army among the savages and the white men in their midst. Although Stuart assured Chester that the Indians were already in motion to defend the eastern bank of the Mississippi River against the return of the rebels, the colonial executive confided to London his great concern over the Indians' lack of dependability. To support Colonel Stuart as much as possible, however, Chester commissioned John McGillivray, a colonel, with instructions to raise a provincial corps of settlers and Indians. At most McGillivray would not be able to collect more than one hundred men. Chester sought more manpower elsewhere. He urged General Dalling, Governor of Jamaica to send men and ships, and asked Brigadier General Augustin Prevost at Saint Augustine for aid.<sup>46</sup> From Lord Germain at Whitehall came the

43. For a discussion of this expedition see John W. Caughey: "Willing's Expedition Down the Mississippi, 1778," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XV (1932), 5-36. Also Caughey's *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1780* (Berkeley, 1934), 102-134. See also Kathryn T. Abbey: "Peter Chester's Defense of the Mississippi After the Willing Raid," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII, 17-32.

44. Pledge of Neutrality of Natchez, February 21, 1778, in Chester Papers.

45. Chester to Germain, 25th March, 1778, *ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

hope that measures taken by the Governor and Superintendent would "prevent those plunderers doing further mischief." <sup>47</sup>

Evidently McGillivray had contacts among the Indians and succeeded immediately in raising a corps of men. A few weeks later Chester was writing to England that most of the white people in the Choctaw nation "and a considerable body of Indians," had joined McGillivray, who had rushed to Natchez. At this frontier town the inhabitants, well behaved until support was at hand, soon invalidated their declaration of neutrality and organized themselves into companies to oppose any return of the rebels. <sup>48</sup>

From New Orleans came word that Governor Galvez was using every means in his power to win the Choctaws to his Catholic Majesty's allegiance. Galvez's program, as reported to Lord Germain by Governor Chester, included inviting the chiefs to the Louisiana provincial capital for conferences, endeavors, by generous supplies of presents, to secure from the savages a pledge of neutrality. Chester admitted the effectiveness of the Spanish executive's diplomacy when he stated that Galvez had "occasioned frequent dissensions" among the Choctaws. <sup>49</sup>

With an attack on the western boundary of the province, either by the rebels supported by the Spanish from the south, or by a formidable force of rebels from the north becoming more of a probability, the problem of retaining the services of the Indians and white men to trade among them became more difficult. The truth of the matter was that the Choctaws, Chickasaws and the white traders among them not only refused to join an English provincial corps for the duration of the rebellion, or for a specified period, but after remaining at Natchez for a few weeks during a time in which practically no fighting occurred, had returned to their tribes and to their trades. Chester

47. Germain to Commanding Officer in West Florida, 1st July, 1778, *ibid.*

48. Chester to Germain, 7th May, 1778. In this letter Chester refers to McGillivray several times as "Lieutenant-Colonel McGillivray."

49. *Ibid.*

and Stuart disagreed as to the importance of English provincial defense, of this lack of interest on the part of the Indians. Chester did not think that the Indians could be relied upon if the enemy proved to be formidable. Superintendent Stuart, as reported by Governor Chester, seemed very much hurt by any expression of the least doubt of the firm attachment of the savages to the English. Chester believed that "one British regiment properly stationed upon the River Mississippi" would be of greater support in case of attack "than the whole Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations," were they all united in their loyalty to England.<sup>50</sup> With this conclusion Stuart did not concur.

The Creeks, in spite of many gifts from the English, had been influenced by rebel propaganda. Superintendent Stuart learned that dissatisfied Creek warriors were contemplating an attack on West Florida settlers up the Escambia River and notified Governor Chester. Within a week in August, 1778, provincials hurriedly left their homes, driving their livestock in front of them, for the safety of Pensacola.<sup>51</sup> Such threats of the Indians seemed to support the contentions of the Governor rather than to uphold the faith of the Superintendent.

Although the laws governing trade with the Indians were discussed by the provincial officials, reports of which conferences, without fail, found their way across the Atlantic to Westminster. Action, in return, was urged by Lord Germain, but the Provincial Assembly had not altered laws enacted in 1770 when conditions under which these enactments operated had altered greatly. Governor Chester, at a meeting of the Assembly in October, 1778, urged revision of these laws so as to curtail more drastically the sale of alcoholic beverages to the Indians, and to inflict severest legal penalties on all persons who should make settlements on Indian hunting lands. The expressed objective of the executive to the Assembly was to "regain and

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50. *Id.* to *id.*, 24th [August] 1778, *ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

preserve the Indian attachment to His Majesty's Government." <sup>52</sup>  
 The Governor's message notwithstanding, no bill was enacted by the Assembly. As expressed by Chester, the reasons for the Assembly's failure to pass the Indian Bill were two. First, the influence of the merchants who handled the rum was used to prevent the passage of the bill so that they would not lose their profits. Second, for days the assemblymen debated leisurely a proposal to reapportion membership in the General Assembly. <sup>53</sup>  
 Until such a time, which came a year later, when the Assembly would enact an Indian Bill, Chester and Superintendent Stuart would regulate relations with the red men as best they could.

A blow was struck at amiable relations with the southern Indians in March, 1779, in the not unexpected death of Superintendent John Stuart. For some months the likeable official had been in the last stages of tuberculosis. Due to the lingering illness of Stuart great confusion had developed in the Department of Indian Affairs. Upon the demise of the valuable superintendent, Brigadier General John Campbell, recently arrived in West Florida, conferred with Governor Chester. The former at first accepted the latter's plan to name five commissioners to serve in lieu of a superintendent until the will of the King could be ascertained, but later, upon learning the men appointed, withdrew his acceptance. <sup>54</sup> These commissioners were privileged to serve in this capacity only a few months as Alexander Cameron was named Superintendent. That they made any notable improvement in the chaotic conditions of the provincial department

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52. *Id. to id.*, 24th November, 1778, *ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. Chester to Germain, 23rd March, 1779; *id. to id.*, 1st April, 1779; *ibid.* The Commissioners were David Holms, Alexander Macullough, John Mitchell, Andrew Rainford and Robert Taitt. Also consult John Campbell to Germain, 22nd [March] 1779; *id. to id.*, 7th April, 1779, in the John Campbell Papers. A microfilm copy of this important collection of correspondence is in the Library of Florida History, University of Florida. Hereafter this collection will be referred to as the Campbell Papers.

was nowhere recorded. Indeed, General Campbell reported that they added confusion to chaos.<sup>55</sup>

Two letters penned by Henry Hamilton to John Campbell in the winter of 1778-1779 reveal extensive preparations which were being made by numerous Indian tribes from the upper southern frontier area to the Great Lakes area and southward into the Ohio River Valley for attack against Americans.<sup>56</sup> In charge of military defense of West Florida, Campbell was urged by Hamilton to prevent the Spanish in Louisiana from sending any "powder or clothing" to the upper Indian posts. In seeking additional man power to support the regular soldiers, Campbell turned to the Indians as Chester and Stuart had done before the General's arrival. As he went about this chore Campbell was determined to make as secure as possible the Choctaws who inhabited the area within the southwestern part of West Florida which lay along the lower eastern bank of the Mississippi River and extended eastward along the coast to Mobile. In his efforts to win the affections of these Indians, Campbell learned that the Spanish were increasing their gifts and promises to the same people. In short, the savages by maintaining a policy of neutrality between the English and Spanish, were the recipients of increasing attention and gifts. Of course, Campbell was well aware of the Indians' fortune. The Indians, he declared "are a mercenary race . . . the slaves of the highest bidder without gratitude or affection." The source of the Indians' mercenary enslavement Campbell also knew. "I'm afraid that Europeans themselves have taught them these principles," he wrote Lord Germain.<sup>57</sup>

When Spain joined France and the United States in 1779 in declaring war on England, Lord Germain ordered General Camp-

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55. Germain to Chester, 5th August, 1779, in Chester Papers. *Id.* to John Campbell, 24th June, 1779, and 15th December, 1779, in the Campbell Papers. Apparently General Henry Clinton made the appointment.

56. Henry Hamilton to John Campbell, 25th December, 1778; 13th January, 1779, *ibid.*

57. Campbell to Germain, 15th December, 1779, *ibid.*

bell to prepare immediately for an attack on New Orleans. In planning for this war of offense, Campbell was not to overlook the "neighboring Indian nations" as a significant source of aid.<sup>58</sup> The proper management of the neighboring Indians was a "matter of the greatest importance" to the West Floridian provincials. Lord Germain thought the defection of the Choctaws should be expected. To offset such a loss, General Campbell was urged to seek to unite the Chickasaws, Cherokees and Creeks in support of the English. This accomplished, the Choctaws would not venture to act against the provincials. Superintendent Cameron was to visit all tribes within the southern district in an effort to bolster the faltering English influence. Campbell, designated custodian of His Majesty's gifts to the Indians, was to give presents to groups of red men whom Cameron would send to him for conferences. And Cameron, as directed by Campbell, should take goods with him to be distributed to the southern tribes. The only restrictions laid upon Campbell from London was that he furnish to the Superintendent money adequate for his expenses, gifts ample for the Indians and that he send the Lords of the English Treasury his requests for goods and supplies in advance.<sup>59</sup>

But ill fortune attended the English in their efforts to improve their relations with the Indians. Governor Chester issued patents and grants to lands which belonged to the Choctaws, also supplies including 500 barrels of pork, sent to "Colonel Stuart or his assigns" instead of to Colonel Stuart as the "Superintendent of Indian Affairs" were seized by Stuart's executor.<sup>60</sup> More recently a shipload of provisions intended largely for Indian consumption, had fallen into Spanish hands near Mobile, definitely, a bonanza for the enemy. Apparently, the Indians remained loyal to the English, even when the "latter were no

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58. Germain to Campbell, 25th June, 1779, *ibid.*

59. *Id.* to *id.*, 4th April, 1780, *ibid.*

60. Campbell to Clinton, 10th February, 1780, copy *ibid.*

longer able to furnish them with their customary supplies.”<sup>61</sup>

On March 13, 1780, the English at Fort Charlotte, Mobile, under Elias Durnford capitulated to the larger forces of Governor Galvez; so now the Spanish had established themselves in the second largest town and one of the best fortified strongholds of West Florida.<sup>62</sup> In possession of Mobile and its environs, Galvez hoped that the Indians would rush to the side of Spain but he was destined to disappointment. When his expectations were not realized, he sent a proposal under a flag of truce to Campbell. “In order that a war which we carry on through duty and not through hatred might not be rendered still more bloody,” the proposal read, could they not mutually agree to exclude all Indians from further participation in the war and enforce on all tribes a strict neutrality? Since nearly all of the Indians were controlled by the English, “their neutrality would be a distinct boon to the Spanish cause”.<sup>63</sup> To the Spanish governor at nearby Mobile, Campbell, from Pensacola, rejected the suggestion not to employ Indians in their national quarrel, on the grounds that it was “insulting and injurious to reason and common sense.”<sup>64</sup> Obviously, the English commander preferred security to idealism. The number of Indians collected at Pensacola, Campbell informed Germain had been 1600 but recently reduced to 1100 including men, women and children.<sup>66</sup>

From Indians who, upon pretended friendship to the Spanish at Mobile, were given information that the Spanish “with an irresistible force” would invade Pensacola early in the fall, came news to Campbell.<sup>66</sup> While contemplating the effort of the enemy to capture this significant town of West Florida, General

61. *Id.* to Germain, 12th February 1780, copy *ibid.*; see also Richard L. Campbell: *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida* (Cleveland, 1892), 121.

62. See copy of terms of capitulation in Campbell Papers.

63. Galvez to Campbell, 9th April, 1780, *ibid.*; John W. Caughey: *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1780*, 189.

64. Campbell to Galvez, 20th April, 1780, in Campbell Papers.

65. *Id.* to Germain, 15th May, 1780, *ibid.*

66. *Id.* to *id.*, 14th June, 1780, *ibid.*

Campbell wrote to London of the rapidly increasing expenses of maintaining the large number of allies. Indians were "an immense expense in time of trouble or whenever they were courted by contending parties," he said.<sup>67</sup>

Lord Germain informed General Campbell in September that a "large number of Indians were marching down from the Creek towns" to aid him.<sup>68</sup> Further good news which the English general received was that the 500 barrels of pork had been given up by Stuart's executor and was available for gifts to the Indians. More presents would leave England in the next convoy, ready to sail, for Campbell to use in influencing southern Indians. By the King's orders, the southern tribes were divided into two divisions with Cameron as Superintendent over the Chickasaws and the Creeks, and with one Colonel Brown over the Cherokees and Catawbas.<sup>69</sup> Campbell was well pleased with the new arrangement, and for obvious reasons. The expense was greatly diminished and the number of Indians engaged in English military affairs was much larger than formerly.<sup>70</sup>

Throughout the fall and winter of 1780-1781 General Campbell with his Indian allies expectantly waited in Pensacola for an invasion from the Spanish at Mobile. Due to a hurricane in which the Spanish lost ships and men the proposed attack did not materialize. The English general, not to be caught napping "called for every Indian warrior that can possibly be collected." Some Chickasaw chiefs came for ammunition to defend their hunting grounds against expansive Americans.<sup>71</sup> Others came to remain and lend support to the defense of Pensacola. Some 500 Choctaw warriors with evident disillusionment about the Spanish, assembled at the summons of Campbell. Sent with

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67. *Id.* to *id.*, 22nd July, 1780, *ibid.*

68. Germain to Campbell, 6th September, 1780, *ibid.*

69. *Id.* to *Id.*, 1st November, 1780, *ibid.* Many of the Choctaws had gone over to the enemy and were committing acts of pillage and murder against settlers from Mobile to the Mississippi River.

70. See *id.* to *id.*, 13th January, 1780, *ibid.*

71. Campbell to Germain, 26th November, 1780, *ibid.*

some provincials on a dawn surprise attack on Mobile village a settlement east of Mobile, the Indians became "separated from the whites and continued to attack after the troops were withdrawn."<sup>72</sup> Although this raid was the only battle which occurred between the European imperialists in West Florida for some months there were several cases of ambushing of small groups by their enemies. Letters in the Campbell and Chester collections reveal that seemingly both the English and Spanish were encouraging their Indian allies to pillage, plunder, and massacre every member of the other nationality possible. Both English and Spanish civil and military officials were equally stern in denying any such suggestions to the Indians. Nevertheless both continued to accuse each other of so using the Indians.<sup>73</sup>

With the advent of spring, with the increasing amount of provisions shipped to Pensacola, with the arrival of English reinforcements, and with the assembling of increasingly large numbers of Indian warriors under General Campbell, conditions seemed propitious for an attack on the Spanish at Mobile. At least, Lord Germain said as much to the English commander at Pensacola.<sup>74</sup> Campbell was to await the Spanish attack on the last English stronghold as he had permitted the enemy to take the offense against Mobile and other settlements in the province.

Whether or not actual fighting was renewed by the English or left to the discretion of the Spanish the immense consumption of provisions continued. As the number of soldiers, warriors, settlers and refugees in Pensacola increased, the amount of supplies required was augmented proportionately. So rapidly had the needs mounted that the contractors for the navy "failed

72. *Id. to id.*, 7th January, 1781, *ibid.*

73. In the Chester Papers and in the Campbell Papers there are letters from Spanish civil and military officials making accusations against the English. There are copies of letters written by Chester and Campbell to Spanish officials denying every charge but, at the same time, specifically blaming the Spanish for raids which Indians had made in English held territory.

74. Germain to Campbell, 12th April, 1781, in Campbell Papers.

to supply them." Therefore there arose "a necessity of victualling them from the army stores." This increasing drain on Campbell's supplies was rapidly depleting his stores. Not only were the actual demands much greater but Campbell found the "greatest difficulty in restraining extravagance and waste, not from the Indians themselves so much as from the Indian Department. In brief "the shortage of foodstuffs became very acute."<sup>75</sup> Apparently, no success attended the English commander's efforts to have this matter corrected.

In March the Spanish began the initial skirmishes which preceded the siege of Pensacola. Throughout April there were many contacts with the enemy. Interestingly, the English and Spanish had used the Indians more in the early stages of the conquest of West Florida, and as a result, the natives suffered more casualties. Most of the southeastern tribes, including the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, "contributed auxiliaries for the defense of Pensacola."<sup>76</sup> The forts at Pensacola fell on May 8, and the Articles of Capitulation next day gave the whole of West Florida to Bernardo de Galvez and Spain.<sup>77</sup> General Campbell's hoard of Indian allies had proved more of a liability than an asset.

The southern Indians fared no better under the new Spanish regime than they had since 1763 under English control. Regardless of nationality the white man continued to trespass on the Indian hunting lands, to deplete his native food supply, to exploit him in trade (selling him rum instead of farming tools), to settle illegally within his territory, and to use the redman when possible as an ally in his imperialistic wars.

75. Campbell to Germain, 15th February, 1781, *ibid.*; Louis Krupp (tr.); Elking, *Deutschen Hulfstruppenim Nordamerihanischen Befreiungs Kriege 1776 bis 1783*, (Hanover, 1863), 160-61.

76. Campbell to Germain, 6th May, 1781, in Campbell Papers; John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez*, 207.

77. Chester to Germain, 2nd July, 1781, in Chester Papers. For an on the scene narrative of the siege from the Spanish angle see this QUARTERLY, (xxix, 163-196); *Miranda's Diary of the Siege of Pensacola, 1781*, translated by Donald E. Worcester.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT BROOKE  
**THE BEGINNING OF TAMPA**

From letters of Col. George M. Brooke

*Edited by* **JAMES W. COVINGTON**

The military post known as Fort Brooke which was located at the mouth of the Hillsborough River is one that played a most important role in the settlement of Florida's west coast. It served as a base of operations during the Seminole wars, and many famous military figures were stationed there during the middle third of the Nineteenth Century.

Due to the trade and protection offered by Fort Brooke, Tampa was born and slowly grew during the days before Tampa Bay was discovered by the tourist and cigar manufacturer.

Fort Brooke came into being as a result of the Seminole Treaty of 1823. The Seminoles agreed to move into a reservation which was to be located in the south central part of the peninsula. Commissioners representing the United States government in the negotiations suggested that a military post be placed at Tampa Bay to protect the Indians from outside elements.

Colonel James Gadsden,<sup>1</sup> one of the treaty commissioners, was appointed to survey the new reservation. He warned Secretary of War John C. Calhoun that the Seminoles would not move into the reservation if the United States government neglected to show "power and disposition to compel obedience."<sup>2</sup> Gadsden suggested that a military post be immediately established at Tampa Bay.

Secretary Calhoun had a high regard for Colonel Gadsden and accepted the suggestion. Orders issued from the Adjutant

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1. Gadsden assisted in the famous purchase in southern Arizona which bore his name. His colorful life is summarized in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.
  2. James Gadsden to John C. Calhoun, September 29, 1823, *Seminoles, 1823*, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

General's Office on November 5, 1823,<sup>3</sup> provided that Colonel George M. Brooke should proceed as soon as possible with four companies of the 4th Infantry to Tampa Bay where a military post would be established.

Surveyor Gadsden was notified of the orders to Colonel Brooke and he wrote the following letter<sup>4</sup> to Brooke at Cantonment Clinch near Pensacola:

St. Augustine  
1 December 1823

Dear Colonel

I have this day received a copy of an order from the Adj. General's Office stating that four companies of Inftry under your command has been detailed to occupy the post at the Bay of Tampa and that you were instructed to consult with me as to the proper site etc.

I lose no time in informing you that I leave this day with a small detachment for the Indian Nation and will be in the Bay of Tampa the early part of the ensuing Month. As I shall expect some facilities from your command towards the discharge of the duties as Indian Commissioner assigned me I have to request that you will endeavour to make as early a movement as practicable so as to meet me about the time contemplated - otherwise I may be much embarrassed in my operations if not much exposed to privations of a severe character - I feel the more anxious on this subject as the Indians South have of late exhibited something like an unfriendly feeling, and are unwilling that I should run the line immediately - your presence with troops will produce the most happy effects and to your exertions I may acknowledge myself indebted for the faithful and efficacious discharge of the most arduous service I have undertaken.

Your Obdt. Servt.

**JAMES GADSDEN**

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3. These orders are printed in full in Karl H. Grismer: *Tampa*, St. Petersburg Ptg. Co., 1950, p 55.

4. James Gadsden to Colonel George Brooke, Records of the War Department, Office of the Adjutant General, Letters received 7-B-1824. Hereafter cited as O.A.G.

The task force left Pensacola on January 15, 1824, and made its way into Tampa Bay. Colonel Brooke wrote a detailed account of the landing and selection of a proper location, which is printed in full by Karl H. Grismer in his *Tampa*.<sup>5</sup> In the same source is an account of Robert J. Hackley who was dispossessed of his dwelling and claim of the area on which the fort was established.

Thus, the cantonment was set up and conditions in the military establishment showed great improvement as seen in the next letter<sup>6</sup> sent by Colonel Brooke.

Camp on Hillsborough Bay

4th April 1824

Genl.

Since my communication of Febr. 3 this is the only opportunity which has been offered me of addressing you (the arrival of Major Wright by water). The troops continue in good health, are well supplied with provisions, and are industriously engaged in the erection of quarters. Capt. D. E. Burch of the Quarter Masters Dept. at Pensacola has facilitated by every means in his power, the completion of our barracks by complying most promptly with all the necessary requisitions. By the middle of this month, the men will be in their quarters which are the best log buildings I have ever seen, both for health and duration. The rooms being large, high, airy and as well put together as possible, the whole 260 feet in length and 12 feet from floor to the loft. We have completed the Quarter Masters and commissary's store house, [and] bake house. The officers quarters have also been finished (viz. two blocks of it) in ten days. Considering that the first tree was felled on the 20th Feby. I have every reason to be pleased with the great industry of the officers and men, besides this each company has a large garden

5. Grismer, *op. cit.* pp. 56-58.

6. Brooke to Brown, O.A.G., 97-B-1824.

now in fine cultivation. I must beg leave to renew my application for two apt. surgeons for should any epidemic disease take place here, we should be in a most deplorable situation. I wrote to the Surgeon Gen'l. on this subject early in Jan. but he has not done me the honor of ever answering any letter. Should we be unfortunate to have the yellow fever, I shall feel myself relieved from all responsibility in as much as I have written repeatedly to the Surgeon Gen'l. on this subject.

The Indians appear to me, to be more and more displeased at the treaty and still more at the running of the line, and I am not unapprehensive of some difficulty. They have an idea, that the nation, is about to go to war with Great Britain, and was it to be the case they would most certainly join our enemy. In consequence of its having been reported to me, that a large number of Indians were seen near the Camp, after tattoo, who appeared to have an intention of taking us by surprise, the troops, were put under arms, and continued so during the night, a large party were also sent out some distance, but no Indians were discovered. So the man who reported it to me, came running in, and stated that he had seen them not more than 15 minutes before, an attack was calculated on most certainly. The officers and men turned out with an alacrity and spirit, which did them great credit, and I feel a confidence, that no Indian force in this country could meet us, with the least prospect of success, although they can bring at least 700 warriors. There is an absolute necessity of some field pieces here into the field and I beg, that the Commandg. Officer at Pensacola may be directed to have transported to this place, two six pounders, with a proper supply of ammunition and implements. We have discovered that this place, has been a depot, for pirates, finding the other day, the remains of three unfortunate persons who from the shot-holes, in their hats, and from stakes set in the ground, with ropes attached to them and the appearance of fire, that some of them

had been shot and others burned to death.<sup>7</sup> There were near them two six pound shot, and an old looking glass. From the ropes and the burnt wood, it appears, it must have been done about four or five months since.

I have the honor to be  
your respectfully  
yr. ms. Obt. servt.

**GEO. M. BROOKE**

P. S. A copy of this letter has been addressed to Gen. Scott

Colonel Brooke, when he returned with his family, which had been left at Pensacola, wrote to Gen. Atkinson, his commanding officer as follows:<sup>8</sup>

Cantonment Brooke  
18 January 1825

General

I returned to Pensacola from the country with my family on the 20th of October on my way to this post and could not obtain passage till the 10th of Dec. when I sailed and landed here on the 18th of the same month.

I found the troops in good health and the post in good order. From the last year it appears that this is one of the most healthy positions in the southern country. There has been less sickness here than at Cantonment Clinch although the number of troops was greater. . . . You will perceive by the monthly return of this post that our total is now 177 from which 9 have been discharged and 1 dead and 26 prisoners leaving our effective force 141. There will also be discharged in this and the following months viz. in Jany. 1825 6 men, in Feby. 5, March, seven, April five and May seven, making 30 leaving then the effective force at 101 men. It is necessary that the command be kept up as

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7. Due to lax control by Spanish and American authorities the coast of southwest Florida had become a haven for "second-rate" pirates, smugglers and some honest fishermen.

8. Brooke to Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, O.A.G., 37-B-1824.

nearly to its full complement as practicable from the number of Indians who have been removed from the upper country by the treaty at St. Augustine, as well as those which were before in our immediate neighborhood making in the whole 6 or 700 souls. I am in no fear of the Indians at present, but should they at any time disclose dispositions or be guilty of improper conduct, it would be out of my power to make those arrangements which should put them down at once. The necessity of recruits is also increased by the probability of our being ordered to cut out those two military roads which are now surveying [*sic*] by Captain Clark of the Q. M. department. I therefore hope that a proper part of the recruits now making for the 4th Infy may be ordered direct to this place.

The few opportunities we have at this place for making known our wants, and the great length of time which we experience in receiving orders and answering them, I am fearful may produce a belief that we are not so prompt as we should be.

I have the honor to be very respectfully yr. Obt. Servt.

**GEORGE M. BROOKE**

to Brig Genl. H. Atkinson  
Commg. Western Dept.

FLORIDA POLITICS IN 1881

A Letter of Henry S. Sanford

*Edited by* **EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON**

General Henry S. Sanford was a member of the group of Northern business men who during Reconstruction in Florida shrewdly saw economic opportunity in what was then a poor undeveloped frontier state. But entirely different from the carpetbaggers, Sanford came to Florida in 1870 a wealthy man. Purchasing a large former Spanish land grant of 25,000 acres in the central part of the state from General Joseph Finegan for \$18,200, he founded the city of Sanford, began construction of a railroad southward and planted extensive orange groves. <sup>1</sup>

Always a firm Republican and staunch Unionist, he entered state politics at a time when his party locally was rapidly declining. Sanford attributed this downfall solely to the carpetbag leadership of the party in the Black Belt. In November 1881 he wrote President Chester A. Arthur the following strong letter concerning needed reforms.

Brevoort House, New York <sup>2</sup>

Nov. 19, 1881

To the President [Chester A. Arthur]:

I profit of your kind suggestion to write to you with regard to matters in Florida.

I think the time has come to change the men and the methods which have cost us a State, where there is now a democratic majority of 5,000 instead of the former republican majority of 10,000. They have arrayed the two races against each other, and by persistent antagonizing, made the democratic party a compact union of nearly all the Southern Whites. It seems to me that the best course now is to do nothing; to gradually re-

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1. Dorothy Primrose McMakin, "General Henry Shelton Sanford and His Influence on Florida," (Unpublished master's thesis, John B. Stetson University, 1938), pp. 61-65, 70, 76-77.

2. The original letter is a gift to the Florida Historical Society of the late Dr. C. Herbert Laub, Professor of History at the University of Tampa.

place some of the men of the old system, who represent nothing but themselves, by those sympathetic to the republican party, who represent property and intelligence, and would inspire confidence in the State.<sup>3</sup>

A wave of prosperity is now passing over Florida, and it is felt in every part of it; it causes good feeling and a general disposition to attend to questions of material interest and not to politics, and this promotes harmony all around.<sup>4</sup> If nothing were done to excite ill feeling and stir up passions, there is every reason to believe that at the election next year, there would be independent tickets in every county, and the commencement of disintegration of the democratic party - which is inevitable, if we let it alone - and the way prepared for carrying the State in the next Presidential election, and with it secure two senators. In this view, I think the action lately taken in arresting citizens of prominence and good standing in the State upon frivolous or ungrounded charges, which I am satisfied in many cases can not be sustained in the courts, is having a most deplorable effect, and I do hope that everything that has the air of persecution for political purposes may be sternly repressed.<sup>5</sup> No good can come of it, save in fees to a few officers, and much loss must be sustained by the Treasury, and much bad feeling and bitterness aroused at a moment when it is so easy to avoid it.

I did recommend one change in the Collector of Internal Revenue in a confidential letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, to which I beg to refer, and about which I have not

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3. The state Republican Party was controlled by a small group of carpet-baggers who operated political machines in the Black Belt and port city counties. Heading this ring were ex-Senator Simon B. Conover of Leon, Dennis Eagan of Madison, and Leonard G. Dennis of Alachua. Eagan and Dennis were particularly hated by the white people in their counties.
  4. The Disston Land Sale of 4,000,000 acres for \$1,000,000 released the Internal Improvement Fund lands for the encouragement of railroad building, and stimulated outside interest in Florida, resulting in increased immigration.
  5. After the Republicans lost control of the state in 1876, they used the federal courts in charging the Democrats with election frauds. Democratic election officials, the most prominent of whom Judge Robert Witherspoon, of Madison, were arrested and tried in the federal court.

changed my views. Secretary Windom telegraphed me before leaving the country at the end of May last, that my recommendation would probably be carried out; but the intention was frustrated at the time by an act of treachery on the part of some one in the Department, which it is not here the place to comment upon. I thought then, and still think, that the collector who had gone out of his way to create a disturbance, which had cost the life of one respectable citizen, the condemnation for murder of two colored men and his own indictment for murder and refuge in a jail (from which I helped to rescue him) ought to be translated to some other sphere where he could do less mischief than fomenting difficulties between the white and the colored races; and I still think so, as I said.<sup>6</sup> It is the only case where I have suggested any change of a Federal officer before the expiration of his term. It is to my mind, every way desirable that there should be no "color line". We need in our ranks more white men, and I have no fear of alienation of any considerable portion of those of African descent. They will be always our friends naturally, and look to our party for support, and their recognition in all fitting ways I earnestly sustain; but that they should be encouraged to antagonize white men by reckless and unprincipled demagogues; I am as heartily opposed to. There is no reason why both races may not work together in harmony, as is their mutual interest.

Very respectfully y'r obed- servant

H. S. SANFORD

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6. In 1881 Dennis Eagan, political boss of the Republican machine in Madison County, ignoring the tension which prevailed in the town of Madison, held under federal sponsorship a hearing on the contested election of Congressman from the Second Florida District. During the hearing, Charles Savage and Howard Jones, two Negro politicians, engaged in an altercation with Frank Patterson, a young Madison lawyer and murdered him. The white citizens of Madison blamed Eagan, who after the shooting, fled through the woods to Georgia pursued by a posse. Eagan was eventually arrested but was acquitted by the state Supreme Court. A return to Madison impossible because of the feeling against him, Eagan moved to Jacksonville and secured the appointment of Collector of Internal Revenue.

## A SCOUTING EXPEDITION ALONG LAKE PANASOFFKEE

by FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

By the early spring of 1842 the Second Seminole War was drawing to its close. Since the noteworthy engagement at Lake Okeechobee on December 25, 1837, when the Indians had been defeated and had fled into inaccessible hiding-places, few pitched battles had been fought. Consequently, for several years the troops had engaged in a series of scouting expeditions which were designed to ferret out the numerous small bands of Indians and capture them.

To terminate the war, Colonel William J. Worth who commanded the army in Florida decided upon the complete scouring of the country to explore and penetrate the Indians' favorite retreats. One of the more important of these scouting expeditions was the pursuit into the Palaklakaha Swamp, the largest of a succession of dense hammocks. This affray which lasted from April 14 to 24, 1842, has been portrayed in a journal<sup>1</sup> kept by Captain Robert C. Buchanan of the U. S. 4th Infantry who participated in the examination of the west side of Lake Panasoffkee. In this action the enemy was engaged, routed, and dispersed. The result was the capture several days later of chief Malleck Tusteneggee and the removal of the last of these warrior bands shortly thereafter.

Captain Buchanan was no stranger to Florida. He had arrived with his regiment in 1836 and had participated in the

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*Note* - While there is no fighting in this journal, it has an interest as a sample of a very large part of the operations of the U. S. Army during the seven successive winters of the Seminole War. In the mistaken notion that Florida summers were unhealthy, even dangerous, operations were largely suspended in summer - the reason, more than any other, for the length of the War (*Ed.*).

1. The original journal is in the Robert C. Buchanan Papers, Maryland Historical Society, to whom grateful acknowledgement is made for permission to publish it. I also acknowledge the assistance given me by my uncle, Warren Dilsaver of Tampa.

skirmishes at Camp Izard, Olokhikaha, and Lake Okeechobee.<sup>2</sup> In 1838, he assisted in the removal of the Cherokees to the West where he spent the next two years on frontier duty at Fort Gibson and opening the military road to Fort Smith. He returned to Florida in the fall of 1841 when the 4th Infantry took the field to wage a nine months' campaign until the termination of hostilities in August, 1842.

Although Captain Buchanan's journal bears no date, it was possible through the reconstruction of his military career to recognize the events about which he wrote. Although he did not personally participate in the battle at Palaklakaha, his journal reveals the strategy which was employed by one organization of the punitive expedition.

By April 12, 1842, the four detachments were in position to examine the country around Wahoo Swamp, the Withlacoochee River, and Lake Panasoffkee.<sup>3</sup> On the following day, these detachments penetrated the swamps and hammocks from every quarter and converged on a common rendezvous. One detachment under Major William G. Belknap composed of two companies from the 8th Infantry examined thoroughly Lake Panasoffkee and descended the Withlacoochee to Camp Izard. A second detachment under Captain Buchanan and Lieutenant Benjamin Alvord of the 4th Infantry scouted the west side of the lake and examined all the swamps on its borders. It is this action which Buchanan has described in his journal. A third detachment had, meantime, commanded by Major Joseph Plympton of the 2nd Infantry, a similar responsibility for covering the south side of the lake. Last of all, a fourth detachment led by Lt. Col John Garland of the 4th Infantry moved directly on the rendezvous point. In that manner, their search had been so minutely

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2. There is a more complete sketch of Buchanan's life as well as his description of the Battle of Lake Okeechobee in my article, "A Journal of Lt. Robert C. Buchanan during the Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (October, 1950), 132-151.

3. See Reports of Col. William J. Worth to The Adjutant General, April 21, and April 25, 1842. *Niles' Register*, May 14, 1842.

and thoroughly conducted that the Seminoles were pursued rapidly, forced to fight, and, after a vigorous action, they were convinced that further resistance was useless.

Captain Buchanan ended his journal abruptly with his entry for April 24. After resting for several days, he moved on from his camp on the Withlacoochee to explore it as far as he could navigate with his canoes. He then returned without observing any signs of importance. Nevertheless, he was impressed by his reconnaissance of Lake Panasoffkee. It was, he wrote, "about 6 1/2 miles long and 1/2 broad running from NNW to SSW. The water when I saw it having a cloudy appearance like that of the Mississippi when not quite clear. . . . The Outhlacochee was very low, and many shoals and falls were exposed which could probably be hidden in high water."<sup>4</sup>

Following the completion of this scouting expedition, Buchanan remained in Florida until his regiment departed for Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, in August and September, 1842.

#### *The Journal*

14th. Started this morning at 1/2 past 7 A.M. Took Capt. Page<sup>5</sup> in our canoes with 11 of his men. Prince<sup>6</sup> and Wallen with the others go by land. Opposite to Cabbage Island.<sup>8</sup> Canoes very heavily laden. In my canoe ten persons with their Arms and knapsacks, one barrel of beef and two barrels of bread. Met a great deal of grain and water lettuce and finally brought up in a boggy hammock. Mr. Gates<sup>9</sup> was in front and after a trial to go through a channel in the Hammock, the attempt was abandoned. A sort of council was held and it was determined to go up the Panasufkie outlet to where the road

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4. Buchanan to Major S. Cooper, Asst. Adjt. General, Fort King, Fla., April 29th, 1842. Buchanan Papers.

5. Captain John Page of the 4th Infantry.

6. 1st Lt. Henry Prince of the 4th Infantry.

7. Lt. Henry D. Wallen of the 4th Infantry.

8: Unidentified, but probably a small island in the Withlacoochee River so called because of the cabbage palm trees growing on it.

9. Lt. Collinson R. Gates of the 8th Infantry.

from Fort Clinch <sup>10</sup> crosses it, and thence start by land for Cabbage Island. Landed about 5 P.M. A command was sent across the Panasufkie to bring Co. G 4th Infantry to our camp. They returned at 10 P.M. A small log pen was built to put the prisoners in during our scout. We are to start tomorrow with five days rations in our haversacks.

15th. Started at 1/2 past 8 A.M. Left canoes and provisions with a guard of one sergeant, one corporal, and fifteen men. Smith <sup>11</sup> in advance with twenty men. 5 columns. At 10 A.M. came across Major Plympton's camp, <sup>12</sup> followed his trail for some time. Found abundant oranges. Our route was through hammock land and sawgrass swamp and cypress. Could not find Cabbage Island and returned to our camp on Panasufkie. As we passed Plympton's camp, stopped half an hour and while there Lts. Long <sup>13</sup> and Murray <sup>14</sup> came in from a scout. Alvord <sup>15</sup> left us there.

16th. Left camp at 8 A.M. in canoes. My company in advance to find the channel of the Ouithlacoohie, and Prince's command took 4 days' ration for Page's men. Found the channel where we turned back on the 14th. Found company F and Page joined it. Went on to look for Cabbage Island, and as usual could not find it, and turned back. On our return I examined a landing about a mile below camp in the Panasufkie. Found Long's trail of yesterday, and a large orange grove. Got back about 6 P.M. We were much disappointed at being compelled to turn back without doing anything. Maj. Belnap <sup>16</sup> and myself disagree about the point at which we turned back. He says that we were in Jumper Creek, but I think we were in the main Ouithlacoohie. The stream was about 40 yards wide and a foot deep. Belnap

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10. Fort Clinch was located near the mouth of the Withlacoochee.

11. Probably Lt. Sidney Smith of the 4th Infantry.

12. Maj. Joseph Plympton of the 2nd Infantry.

13. Probably Lt. Edwin R. Long of the 2nd Infantry.

14. Lt. Edward Murray of the 2nd Infantry.

15. Lt. Benjamin Alvord of the 4th Infantry.

16. Maj. William G. Belnap of the 8th Infantry.

is certainly the most disagreeable man to serve with that one can find. Jumps to conclusions and uses assertion for argument. Coarse in feeling, overbearing in disposition and vulgar in manner, it is strange that he should be able to impose so thoroughly on Col. Worth.<sup>17</sup> I find him prudent to timidity and more cautious of his person than a miser of his money. We had not yet got settled in Camp when Colonel Worth and staff with Colonel Garland<sup>18</sup> escorted by Lt. Arnold<sup>19</sup> of Ker's Dragoons<sup>20</sup> rode up. Colonel W. will remain all night and Col. G. returns to Maj. Plympton's camp. Some men of the 8th found a field of corn and pumkins in it. This afternoon about 1/2 of a mile from Camp the corn had been hoed within two days.

17th. Colonel Worth left us this morning for Jumper Creek. I am to proceed with Company I to scout a part of the hammock round Panasufkie Lake on the North East, while Graham,<sup>21</sup> and McCall<sup>22</sup> meet me from the South East. Belknap with two companies of the 8th will enter the Lake by boats to catch them who may be driven to the water by men. Major Plympton scouting around the South West. After this I proceed with Graham and McCall to Fort McClure<sup>23</sup> where we get further orders. It is said that we had a long scout in the Okahumky before us. Left Camp Page at 1/2 past 5 P.M. and arrived at Camp Plympton at 8. Found Doctor Wright<sup>24</sup> in charge of the Depot. Alvord joined us this evening at Camp Page.

18th. Broke up the Depot and sent the Waggons round by the road to Warm Springs under the Doctor with an escort of 16 men. Left camp at 7 1/2 A.M. to scout the borders of the Panasufkie. About 10, found a trail a week old, and followed it for some hours but finding that it did not freshen, left it to go

17. Col. William J. Worth of the 8th Infantry.

18. Lt. Col. John Garland of the 4th Infantry.

19. Lt. Ripley A. Arnold of the 2nd Dragoons.

20. Capt. Croghan Ker of the 2nd Dragoons.

21. Bvt. Major William M. Graham of the 4th Infantry.

22. Capt. George A. McCall, of the 4th Infantry.

23. Fort McClure was located at Warm Springs on the Withlacoochee.

24. Asst. Surgeon Joseph Jefferson Burr Wright.

to the point when I was ordered to meet Major Belknap. Met Capt. Montgomery <sup>25</sup> with his and Gates' companies. B. has remained with the boats. Left him about 12 M. and at 1, dined in Halleck's Old Town and in his lodge. Had an orange stick cut there, as a memento of the tramp. Proceeded to Warm Springs and arrived about 1/2 past 5. Found on our arrival that Colonel Worth with Colonel Garland's command of the 4th, Maj. Plympton's of the 2nd. Ker's Dragoons and Reeve's Company <sup>26</sup> of the 8th had started for Okeehinky, the guides having discovered a trail only an hour old. I am therefore too late. I find that my presence here was not looked for, so there is an order here for Alvord but not for me. This I take to be Belknap's doings as he probably wanted to get rid of me. The doctor and waggons have not arrived today.

19th. Sent Isaac <sup>27</sup> to look for the waggons at daylight this morning. He returned at 10 A.M. but saw no signs of them. I fear they have gone to Fort King. <sup>28</sup> At 2 P.M. sent a sergt. and 12 men with Isaac to look for them. An express arrived from Fort King. Reported by it to Col. Worth. The waggons arrived this evening. They have been to Fort King as I feared. Left them this morning. A soldier came into camp and reported that Col. Worth had a fight this morning.

20th. Remain here yet. Nothing came from the battlefield.

21st. Col. Worth and Staff, Major Plympton and Staff, and Ker's Company arrived this afternoon. I received orders to proceed to Cedar Keys in canoes via the mouth of the Wacassassa, up which river I am to make a reconnaissance. It appears that Col. W. met Halleck's party 21 strong and after some sharp skirmishing had one Private of Dragoons killed and a sergeant and two privates Dragoons wounded and 1 private of Infantry

25. Capt. William R. Montgomery of the 8th Infantry.

26. Lt. Isaac V. Reeve of the 8th Infantry.

27. Isaac was "as great a rascal as ever went unhung - a smart negro." George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers*. (Philadelphia: 1868), p. 406.

28. Fort King was located in Marion County.

wounded.<sup>29</sup> The troops got all of the packs, skins, [illegible] etc. belonging to the Indians, and chased them a long way. That next day one old Indian was taken by Lt. Long, supposed to have been sent in by Halleck. Col. Garland has crossed the Ocklawaha in pursuit taking the old Indian with him. He has been ordered to give up the chase. Col. W. hoping to get Halleck in by negotiation. He is to hear from him through the old man on the 27th. Alvord returns to Fr. Clinch.<sup>30</sup>

22nd. Left camp this morning with four canoes on waggons wheels to take water in the Lake at 7 A.M. Alvord started by land and marched 5 miles, and then launched our canoes, and after pushing about 100 yards through saw grass entered the lake. This is a pretty sheet of water running in length from N.N.W. to S.S.E. about 6 miles, and being 1/2 miles broad. The water is rather muddy. Stopped to dine at Camp Page and halted at night to dine at an old Indian field about a mile above Peace Bluff. Distance traveled by water today 25 miles.

23rd. Started at a quarter before 7 A.M. and reached Camp Izard<sup>31</sup> at 11. I went ashore and examined the old spot. Recognized every thing. Examined the place where poor Izard was buried, and found that it was undisturbed. The sight brought a host of recollections to my mind. Started again at 11 1/2 and dined at the 2nd of our camps on the way up. Arrived at Fort Clinch at 7 P.M. Found the 8th there. They are waiting for a steamboat to take them to Cant. Morgan<sup>32</sup> where they will remain a few days to recruit. Capt Ker met us at the landing having arrived from Camp Warm Spring about 2 hours before us. I ordered Sergt. Bonsfield and 9 others down by land to day

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29. There is a complete list of the casualties in this battle printed in John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*. (New York: 1848), p. 462.

30. Fort Clinch was located on the Withlacoochee.

31. Camp Izard was located on the Withlacoochee. It was named for 1st Lt. James F. Izard of the 1st Dragoons who had been killed on Feb. 28, 1836.

32. Cantonment Morgan was located at Cedar Keys.

from the place where ordered. They have not yet arrived. Got a mail on my arrival.

24th. Bonsfield and party arrived about 10 A.M. Started for the Wacassassa at 3 P.M. having taken four canoes in the place of those in which we came. Encamped at the mouth of the river on Selma Island.

## BARCIA'S HISTORY OF FLORIDA

by ALBERT C. MANUCY

*Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida.*

Translated for the St. Augustine Historical Society by Anthony Kerrigan. University of Florida Press, 1951. (pp.lx, 426, index. \$15).

(This article is more than a book review. Because Barcia's history is the most important work on Spanish Florida and its translation makes it available to every Floridian, the QUARTERLY asked Mr. Manucy, who had so large a part in the inception, the planning, and the translation itself - in fact, the production of the work - asked him to tell us of the whole project. Ed.)

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### WHAT IS BARCIA?

This volume is a translation of the noted *Ensayo Cronologico, or Chronological Essay on the General History of Florida, Containing the Discoveries and principal events which came to pass in this Vast Kingdom, touching the Spanish, French, Swedish, Danish, English, and other Nations, as between themselves and with the Indians whose Customs, Characteristics, Idolatry, Government, Warfare, and Stratagems are described; and the Voyages of some Captains and Pilots through the Northern Sea in search of a passage to the Orient, or the Union of that land with Asia.* As this inclusive title indicates, the book is a detailed history of international exploration and colonization of the North American continent and its waters. It is organized in chronological form, and covers the period from 1512 through 1722.

Patriotic Floridians are sometimes chagrined to learn that Florida was not one of Spain's most valued possessions. It was, so to speak, merely an outlying province of rich Mexico: a buffer against northern enemies, a coast-guard base - and a great nuisance to practical-minded fiscal officers. Hence the paucity of Spanish books on Florida.

In a field where manuscripts were unavailable to most Florida historians, and book sources scarce as hen's teeth, Barcia's essay demanded attention. It was not only the area's comprehensive history of its day, but it was available, inasmuch as the

1723 edition had been reprinted in 1829. Of the more than one hundred sources used in his compilation, Barcia cites less than six Spanish books solely on Florida. True, a dozen others had specific chapters on Florida, but Barcia, like today's scholar, had to depend largely upon manuscripts. He indicates some ten documents or collections of documents that were essential to his work.

Most of his other citations are foreign works on exploration; and since, as Barcia conceded, "to seek among foreigners for accounts of Spanish deeds . . . is a waste of time," his use of such works was quite restricted to gleaning therefrom the trials and tribulations of the "foreigners."

As a historical narrative, the Barcia work is perhaps less important to the scholar today than it was fifty years ago, but its value to the historical hobbyist or the more casual student is undiminished. Indeed, to the average reader, the rich archives of Spain are still cryptic; and while the archivists have duplicated thousands of Spanish papers for repositories of the United States, the language and paleographic hurdles in these acres off paper are still vexing obstacles to all except the best trained students.

*For the historian, Barcia has a value far beyond the historical text. Other histories of our broad land may be greatly superior in every way but one: none is written from the viewpoint of a Spanish contemporary. Barcia, less than brilliant as writer or historian, may yet achieve lasting fame as an interpreter of Spain's view on North America of the colonial era.*

It is a unique quality worthy of preservation, for the modern scholar can never attain the viewpoint of a Barcia!

This urge to interpret events in terms of one's own thinking is common to all writers. One could, in fact, wish that Barcia had been able to digest more of his material. He himself states,

however, that his first objective was preservation of the fame of the "enterprising knights" who were the principal actors in the American pageant. With becoming modesty he suggests that his work may "serve to inform the great writers concerning the affairs which have come to our attention."

Actually, like Arredondo's later *Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, Barcia has written justification for Spanish claims to the northern continent. It is most important for the reader to understand that even as late as Barcia's time the limits of this continent were not clearly understood. Throughout the author's scholarly discussion of Florida's boundaries, this geographical ignorance is painfully clear.

His study of foreign writers alarmed Barcia. They "push their pretension to the discredit of the Spaniards, desirous of concealing, under newly coined designations, places already known and bearing the ancient names given to them by the Spaniards who were the original discoverers and title-holders. The former place names have now been forgotten, since the *French, English, Dutch, Danes, Swedes* and *Norwegians* affixed whatever designations suited their fancy to the seas and the regions they had reached, or thought they had reached. . . . The name *America* must . . . perish, having been unreasonably imposed by *Amerigo Vespucci* . . ."

Thus, while he does not assert it so, Barcia's intent was to set forth Spain's case. What he actually accomplishes is something entirely different: an account of tragic disintegration, forced by virile competition of powerful rivals. Despite his words on Spanish achievement here, it soon becomes obvious that the "Continent of Florida" was merely on the periphery of the Empire; it was to the warm lands in the south that Spain brought lasting culture and a significant history.

A glance at Barcia's life and times helps explain why he was impelled to write about Florida. Andres Gonzalez de Barcia Carballido y Zuniga (1673-1743) was born toward the end of Spain's

golden age, and in times when inept leadership was bringing his nation toward domination by France. It was doubtless the pressure of contemporary events which led him to a study of the historical background for the North American colonies. He was in his teens when the War of the English Succession (King William's War) focused attention on the Caribbean and Canada; he was still a young man when France founded Biloxi on the Gulf coast - driving a sharp wedge into the approximate center of the coastline connecting Florida with Mexico. In the next decade, the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War) brought conflict even more widespread in the New World. Nor did it end with the Treaty of Utrecht: the capture of Pensacola was still a matter for conversation when the *Chronological Essay* was printed.

In the midst of national turbulence, Barcia was one of those who founded the Spanish Academy, dedicated to saving the Spanish language. Within a decade the first volume of the Academy dictionary was issued - and in England, lexicographer Johnson was still but a stripling. Historian Barcia was also a playwright, but he is best known as editor and jurist, a circumstance which shows that he is no Cervantes. Perhaps Ticknor sums him up best as "a man of literary distinction, much employed in affairs of state."

#### THE TRANSLATION

Why should a *local* historical society become involved with a book of international scope like Barcia? Well, for one thing, Miss Emily Lloyd Wilson, senior historian of St. Augustine, had long urged the translation, and there was a growing desire amongst members of the St. Augustine Historical Society to honor the sincere and unselfish labor of Miss Wilson in some significant way; also, a young linguist named Anthony Kerrigan had made his appearance as a local newspaperman, and indicated his availability as translator.

Neither of these considerations was the deciding factor, how-

ever. The thread of St. Augustine history runs throughout the book; it is the continuity holding the essay together; certainly the St. Augustine portion should be translated (and perhaps published) by the Society - but why mutilate the famous work by extracting only the local passages? Why not retain the broader perspective that Barcia gave it? Translated, and published or not, it would still be useful in the library of the Society.

The decision to undertake the full translation came some three years ago. Few of the members realized that it was the beginning of a tedious and expensive job that would require two years and more of unremitting work. Yet, in any case, the decision would have been the same.

Supervision of the translating was entrusted to the Society's publications committee, a small group headed by Librarian J. T. Van Campen. E. W. Lawson and Albert Manucy, experienced historical translators, were asked to work with Kerrigan. Operating procedure was simple, if painful at times. Kerrigan would submit a draft to Lawson for a meticulous line-by-line accuracy check against the Spanish. Next the copy went to Manucy for a similar check, after which the trio conferred on moot questions.

In these critiques, Barcia was collated with standard accounts, and in certain instances the opinions of botanical, medical, theological and other specialists were secured, all of which resulted in such volume of textual notes as would exceed even the bulk of the translation. Resultantly, the committee early decided against inclusion of comments except as necessary for textual accuracy or understanding. Besides, too close a scrutiny of Barcia's work raised more controversies than could be settled.

So a reasonably accurate translation was achieved. But the committee was not satisfied with the result. In the quest for accuracy, the workmen had too slavishly followed the involved and interminable sentence structure of the original. Everybody who looked at this wordy and stiffly-phrased version agreed that

nobody would willingly read it. Consequently, a rewriting contract was concluded with Kerrigan, and Manucy worked closely with him in an attempt to develop a style that was clear and readable by modern standards, without losing too much of the flavor. Those who know 18th century writing in any language will appreciate the size of the task, and condone our shortcomings. Once the style was worked out, Kerrigan showed his remarkable writing facility by adhering to it consistently. By contrast, he consciously styled the translator's introduction in the 18th century tradition - involved syntax, leisurely digression - albeit shortening his sentences somewhat.

Several presses were interested in the manuscript, but the Society voted to contract with the University of Florida Press. In turn, Director Lewis F. Haines of the Press welcomed the opportunity of readying this major work in Florida history for the printer. The Press assumed the editorial work incident to publication, and agreed to share the printing costs with the Society. Translator Kerrigan kept on with the Society, tying up the loose ends of the job. Lawson compiled the sensible index, which this writer so far finds faultless.

We can only guess the extent of the editorial contributions by Director Haines, his wife, and their associates, since your reviewer was happily not involved in the hectic task of laying out the work with the printers. But from the Cross of Santiago on the cover to the clever "Laus Deo" tailpiece, the finished volume attests a rare combination of editorial planning and printing craftsmanship. For St. Augustinians, it was a matter of satisfaction that the noted Record Press, of St. Augustine, did the excellent presswork.

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### **THE BOOK**

Barcia is not an easy book to "get into." Spanish practice of the day placed some thirty pages of dedication, censor reviews, license, copyright, tax statement (this book was taxed at eight

maravedis per sheet), and a learned and lengthy introduction combining the author's views on geography with a critical essay on sources. In the translation, this tantalizing procedure is even bettered, by prefacing the prefaces with 30 pages more. Let it be said, however, that the eminent Herbert E. Bolton's perspective-giving foreword is concise and authoritative; and Kerri-gan's introduction, if discursive, is entertaining and sets a mood for the reader.

Once past the introductions, the plan of the work becomes clear. Barcia's chapters are called "decades," since each covers a ten-year period. Under each chapter head is a summary of the decade, then under each year is set down a relation of the year's happenings. As the title *Chronological Essay* suggests, the text is much more than a mere listing of events. Withal, the chronological plan is carried through quite successfully, with a minimum of what might be called "filler" copy (e.g., in 1551 "the seas swarmed with French pirates"), for those years when Florida records seem to have been elusive.

Barcia's writing practice of jumping without notice from Florida to Canada, Virginia, or Hudson Bay, tends to confuse the casual reader, but in the translation this irritation is minimized by use of a printer's mark to denote such changes of subject.

In general, the writing is matter-of-fact, but quite racy in spots, depending somewhat upon the source whence it came. The Matanzas affair of 1565, for instance, is directly from Meras, a methodical eyewitness. Elsewhere, the writing of the French explorers is quite recognizable through the veil of Barcia's paraphrases. Obviously, Barcia seldom entertains with scintillating detail as does the Inca, for the scope of his work does not permit it. But he is not above noticing such strange things as the Men With Tails. Said tails were some eight inches long, and holes were bored in the seating benches to accommodate them. (Rumor has it that archeologists still find such holed benches in

our hinterlands!) As Barcia opined with tongue in cheek, "when they died, their race came to an end, and the truth of the matter died with them."

Our essayist is more credulous in other matters equally wonderful, such as the "beads of Santa Elena" (American potato bean), reportedly a specific for countless ailments and conditions; the body-warming tobacco discovered by Cartier among the Indians in 1535; and a remarkable tree whose leaves and bark were a sure-fire cure for the plague.

In a chronological presentation, one hardly expects a historian's history, nor does Barcia surprise us. He makes little effort to separate the wheat from the chaff. Nevertheless, the virile epic of America unfolds under his pen as he tells of Frobisher, Heignensen, Gilbert and the other searchers for the Northwest Passage; of Cartier's determined leadership; of the miracles (and tortures) that befell the friars; of the achievements of the knights traversing woodland and desert with the banners of France and Spain; and always in the background is the picture of a new and vast wilderness, peopled by men jealous of their freedom. ("We were born free; we remain free; we are dependent on no one," said Grangula, the Iroquois.)

From our vantage, it is difficult to understand why beginning Jamestown rates the barest of mention ("Christopher Newport . . . after locating a suitable site, founded the city of Jamestown"). Of greater interest to Barcia, however, was the English crown's endorsement of the project: "The King saw that no possible harm could be done the Kingdom as a result of this act [of founding Jamestown], for if he made grants, he granted what was not his. So they secured his approval." Likewise, the year 1620 was notable, not for the new Plymouth colony, but because Virginian and Bermudan Britishers sailed to Yucatan and harassed the treasure fleet! Plymouth, in fact, does not appear in the text at all, while considerable space is devoted to the obscure exploits of a Dane named Johann (Jens) Munck.

To one versed in the English historical tradition, such disregard of "accepted" history is disconcerting, even if it brings exciting stories and informative details not usually encountered in the standard textbooks. Munck sailed to Hudson Bay in 1619, where he trafficked with the natives. "One Indian took hold of a mirror, saw his reflection in it, and hastily concealing it in his bosom, ran off thinking he carried a treasure. The Danes laughed heartily . . ." Later, their humor died with them in the cruel cold. Even the "finest strong liquor" solidified and split the butts; it "had to be broken with axes and warmed at the fire before it could be drunk." Under such conditions, only three of the sixty-four men lived to see their homeland.

Despite neglect of such English colonial beginnings as Plymouth, Charleston, *et al* (although Charleston does make a casual appearance in the text for 1687, some seventeen years after its founding), there is much British material in the book. That there is not more may perhaps be attributed to the age-long hostility between Spain and England, and to the Spanish contempt for such failures as the Grenville and Raleigh colonies. For on the basis of England's 16th century record, Jamestown was not seriously regarded by the Spanish as a threat.

On the other hand, the rapport between France and Spain during Barcia's time has produced a wealth of French material. There is, of course, coverage of other European effort as well, but Spanish and French affairs receive by far the majority of our writer's attention. Some 71 pages, for instance, are devoted to the La Salle explorations alone, and though St. Augustine and the later Pensacola are rather fully treated, Coronado gets but two pages, Luna and 16th century Pensacola only ten. Soto's advent is noticed only in passing, with the comment that the Inca's record of this major exploration will suffice for the reader.

More than a third of the book is given over to the work of Pedro Menendez and St. Augustine. Once past the date of Menendez' death (1574), the intervening years are rather cur-

sorily treated until the 1670's, when Barcia works out a detailed narrative of the exploits of La Salle and the French movement down the Mississippi, together with the Spanish counter-moves led by that "Ornament of Spain," Andres de Pez, which brought the permanent establishment of Pensacola. The book concludes with information of Spanish-French-English-Indian matters in the Southeast, such as the Yamassee rebellion, the fortification of Apalache, and the capture and recapture of Pensacola.

The student of Spanish Florida history will find strange omissions. Thus, while Juan de Ayala's voyage to Spain to secure help against the Carolina threat of 1702 is fully treated, along with all the "improvements" proposed for Florida by royal decree, our writer overlooks the devastating raids on the western Florida missions. As we have pointed out, however, Barcia often delights the reader with unfamiliar material, such as the miracle related by Fray Marcos. For the color, drama, and mystical simplicity typical of the best 16th century Spanish reports, this is one of the most intriguing:

### ***The Fray Marcos Tragedy***

In 1553 Fr. Marcos and other Dominicans left Mexico for Spain. The prediction by one of them that the fleet would be destroyed came to pass, as most of the ships were wrecked on the Florida coast. Some 300 of the 1,000 souls managed to get ashore. Fortunately, a pair of crossbows also washed ashore, and with these long-range weapons the savage Indians were kept at a distance until, crossing a river, a thumb-fingered cleric managed to dump the crossbows overboard. From that point, the Indians harassed the castaways constantly.

The last of the women and children died at Rio Palmas, and here two of the padres left to seek a friendly village. Such a place was not to be found; but like a forest nymph, a naked negress put in an appearance and found herbs for them to eat, until she too was dispatched by the fiendish savages. The main

company resumed its starvation march along the Gulf shore, living on roots and shellfish.

Meanwhile, the harassing Indians had left to replenish their supply of arrows. Just as the Spaniards reached the river Tanipa, the canoes of the returning Indians were sighted. Fearfully, the Spaniards hid in the high grass. But the grass "was alive with ants so ferocious and malignant that they ate the Spaniards by the mouthful." The tormented men threw themselves into the water, and the Indians finished them off.

Only Fray Marcos, wounded by seven arrows, eventually reached Panuco - borne there in the canoe of two unarmed Indians who were, the good padre asserted, angels in disguise.

Barcia vivifies for us some almost-forgotten aspects of colonial history, not the least of which were the tortures perpetrated by the aborigines. The experience of Fr. Isaac Jogues among the Iroquois in 1642, as detailed by Barcia, requires a strong stomach on the part of the reader. But as it suggests that savagery was a normal part of aboriginal civilization, it also helps explain two conflicting views of the Europeans: (1) here are mission fields white for the harvest; (2) the only good Indian is a dead one.

So there are many things here for the reader, no matter what his interests.

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Perhaps fewer *errata* exist in the translation than in the Spanish editions; the typographical errors noticed seem to be minor ones. Possibly the most seriously-felt omission in this book, as in the original, is the lack of illustrative material - particularly a map. Admittedly, the price of the volume is high enough already; but a less elegant edition, with illustrations, would have increased the value of the book to the student. The tan paper used throughout the book has been criticized, and rightly so. In well-kept original editions, the two-century-old paper is still snow-white; it is inconsiderate to impose a spurious (even if

esthetically desirable) off-color page upon the already over-worked vision of the student.

Notwithstanding the importance of this volume and its translation and publication, this writer is not partial to translations; rather he leans toward the school which requires the student to cross language barriers himself. Anyhow, foreign archival fields relating to America are as vast as the waving pampas of Argentina, and sufficient translation appears impracticable. On the other hand, serious students are few, and some materials certainly deserve dissemination beyond the little circle of scholars. Barcia is a noteworthy example.

“TEQUESTA 1952”

The Historical Association of Southern Florida, which for twelve years continuously has published their annual *Tequesta*, should feel a well-deserved pride in a record which is unique among regional and local historical societies in Florida. This volume is the seventh edited by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Head of the Department of History, University of Miami. As were the others, it is an excellent number, the articles being well chosen for interest and historical value and carefully edited.

The longest article, as well as the greatest for reader interest perhaps, “We Chose the Sub-Tropics,” is a narrative, apparently part diary and part reminiscence, of frontier South Florida seen through the eyes of a young man from a Northern business office, F. Page Wilson, who came to settle in the area in the 1890’s. It is so naturally written that the reader is carried along with the narrator and the life of that era in that region lives again.

Miss Jeanne Bellamy, a staff writer of the *Miami Herald*, has learned more through extensive research about the early newspapers of South Florida than anyone else - perhaps several times as much; for “Newspapers of America’s Last Frontier” is a detailed record of the establishment and career of all the numerous papers of the region.

In “Starch Making: A Pioneer Florida Industry,” and in “South Florida’s First Industry,” Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt and Ernest G. Gearhart, Jr., respectively, give a full account of the making of starch from the native coontie; which, with fishing and wrecking, was the life of all South Floridians before the climate brought sub-tropical fruits and tourists to the region.

A hitherto unknown plan of Key West of about 1830 is reproduced with notes from the original in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

A full description of Key West in 1835 (12pp.) is published complete for the first time. This is from a manuscript written

by William Adee Whitehead, Mayor and Collector of Customs, and hence well-qualified for the narrative. It is edited with notes by Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, and is from the original in the same library.

Mr. Oliver Griswold tells of the Association's historical marker program. The unveiling of these numerous markers have been mentioned from time to time in this **QUARTERLY**.

A list of the many hundreds of members of the Association is included, showing the remarkable hold which the history of South Florida has in the interests of men and women of the region.

Anyone with a like interest is invited to become a member of the Association. Dues are three dollars, which includes a subscription to *Tequesta*. (Address: P. O. Box 537, Miami 4)

BOOK REVIEWS

Goggin, John M.: *Space and Time Perspective in Northern St. Johns Archeology, Florida* Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 47, Yale University Press, New Haven. 1952. (147 pp., 12 plates, 8 text figures, one map, \$2.00)

This summary completes what may be called a preliminary organization of archeological materials from virtually all of the State of Florida. Workers in adjacent areas can only look with envy and chagrin, at the very large amount of published material available recently on Florida archeology. Willey's *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast* together with the various monographs by Goggin, Rouse, and Ferguson now give very usable summaries of most of Florida, indicating the present state of knowledge and the chief problems and gaps still to be filled. The present work represents a synthesis of previously published material, as well as an examination of Florida specimens in museums.

The study opens with a concise description of the area to be discussed - that area from the coast to approximately the Alachua-Putnam County line and from Allenhurst and the Lake Harney outlet north to include parts of the Okefinokee Swamp. This total area is further subdivided into four subdivisions: I) from St. Augustine and Palatka north, where the river is wide and coastal lagoons are absent; II) the St. Johns from Lake Harney to just north of Palatka; III) the coast from St. Augustine to Allenhurst, with coastal lagoons; and IV) the "scrub" area around the Oklawaha River drainage. The natural landscape is described as it exists at present and the recent ecological changes are pointed out. There is a brief discussion of the early visits of Europeans to Florida. This is orientated toward the archeological pictures of Indians, forts, and missions. A table summarizing the data on missions in existence from 1597 to 1697 is included. The tribes occupying this section are briefly sketched and the references seem to include all pertinent works.

Under "Archeological Research" is a valuable summary of explorations and notices from Spanish times on. A temporal chart of the cultural sequence shows the cultural periods in graphic form.

These periods are: the Mt. Taylor, Orange, St. Johns, St. Augustine, and Seminole. Indications point to a date of about 1850 B.C. for the Orange Period. The St. Johns Period ends soon after the arrival of the French and Spanish in 1565. The St. Augustine and Seminole Periods are within the span of written records. Each period is briefly characterized by its typical artifacts, type of site, burials, etc. The sites showing remains of each period are listed.

The Mt. Taylor Period is characterized by the lack of pottery and is the oldest at present known in Florida. It is followed by the Orange Period in which pottery tempered with fibers first appears. The St. Johns Period is the longest and most characteristic of the region. It is in consequence subdivided into a total of six sections under two main divisions, St. Johns I and St. Johns II. The presence of an unclassified complex with bannerstones in this period is noted. St. Johns II is distinguished mainly by the introduction of pottery with a check stamped surface, extends to about 1650 and contains several types of Spanish pottery. The St. Augustine Period follows and is the remains of those forts, settlements, and missions where Spaniard and Indian lived in varying degrees of harmony and cooperation from 1650 until about 1730. This is the period about which possibly the most has been learned in recent years. Almost nothing, archeologically, is known about the Seminole Period, but, since the publication of this work, Dr. Goggin has located several Seminole sites and further information can be expected.

The next section deals with the aboriginal and historical "traditions" of the Northern St. Johns area. "The term tradition refers to a distinct cultural complex which may in the course of time pass through some changes but not enough to alter the

basic configuration." In other terms these traditions may be regarded as the various streams of culture present in prehistoric Florida. At the present time ten cultural traditions are recognized in Florida: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, St. Johns, Malabar, Gulf, Glades, Florida Mississippian, Alachua, Spanish-Indian, and Seminole. Of these the Paleo-Indian, Archaic, St. Johns, Spanish-Indian, and Seminole are represented in the Northern St. Johns. A chart shows the temporal and spacial position of the traditions in the ten archeological areas of Florida. Each of the six traditions present on the Northern St. Johns is discussed under the headings: Definition, Distribution, Environmental Relations, and History. Under Definition the author give the salient points of the tradition, weaving them into a summary of its probable origins and cultural relationships. These sections on the traditions are possibly the most important in the book as they give us a brief view of the Indian way of life in each case. The sections on environmental relations do much to tie the Indians to the land in a manner too often ignored in both archeology and history.

The author's Historical Reconstruction will appeal to the general reader, for it is a continuing stream of human events, and this is tied to the cultural relations outside the Florida area.

*Appendix A* lists 432 archeological sites and classifies them according to the periods represented. Each site is numbered and located on an accompanying map. Published references to materials and the location of materials in various museums are also given. As an index of work already done in Florida this section alone is of exceptional value. It forms a background for future work in the St. Johns area and will serve as a ready reference work in neighboring areas.

*Appendix B* discusses types of artifacts found in the area, treating of pottery at great length, but the non-ceramic artifacts are by no means neglected. The twelve plates give a brief, but adequate, representation of the types examined. Finally there

is a twelve page bibliography that includes all the archeological publications and much if not all of the pertinent historical references.

It is difficult to find any fault with this work. Dr. Goggin has presented a very adequate summary of what is now known about the Northern St. Johns region, an area rich in archeological sites and important in the early settlement of Florida. As the author points out it is a preliminary survey; other sites and other levels of known sites will surely be added to the list presented. In the chart of traditions on page 65 the temporal span of the Paleo-Indian and Archaic Traditions seems too short for the present data. The present indications are that the Paleo-Indian may well go back to some five to ten thousand years before the present era. The list of sites and references is substantially correct and is the best orientation in work already done in Florida.

It seems to be that the major contribution of the book, its summary of existing information, is almost overshadowed by the cumulative effect of the summary itself. Until now the prehistory and early Spanish-Indian history of Florida was scattered widely in a series of detailed reports on specific sites. These were often obscure and difficult to locate except in specialized libraries. Even where readily available they offered no over-all picture of the Indians who once inhabited the region. This monograph not only summarizes the discrete facts but organizes them into a coherent whole. It is a truism that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. In any science, facts themselves are sterile and often have little meaning in themselves. In this case the outline of Indian traditions and periods adds a new dimension to Florida history and pre-history. With this as a base both archeological research and historical work should find new directions and old problems stated with a new clarity.

In the sections on the historical St. Augustine Period and the

Spanish-Indian Tradition Goggin has contributed much to our understanding of this important period of Florida history. By locating documented sites, describing specific types of Spanish and Indian pottery, he has furthered greatly the understanding of the acculturation process that went on during the first years of Florida's European history.

In Florida, as in many other states, archeology has too long been concerned with detailed enumerations of the inventories of various sites. Local history in most areas has been dedicated to recovery and publication of detailed documents, and often it seems concerned mainly with local heroes or events. In neither archeology or local history is there much evidence of interest in the larger economic and technological aspects of man's past. The plea is usually that there are too many gaps in the evidence and that "it is not yet the time for a summary." The present work shows clearly that the time for comprehensive treatment is here. The discussion of the environmental relationships of each cultural unit is a prime example of the conclusions that can be drawn. In treating of the Spanish-Indian period he illustrates clearly the contributions of archeology to history and of history to archeology, derived from the direct historical approach. The inter-influence of Spanish and Indian pottery sheds new light on the conditions prevailing in the missions and forts of the period. This view is amply supported by the documents but had not come to my attention, at least, until this book appeared. Current work by Dr. Goggin and his associates in both the Spanish-Indian and Seminole sites of the St. Johns area should do much to give both history and archeology new cultural perspectives. "Space and Time Perspective in Northern St. Johns Archeology" will give needed information to both historian and archeologist and furnish many suggestions for rewarding future research.

CHARLES H. FAIRBANKS

*Ocmulgee National Monument*

*Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent*, by Merritt B. Pound. (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1951. 270 pages, fronts. \$4.00)

Benjamin Hawkins played a number of important roles in Southern history. A member of the Continental Congress and later a United States Senator, he ably represented his native state of North Carolina. He served on several important committees and was close to many major political figures of the time.

Hawkins's name, though, is most commonly associated with the Southern Indians, especially the Creeks and Cherokees. His first major contact with these was his appointment as a United States Commissioner for Indian Affairs for the Southern Department in 1785. This Commission was faced with factors developing out of American frontier expansion clashing with growing Indian power which was supported by the Spanish and English. In fact, this was the basic problem Hawkins dealt with in his long career with the Indians.

The major phase of Hawkins's relationship with the Indians came in 1796 when he was appointed "Principal Temporary Agent for Indian Affairs South of the Ohio River." In 1801 he received a permanent appointment which continued until his resignation in 1815.

During these nineteen years his activities ranged from boundary locating to the recovery of runaway slaves. Hawkins faced pressure from the Georgians who were anxious for Indian removal and he had to conciliate the Indians feeling the same pressure. He represented the United States to the Creek chiefs, who were being wooed by Spanish and English adventurers and officials. Throughout all he seems to have been sympathetic to the Indian and his problems but was completely unbiased and fair.

Dr. Pound's story of Hawkins is a scholarly account based on broad and thorough research. Historians will be indebted to

him for this valuable contribution. The general reader, though, will never grasp the complete personality and character of Hawkins from this book.

Thorough and adequate as this book is, it nevertheless misses greater stature by the narrowness of its approach. More essential background material would have helped the reader place Hawkins in the wider picture of the time. Nowhere is there a brief statement of Creek Indian life, nor are Bowles's machinations recounted. The struggle between the Spanish and others in Northeastern Florida is hardly touched, yet it was important in upsetting Indian equilibrium. In fact, the great international significance of the Creeks during Hawkins's period is never adequately brought out.

A more technical criticism, perhaps, is Pounds Indian tribal nomenclature. To a great extent he tends to use Hawkins's own rendition of Indian names. Since that time a great variety of phonetic spellings have lost favor, including many of those used in Florida. How many Floridians, for example, would recognize the Seminole town of Aulotchewau as Alachua?

Despite these minor criticisms, primarily quantitative, the book is important as the first full-length biography of Hawkins. An extensive bibliography and thorough index make the book very usable.

JOHN M. GOGGIN

*University of Florida*

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E. C. May: *Gaters, Skeeters, & Malary. Recollections of a Pioneer Florida Judge*. New York, Vantage Press, 1953. (220 pp. \$3.50)

Judge E. C. May of Inverness came to Florida in his youth, seeking adventure as well as a livelihood. Since 1892 he has lived in Citrus County and been a part of many of the varied activities of that region - as merchant, lawyer, State Attorney,

member of the Florida House of Representatives, and County Judge until his retirement in 1949.

The volume is largely reminiscent and autobiographical, told as a series of incidents; but some of the stories are records of what others have told him who were participants in the events narrated. There is much for those who wish to know of Florida pioneer life of the region and the period, as well as brief lively tales of a multitude of happenings both common and unusual.

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#### HIGHER EDUCATION IN FLORIDA

L. M. Bristol: *Three Focal Points in the Development of Florida's State System of Higher Education*. Gainesville, Florida. Pvt. ptd., 1952. University of Florida Bookstore. (140 pp. \$2.50)

After exhaustive research in all available official records and other documents, Dr. L. M. Bristol, Professor of Sociology, Emeritus, University of Florida, has written and published in mimeograph form a thorough clarification of the establishment and growth of higher education in Florida. The text is supplemented by the inclusion of the most important of the documents, by notes, and by an index.

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Mr. R. R. Otis of Jacksonville (1855 Ingleside Avenue) has published in mimeograph the first two sections of a projected series in which he will tell of what "the Southern States have done towards the establishment of the United States." These are: *The First Settlement of the United States by Catholic Spain* (53 pp.) and *The French Intrusion into Spain's La Florida* (28 pp.).

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION TO MEET  
IN JACKSONVILLE

The annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will be held in Jacksonville, November 12th-14th, 1953. Hosts for the meeting are Florida Southern College, Florida State University, Rollins College, Stetson University, University of Florida, University of Miami, University of Tampa, Florida Historical Society, Jacksonville Historical Society, and the Colonial Dames of Florida. Members of the Southern Historical Association and their wives will be given a complimentary luncheon on November 13th, sponsored by the seven colleges; a tea from 4:00-6:00 that afternoon at the home of Mrs. C. D. Towers, sponsored by the Jacksonville Historical Society and the Colonial Dames; and the Florida Historical Society will be responsible for one program on Florida history.

The 1953 annual meeting begins with registration at the Hotel George Washington (the headquarters hotel) on Wednesday evening November 11th, and the opening session is at 9:30 the following day. Three concurrent program sessions are scheduled for mornings and afternoons. Aspects of Southern History will be the topic for the majority of papers presented, but a few programs will be on Latin American and European history. In addition to the Friday luncheon, there will be banquets on Thursday and Friday. At the Friday banquet Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna, President of the Southern Historical Association, will deliver the annual address.

The General Committee on Local Arrangements is: R. W. Patrick, Chairman, Richard P. Daniel, Charles S. Davis, Jesse L. Keene, Gilbert Lycan, Mrs. William S. Manning, Frank Johnson, Miss Dena Snodgrass, Charlton W. Tebeau, Charles T. Thrift, Jr., Mrs. C. D. Towers.

## REGIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

### ORGANIZATION OF THE ST. LUCIE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The QUARTERLY asked the Nestor of St. Lucie historical minded pioneers, Mr. W. I. Fee, to tell us of the recent organization of their local society. He says:

"The St. Lucie County Historical Society took flight November 28, 1952, with sixty paid-up charter members. The secretary says their ages are from eighteen months to eighty-one years.

"Regular meetings are set for the third Tuesday of each month and the dues are \$1.00 per year.

"The collecting of old-time relics has begun, and we've got our eye on further treasured family heirlooms. These we plan housing in a 'Florida Reading Room' to be annexed to our fire-proof library on the fill facing Indian River, now under construction.

"The officers are David M. Fee, president; Dewey Crawford, 1st vice-president; E. C. Collins, 2nd vice-president; L. W. Halbe, treasurer; Clare Register, secretary; and Pearl Chew, historian."

The QUARTERLY and The Florida Historical Society wish them good fortune and success. We are especially interested in the local societies, for our State's history is largely the sum of the history of each section and locality. So it is a satisfaction to know that the history of St. Lucie will be preserved.

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*Would that other areas which have a history fully as interesting and as significant, and which is fast being forgotten, would that they might see the light before it is too late.*

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### TALLAHASSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The third program meeting of the season of the Tallahassee Historical Society on March 12 was featured by a paper on the exploits of William Augustus Bowles in the Tallahassee region by Mrs. Margaret Key.

The first of a series of tours of historic sites and buildings of the area was conducted by the Society on February 15. More than sixty visited the chosen places under the guidance of Dr. Mark F. Boyd.

The present officers of the Society are: A. F. Rhodes, president; Mrs. Margaret Key, vice president; Miss Mary Lamar Davis, secretary; D. A. Avant, treasurer.

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#### JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the Program Meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society on February 18, Mr. D. Jordan Carrison, a past president, read a paper on the Seminole War; Mrs. William Bours Young described Harriett Beecher Stowe's winter in Orange Park; and Mr. Howard P. Wright, a son of General Marcus J. Wright of the Confederate Army, told of the life of General Lunsford L. Lomax, C. S. A.

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#### THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The forty-fourth Program Meeting of this Association on February 25 was held in appreciation of the work of The National Park Service, especially featuring the Everglades National Park.

Mr. Elbert Cox, Regional Director, of Richmond, Virginia, came to make the principal address; and Mr. Dan Beard, Superintendent of our Park, who is known to most Floridians, introduced Mr. Cox. Numerous colored slides were shown, and an open forum on the parks and the Service, added to the interest of the meeting.

The Association, in cooperation with the Miami Chamber of Commerce, has compiled a six page "Historical Facts of Southern Florida," which, bearing the Association's name, can be depended on as authentic as well as interesting. Copies may be obtained from the Chamber of Commerce.

## PENSACOLA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Pensacola Historical Society under the leadership of T. T. Wentworth, Jr., its president, who is also a director of the Florida Historical Society, is more active now than in several years past. Program meetings are held regularly on the third Monday evening of each month in the Chamber of Commerce building, and any one interested in the history of Pensacola and Florida is invited to attend.

Since the account of De Vaca's journey, given by James Stewart Milner, noted in the last issue of this Quarterly, Mrs. Frank G. Morrill has read a paper on Geronimo, the Apache chief, and his band who were held in Fort Pickens for several years in the 1880's; Mrs. Blanche S. Presley had as her subject the Episcopal Church in Florida and St. John's Cathedral at Jacksonville; and Miss Evanette E. Robinson told of the historical narratives relating to Pensacola written by her sister Miss Celia Myrover Robinson.

Mrs. Lola Lee Bruington conducted a tour through old St. Michael's Cemetery and pointed out with comment the noteworthy graves, many of which are more than a century old.

The Fiesta of Five Flags, held annually in Pensacola, will feature General Andrew Jackson at its next celebration at the suggestion of Mr. Wentworth in talks made before several organizations in Pensacola recently.

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HALIFAX HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Halifax Historical Society with headquarters at Daytona Beach has held several Program Meetings and other celebrations during the winter. At one Mrs. Caroline Cain Durkee read historical selections from her latest work, "Sand Trails in Florida." In January there was a reception and exhibit commemorating Comm. C. B. Burgoyne, an early and public-spirited settler. This was followed in March by an exhibit of early automobiles: "Golden Anniversary of Speed," reminiscent of the races which

made the Beach known throughout the speed world. On March 27 there was a celebration to commemorate "Discovery Day" with an address by Mr. J. W. Gillespie of New Smyrna.

There has been no change in the officers of the Society as listed in a recent issue of the QUARTERLY.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE ANNUAL MEETING

As announced by President Blocker in the last issue of the QUARTERLY, the Annual Meeting of the Society is being held at Florida Southern College, March 27-28, while this issue is in the press. Dr. Thrift has arranged an unusually interesting program of historical papers and other entertainment. The next number of the QUARTERLY will bring a full account of all to those members who were not able to attend.

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NEW MEMBERS  
(Dec.-Mar.)

*Nominated by:*

Ernest T. LeBaron, <i>Jacksonville</i> .....	Edward C. Williamson
Fred B. Hartnett, <i>Coral Gables</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
E. C. Robison, <i>St. Petersburg</i> (fellow) .....	John C. Blocker
J. W. Prince, <i>Naples</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Henry Gregor, <i>Coral Gables</i> - .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Mrs. Fleda V. Hughes, <i>Miami</i> (fellow) .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
E. St. Clair Piggot, <i>Miami</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Dr. E. C. Lunsford, <i>Miami</i> (fellow) .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Paul Singer, <i>Miami</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Mrs. A. Judson Hill, <i>Miami</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Harry James Mitchell, <i>Key West</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Dr. A. C. Lovejoy, <i>Jacksonville</i> .....	Owen B. Lovejoy
Ernest Clyde Collins, Jr., <i>Fort Pierce</i> .....	L. W. Halbe
Mrs. Howard Hawkins, <i>St. Augustine</i> .....	David R. Dunham
Howard Hawkins, <i>St. Augustine</i> .....	David R. Dunham
A. R. Lindsley, <i>Miami Beach</i> (fellow) .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Mrs. Charles Edwin Doughtie, Jr., <i>Atlanta</i> .....	Dr. Dorothy Dodd
Mrs. Alton A. Register, <i>Fort Pierce</i> .....	L. W. Halbe
Captain and Mrs. Tucker C. Gibbs, <i>St. Augustine</i> (fellow) .....	David R. Dunham
Mrs. Susie C. Campbell, <i>Miami</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Hugh P. Emerson, <i>Miami</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Leland C. Shepard, <i>Coral Gables</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
P. Frederick Hallstead, <i>Fort Lauderdale</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Mrs. Reginald Hart, <i>Coral Gables</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
H. E. Wolfe, <i>St. Augustine</i> (fellow) .....	David R. Dunham
Ernest R. Graham, <i>Hialeah</i> (fellow) .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Dr. S. F. Elder, <i>Miami</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau
Miss Mary Helm Clarke, <i>Coral Gables</i> .....	Charlton W. Tebeau

Miss Clara Amelia Wilkinson, *Daytona Beach* ..... Mrs. Frank W. Pope  
 Riley-Milam, Inc., *Miami*  
 Miss Ada Lou Cherry, *Tallahassee* ..... Dr. Venila L. Shores  
 Lester Hargrett, *Tallahassee* ..... Mark F. Boyd  
 Mrs. Helga H. Eason, *Miami*..... Charlton W. Tebeau  
 Frank S. Fitzgerald-Bush, *Opa-Locka* ..... Charlton W. Tebeau  
 Mrs. Herbert Vance, *Coral Gables* ..... Charlton W. Tebeau  
 Mrs. Edith P. Elliot, *St. Cloud* ..... Julien C. Yonge  
 George L. Gregory, *Pensacola* ..... T. T. Wentworth  
 Horace Cameron Avery, *Jacksonville* (fellow) ..... Edward C. Williamson  
 Fred B. Noble, *Jacksonville* (fellow) ..... Edward C. Williamson  
 James H. O'Reilly, *Jacksonville* ..... M. B. Archibald  
 Dr. J. H. Warriner, *St. Petersburg* ..... John C. Blocker  
 Miss Susan Hancock, *Okeechobee* ..... John C. Blocker  
 Miss Pearl Chew, *Fort Pierce* ..... L. W. Halbe  
 Bishop John W. Branscomb, *Jacksonville* ..... Charles T. Thrift, Jr.  
 Cody Fowler, *Tampa* ..... Edward C. Williamson  
 Mrs. Philip Edwin De Berard, Sr., *DeLand* ..... Mrs. Marion R. Moulds  
 A. B. Michael, *Wabasso* (fellow) ..... Miss Dena Snodgrass  
 Mrs. H. C. Barwick, *Jacksonville* ..... Miss Gertrude N. L'Engle  
 Richard Morey Hart, *Pensacola* ..... T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS TO THE QUARTERLY

(Dec.-Mar.)

(Secured by Edward C. Williamson assisted by J. Velma Keen  
 and Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson)

Michigan State College, <i>East Lansing</i>	Jennings High School
La Belle High School	Leon High School, <i>Tallahassee</i>
Clearwater Senior High School	High Springs High School
Jasper High School	Roosevelt High School, <i>West Palm Beach</i>
Callahan Public Schools	Howard Academy High School, <i>Monticello</i>
Anthony High School	Edgewater High School, <i>Orlando</i>
Manatee High School, <i>Bradenton</i>	Our Lady of Perpetual Help High School, <i>Tampa</i>
Ketterlinus High School, <i>St. Augustine</i>	Miami Senior High School
Alva School	Key West High School
Kathleen High School	Seabreeze High School, <i>Daytona Beach</i>
Ernest Ward School, <i>Walnut Hill</i>	Fort Myers Jr. Sr. High School
Lakeland Public Schools	Coral Gables Senior High School
Central Catholic High School, <i>Jacksonville</i>	
Palm Beach High School, <i>West Palm Beach</i>	

## GIFTS AND ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

*Gift of:*

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Alice E. Brown, "Florida in 1870 and Thirty Years Later" (typewritten MS.)                                | St. Augustine Historical Society |
| Stanley Clisby Arthur, <i>The Story of the West Florida Rebellion</i> (St. Francisville, 1935)            | Earl L. Bell                     |
| <i>Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation in Choctaw and English</i> , 2 Vols. (Dallas, 1894)        | Earl L. Bell                     |
| <i>History of the Scottish Highlands</i> , 5 Vols.  | Earl L. Bell                     |
| <i>St. Augustine's Historical Heritage</i> (St. Augustine, 1952)  | Mrs. M. A. Johnson               |
| R. R. Otis, <i>First Settlement of the United States by Catholic Spain</i>                                | R. R. Otis                       |
| Mary Helm Clarke, <i>Major and Minor Keys of the Florida Reef</i> (Coral Gables, 1949)                    | Miss Mary Helm Clarke            |
| ———, <i>South Florida's Gold Coast</i> (Coral Gables, 1952)   | Miss Mary Helm Clarke            |
| O. Henry, <i>A Ruler of Men</i>   | George A. Zabriskie              |
| George W. Pettengill, Jr., <i>The Story of Florida Railroads</i> (1952)                                   | George W. Pettengill, Jr.        |
| "Centennial Year"   | Univ. of Fla. Athletic Dept.     |
| Carita Doggett Corse, <i>Ann and Andy in Alphabet Land at Florida's Silver Springs</i>                    | Miss Dena Snodgrass              |
| L. M. Bristol, <i>Three Focal Points in the Development of Florida's State System of Higher Education</i> | L. M. Bristol                    |
| <i>Welcome to Mount Dora</i>  | Mrs. Guy Withers                 |
| Junius E. Dovell, <i>Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary</i> , 4 Vols. (New York, 1952)             |                                  |
| Letterbook, Colonel Carraway Smith 1866-67  | Carlton Smith                    |
| Business Records of John J. Palmer, naval stores sawmill at Champaigne, Florida, 1898-1920                | Carlton Smith                    |
| <i>Iowa History Reference Guide</i> (Iowa City, 1952)   |                                  |
| <i>Writings on American History</i> , 1948  |                                  |

John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145 (Washington, 1952)

Samuel D. McGill, *Narrative of Reminiscences in Williamsburg County* (S.C.) (Kingstree, 1952)

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The Society desires to acquire for preservation and use, diaries, receipts, account books, maps, letters, minute books of organizations, church records, marriage certificates, pamphlets, scrap books, Bible records, photographs, programs, and all similar documents and manuscripts. Books dealing with genealogy and Florida history and its people are wanted. Any copies of 19th century Florida newspapers and magazines will be valuable for our reference library.

We hope persons settling estates, preparing for an auction, moving, or house cleaning will be careful not to destroy any such items pertaining to Florida. If you are not certain of the kind of papers or articles wanted, please write to The Florida Historical Society, Box 3645, University Station, Gainesville, Florida, and a representative will call to examine and get the material.

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*Albert C. Manucy* is Historian, National Park Service, St. Augustine.

*Charles H. Fairbanks* is Archeologist, National Park Service.

*John M. Goggin* is Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Florida.

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