

STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume 32
Issue 2 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 32,*
Issue 2

Article 1

1953

Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 32, Issue 2

Florida Historical Society
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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1953) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 32, Issue 2," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 32 : Iss. 2 , Article 1.

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The
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Office of publication, Tallahassee, Florida
Published quarterly by

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Gainesville, Florida

THE FLORIDA, ATLANTIC AND GULF CENTRAL R. R.
THE FIRST RAILROAD IN JACKSONVILLE
by PAUL E. FENLON

Though the factors responsible for the failure of Florida to experience the rapid economic development which took place in the vast western areas of the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century are numerous and diverse, lack of adequate railroad transportation, certainly until the 1880's, stands out as one of the most important.

Midway in the nineteenth century there was not in operation a single mile of railroad in the entire State of Florida.¹ Furthermore, the development of railroad transportation facilities that did take place during most of the remainder of the century was sporadic and relatively unplanned. It came, primarily, in response to an extremely liberal State policy that involved the usage of State credit and the granting of huge amounts of free land.

Florida of 1850 was divided into two quite distinct regions. The northern third of the State, with its great cotton plantations and large number of slaves, was part of the "Old South," while the rest of Florida was frontier territory, with widely scattered small settlements, a very few small towns or villages, and relatively little agricultural and commercial activity. An editorial that appeared in a newspaper of the period expressed the great need of the southern part of the State:

The Southern portion of Florida is almost a *terra incognita*, so far as its resources, advantages, and real importance, in an agricultural and commercial aspect are concerned . . . The only thing requisite to make South Florida at once rich and populous is to open . . . means of communication-to render safe and commodious the access to and egress from every portion of the country.²

1. Letter from U. S. Senator David L. Yulee, an authority on the subject, published in the Jacksonville *Times-Union* May 23, 1886. Horses furnished the motive power for the Tallahassee-St. Marks R. R. (1836) during much of its precarious existence.
2. Editorial in the Jacksonville *Florida News* October 30, 1855.

The coming of the railroads helped to make northern and southern Florida a more integrated and homogeneous economic unit. They were instrumental in opening up the vast region of Central Florida, bringing Northern capitalists and capital, and both white and negro settlers into the region. They made possible a constant flow of inward bound and outward bound goods. In sum, the railroads aided immeasurably in the establishment of a more firm economic base for the State.

One of the several railroads of importance to the development of the relatively undeveloped parts of the State was the Florida, Atlantic & Gulf Central. During its turbulent life it suffered many of the setbacks which the entire State was forced to undergo. In fact, the F.A. & G.C.'s history may be cited as a reasonably valid account of the vicissitudes which accompanied the struggles of Florida to achieve economic growth and at least a semblance of stability in the hectic periods of just before and shortly after the Civil War.

Dr. A. S. Baldwin, a pioneer member of the medical profession in Duval County and an outstanding civic leader of Jacksonville ³, was largely responsible for the early organization, planning, and construction of the Florida, Atlantic & Gulf Central, which was built from Jacksonville to Alligator (Lake City). He, in 1855, assumed leadership in the first effective financing of the road. Financial support was given by private individuals, the State, the city of Jacksonville, and the county of Columbia (in which Alligator was located). In order to "commence operations," Dr. Baldwin and his associates thought that \$250,000 would be needed.

A majority of the voters of Jacksonville, on May 15, 1855, supported an issuance of \$50,000 in municipal bonds, with the proceeds to be used to purchase capital stock in the company. They believed that the railroad would help Jacksonville to become a great center of commercial activity. ⁴

3. Merritt, *A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County*. (University of Florida Press, 1949, chap. ii).

4. Jacksonville, *Florida Republican* June 14, 1855.

The citizens of Columbia county responded favorably to pleas that:

. . . this is no private enterprise, to be governed and guided by selfish or sinister motives . . . This is emphatically an age of progress and improvement - other States are pressing forward - let us enter the arena and struggle for the prize. . . success will attend our efforts . . . wealth and prosperity will flow in . . . happy influences will surround us . . . we shall become . . . justly proud of our enterprise and our State . . . let each contribute his much or his mite and the work is accomplished.⁵

A majority of them voted to authorize the County Commissioners to issue \$100,000 in bonds, and, as in the case of Jacksonville's bond issuance, the proceeds were to be invested in capital stock of the railroad company.⁶

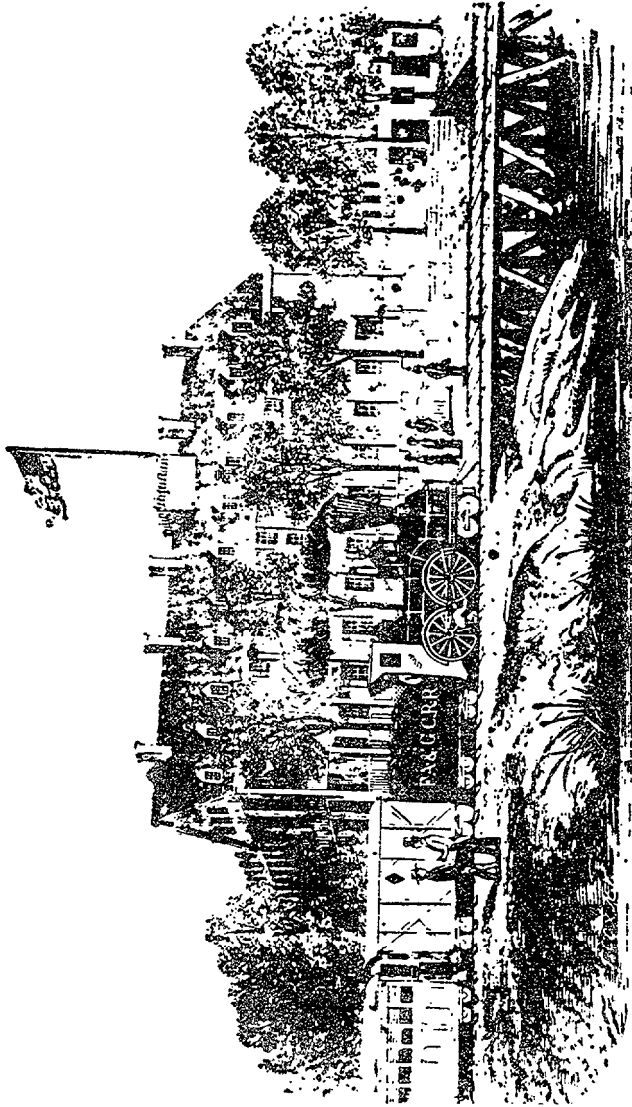
The State, through the medium of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, offered further financial aid.⁷ The Board was organized on January 18, 1855, and the F.A. & G.C. was one of the first railroad companies to apply to it for subsidization. The Trustees of the Fund had agreed to allow new railroads the privilege of issuing \$10,000 in bonds for each mile of every twenty miles of roadbed that was "continuously graded and furnished with crossties." In the event of default in the payment of interest by a railroad company, the State assumed final responsibility for meeting the payments due on the bonds. The railroad companies, however, had to agree to pay into a special

5. Letter of J. P. Sanderson and T. E. Buckman to the citizens of Columbia County, *ibid.* June 21, 1855.

6. *Ibid.* July 4, 1855. In the same issue of the *Republican* is a letter from M. Whit Smith of Alligator in which he says: "Old Columbia has spoken, and her decision is in favor of progress. Official returns are not in, but enough is known to give us a majority of at least 100, and perhaps more . . . The friends of the road worked like men and have triumphed."

7. "At the last session of the legislature, a scheme for the promotion of internal improvements was elaborated, chiefly through the instrumentality of Mr. Yulee, which is eminently calculated to aid the construction of railroads, but not to stimulate their over-construction, nor to render them a burden upon the finances of the State." *Florida News* September 22, 1855.

**JUDSON HOUSE, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.,
DANIEL DAY, Proprietor.**



(Contemporaneous originals are in the library of the Florida Historical Society)

The above House having been thoroughly repaired
renovated and fitted up throughout with all the conveniences
and comforts of Southern Hotels, is now prepared for the
reception of Permanent and Transient Boarders. It is elegantly located
in one of the pleasantest parts of the town, and directly
in view of the St. John's River (one of the finest in
the South), upon which a view of its glassy surface—
bordered with magnificent scenery—is seen for miles around;
also, in close proximity to the Charleston and Savannah
Steamers Wharves, and the Florida, Atlanta and Gulf
Coastal Rail Roads—Tenniessee.

December 1st, 1859..

O. L. KEENE, Proprietor
C. F. [unclear]

Sinking Fund of the Internal Improvement Fund an annual payment of one per cent of the total amount of the bond issuances. Failure on the part of the company to pay interest or make its required payment into the Sinking Fund was supposed to result in the sale of its assets by the Trustees, as the Internal Improvement Fund held a first mortgage on every company aided by it. Further aid for the construction of new railroads was to be furnished by the State, through the Trustees, by the grant of alternate sections of State lands to a width of six miles on either side of a new railroad.⁸ In the case of the F.A. & G.C., it was originally estimated that the State grant would amount to about 200,000 acres.⁹

The Town Council of Jacksonville gave the railroad a thirty-five year exemption "from taxation for Corporation purposes," along with a "free right of way" for a general depot and wharf for the same period of time. Also, the "free and perpetual right of way" for any railroad tracks that might be "needed" was granted to the company by the Town Council.¹⁰

With these indications of present and future aid, the Board of Directors of the company, on July 19, 1855, took specific action aimed at getting the sixty mile long railroad built. Dr. Baldwin, president of the company, was joined by J. S. Sammis, T. E. Buckman, H. A. Timanus, J. M. Baker, and J. P. Sanderson, fellow directors of the company, in the appointment of F. F. L'Engle as engineer "to take charge of the preliminary survey of the route from Jacksonville to Alligator."¹¹

Though the preliminary survey was completed by early September,¹² the company was unable to raise enough cash to push forward with the actual construction of the roadbed until March of 1856.¹³ In the meantime, the Town Council, of which Dr.

8. Laws of Florida, Chapter 610, No. 1, "An Act to Provide for and Encourage a Liberal System of Internal Improvements in this State," sections 8 & 15 (approved by the Governor January 6, 1855).

9. *Florida Republican* June 21, 1855.

10. *Ibid.* June 14, 1855.

11. *Ibid.* July 28, 1855.

12. *Ibid.* Sept. 13, 1855.

13. *Ibid.* March 13, 1856.

Baldwin was a member, decreed that the property owners of Jacksonville should be required to pay a special railroad tax sufficient "to pay the semiannual interest on . . . the bonds . . . issued in payment of the . . . Town subscription . . . to the capital stock."¹⁴

Progress on the preparation of the roadbed was exceedingly slow. The Board of Directors of the company had to report, in June of 1856, that not quite nine miles of roadbed had been made ready for rails. Somewhat ruefully the Board also reported that:

Most of those appealed to for aid . . . avowed their good will to the enterprise, . . . but could not be induced to contribute toward its prosecution unless positive assurance could be given in advance, that . . . it would without fail be completed.

. . . it is not possible always to convert Bonds and Lands into cash as it may be required without a sacrifice . . . the Board . . . deemed it a . . . prudent and safe course to take a longer time for . . . completion, until October, 1858.

An immediate sale of Columbia county and Jacksonville bonds cannot be counted on, because there is little capital out of the legitimate business operations of the country that can be spared for this purpose.¹⁵

The directors were greatly encouraged however, by a Congressional grant, in May of 1856, of 120 sections of land for every twenty miles of road. Senator David L. Yulee, a pioneer railroad builder in Florida, had exercised his influence in order to secure favorable Congressional action on his proposal that such grants be made.

The directors totaled up the "means" of the company as \$1,330,000. Of this sum "Private cash subscriptions (reliable)"

14. *Ibid.* Nov. 29, 1855.

15. "Some of our citizens are taking sub-contracts, which we are pleased to see, as evincing an investing interest on the part of our people in the enterprise." *Florida News* April 5, 1859.

amounted to only \$20,000. \$40,000 was in "Stock paid to Contractors for work." And they figured that the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund would furnish them with "guaranteed" bonds totaling \$600,000 (\$10,000 for each mile of completed roadbed), plus 200,000 acres of land which they expected would be worth at least \$250,000. The Congressional grant they estimated as 200,000 acres, worth another \$250,000. Of the \$1,330,000 "means" available, or to become available for the construction of the railroad, \$750,000 depended on the successful sale of bonds of Jacksonville, Columbia county and the State, and \$500,000 was supposed to come from the sale of the estimated 400,000 acres of land to be given by the State and U. S. governments.

Anticipated expenditures of \$1,000,000 included \$240,000 for "grading and cross-ties," \$600,000 for "iron and equipments," and \$40,000 for "engineering salaries and contingencies."

The directors, A. S. Baldwin, J. P. Sanderson, A. M. Read, Theo. Hartridge, Jas. M. Baker, J. D. Hart, T. E. Buckman, J. S. Sammis, and P. Moody, concluded their report in an optimistic fashion:

The great commercial advantages possessed by the St. Johns River will create an important depot of a diversified trade from the Peninsula, which will be distributed to the North and West, and will invite to it exchange from all directions, which exchange must be mainly effected through our Road . . . A new era has been introduced, dating from the commencement of the construction of our Rail-Road system . . . our part is the key to the whole system, and without its completion the balance would be comparatively worthless.¹⁶

The attempt to get the roadbed to Alligator completed continued to be both difficult and disappointing. The one dollar a day pay for members of work crews that sometimes numbered one hundred and fifty men constituted a heavy drain on slender financial resources. It became increasingly difficult to pay for

16. *Florida Republican* issues of August 6, 13, 20, 1856.

construction through reliance on expectations of vast monetary returns and promises of future prosperity for the entire region.

Colonel J. P. Sanderson, member of the Board of Directors throughout the earliest stages of the railroad's development, assumed a more and more active part in the leadership of the concern. He became the dominant force behind the company's activities, replacing Dr. Baldwin as president in 1857. Sanderson, one of the leading lawyers and public speakers in Jacksonville, employed both of these skills in behalf of the railroad. He was very successful in dealing with the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund¹⁷, and despite the failure to progress in the construction of the railroad as anticipated, he managed to keep the company in existence. A yellow fever epidemic in 1857, the complications involved in the purchase of iron from England and periodic shortages of labor—all hampered efforts to push forward toward the completion of the road to Alligator.

Iron was laid from Jacksonville to Baldwin early in March of 1858. The *Alligator Independent Press* reported, however, that the "contractor for laying the iron . . . from Jacksonville to Baldwin was accidentally killed by being struck with a bar of iron . . . just as the last piece was being laid that completed his contract."¹⁸ Train service for freight and passengers was then instituted between Jacksonville and Baldwin, and by November of 1858 the entire grading of the road from Jacksonville to Alligator had been completed:¹⁹

Work on the railroad continued throughout 1859. Noteworthy events of the year included the completion of the first twenty-five miles of track in June,²⁰ the purchase of the locomotive "Jacksonville" to help handle the "rapidly increasing amount of freight that is passing to and fro,"²¹ and the installation of the fiftieth mile of track in November.²²

17. The Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund for February 10, 1858 contain the statement that the treasurer of the board was authorized to buy \$45,000 of bonds of the F. A. & G. C. R.R. at ninety cents on the dollar.

18. Tallahassee, *Floridian and Journal* March 19, 1858.

19. *Ibid.* Nov. 27, 1858.

20. *Ibid.* June 4, 1859.

21. Jacksonville *Standard* Oct. 13, 1859.

Completion of the railroad seemed assured in January, 1860, as the last 1000 tons of iron for it arrived from England.²³ Plans for celebrating the completion of the road were made in both Lake City (Alligator) and Jacksonville while work on the installation of track was intensified.

Finally, approximately five years after the financing arrangements were made to "commence operations," the railroad was completed. On March 15, 1860 about eight hundred citizens of Jacksonville traveled over the road from Jacksonville to Alligator to participate in festivities held to celebrate the long awaited completion of the project. A free barbecue, felicitous speeches, and promises of future prosperity for the road and the area it served were parts of this celebration.²⁴ Even in Tallahassee the final completion of the road was greeted with enthusiasm. The Tallahassee *Floridian* commented:

. . . the Central Railroad is now completed. The energy which has directed the work has met with merited success; its engagements have been met, and its credit maintained throughout. . . . The business prospects of the road, together with its valuable lands and able management, would seem to indicate a realization of the results hithertofore claimed for it.²⁵

In such fashion came the first railroad to connect Jacksonville with the interior of Florida.

(The foregoing account of the establishment of railroad transportation between Jacksonville and Lake City is part of the background for the author's doctoral dissertation on the role of Captain E. M. L'Engle in the operation of the Florida Central Railroad, successor to the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central. As additional background, he is currently engaged in the preparation of an article for this *Quarterly* on the Swepson-Littlefield fraud, one of the most flagrant examples of dishonest financing in the history of the State.

He and the *Quarterly* would be grateful for any word of company records or correspondence pertaining to Captain L'Engle and the Florida Central Railroad. (Ed.)

22. *Floridian and Journal* Dec. 3, 1859. Governor M. S. Perry is quoted as saying, "Four years ago, the St. Marks road, twenty miles in length and worked by horsepower, was the only road in the State. We now have about 350 miles of road graded and about 250 miles of iron rail laid, upon which the cars are running daily, and the iron purchased to complete the balance of the roads graded. . . . The iron rails have been laid on about . . . 50 miles of the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central.

23. Fernandina, *East Floridian*, Jan. 26, 1860.

24. *Ibid.* March 18, 1860.

25. *Floridian and Journal* March 17, 1860.

THE ELECTION OF 1876 IN FLORIDA

by MARCELLUS L. STEARNS

Republican Candidate for Governor

Introduction and editing by Edward C. Williamson

The only carpetbagger boss of a Negro county machine to become governor of Florida, Union Army veteran Marcellus L. Stearns, sought reelection as the Republican candidate in 1876. Born at Lovell, Maine, on April 29, 1839, Stearns at the outbreak of the Civil War was a student at Waterville College, Maine. He left there in 1861 in answer to President Lincoln's call for volunteers. Losing an arm in the hard fighting in the Shenandoah Valley at the Battle of Winchester, he transferred to the Freedmen's Bureau, and first came to Florida in 1866, being stationed as an official of the Bureau at Quincy.¹

Active in organizing the newly-freed slaves into the Gadsden County Republican machine, Stearns was elected as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1868, and in 1872 was speaker of the Assembly. In the latter year he was nominated for governor by the Republican state convention; but opposition, particularly from Negro politicians, was so strong that he was forced to withdraw and accept the second place on the ticket.²

Fraud and federal troops played important roles in the Republican victory of that year. To keep Negroes from the polls, the Democrats countered by resorting to threats of lawless violence. On March 18, 1874, Governor Ossian B. Hart, a moderate Republican and the first native of the state elected to that office, died, elevating the more radical Stearns to the chief executiveship of the state. The Republican state convention of 1876, firmly controlled by state officeholders, despite a strong reform movement within the party, nominated Stearns for governor.

Making a bid for the moderate vote, the Democrats nominated

1. *Florida Handbook*, compiled by Allen Morris, (Tallahassee, 1952), p. 106.
2. Philip D. Ackerman, "Florida Reconstruction from Walker through Reed, 1865-1873," (Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1948), p. 220; William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), pp. 638-639.

ex-Whig George F. Drew as their gubernatorial candidate. Although born on a farm in New Hampshire, Drew had resided in the South since the 1840's and at the time of his nomination operated a large lumber business and sawmill at Ellaville, located on the Suwannee River in Madison County. In the election the Republicans again used fraud and federal troops, and the Democrats countered by intimidating Negro voters.

First returns indicated that the vote in Florida would be very close. With the Presidency of the United States at stake, national figures soon flooded the state. To an anxious nation a partisan state canvassing board announced a Republican victory. Unwilling to accept this verdict and at the same time rejecting the proposal of extremists to physically oust Steams from the capital, Drew sought recourse within the law.³ The Republican dominated state supreme court acted favorably on his request for a *writ of mandamus* which compelled the state canvassing board to reconvene and recanvass the vote for governor and lieutenant governor without going behind the returns.⁴

Drew was now declared the victor. But Steams sought to retain the governorship. Up until the inauguration ceremony it was feared by the Democrats that he would attempt to physically keep possession of the capitol.⁵ Though this fear failed to materialize Stearns, as late as February, 1877, was still sounding out state Radical leaders on the possible continuance of the fight for the governorship. The following statement of his on the 1876 election sets forth his claim to the office, and his letter to ex-Senator Thomas W. Osborn discusses his plan of action to regain the governorship.

3. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 689-691.

4. *Drew v State Canvassing Board*, 16 Florida Reports 17.

5. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888), pp. 343-344; Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (Macon, 1926), pp. 375-377; *Weekly Floridian* (Tallahassee), Jan. 2, 1877.

ELECTION OF 1876 IN FLORIDA

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STATEMENT [of Governor Stearns] ⁶

The political canvass in Florida in 1876 was unusually vigorous, spirited and exciting on the part of both political organizations. But the election on the 7th of November was generally peaceable - save the lawless demonstration made early in the morning of that day by destroying the telegraph line at several points and tearing up the railroad track and burning three of its trestle bridges - one a few miles east of Tallahassee and one a few miles west from Live Oakes [*sic*] in Suwanee [*sic*] Co. for the purpose of cutting off communication between the States and United States authorities - the U. S. Marshall being at the time at Live Oakes ready to cooperate with the State authorities for the preservation of the peace. All communication was thereby suspended with other parts of the State throughout the entire day until night when the lines were again repaired. Fortunately, however, such precautionary measures had already been taken and efficient police arrangements established that the troubles which were generally feared, were nevertheless prevented.

On the 8th up to the time the information was received that the National Election would turn on the result in Florida - about 4 P. M. the State was conceded to the Republicans - as a candidate of that party for the office of Governor, I received many congratulations from prominent Democrats upon my election. There was no serious doubt felt about it by prominent men of either party. The reports of the election from the different counties were coming in very favorable to the Republicans. At this time or immediately after, before there was time to act on the information, there were twenty of the thirty-nine counties in the State reported. Of these, nine were Rep. and 11 were Dem. The nine Rep. counties had given majorities aggregating 7,418 against 6,085, at last presidential election 1872, a gain of 1,333 or 22 per cent. While the eleven Dem. counties had given majorities aggregating 2,070

6. Unsigned handwritten manuscript of Marcellus L. Stearns: his handwriting certified by his late nephew, Aretas E. Stearns; typewritten copy in possession of Florida Historical Society.

against 2,024 in 1872 - a gain of only 46 or less than 3 per cent. Consequently the net Republican majority in the first twenty counties reported was 5,348 against 4,061 in 1872. The nineteen counties remaining to be heard from gave in 1872 a net Democratic majority of 2,482 and allowing the same ratio of increase for these counties as had been made in the eleven Democratic counties already reported: namely, 3 per cent, would have given in 1876 a net Democratic majority of 2,556. In other words, on the day after election, it was known that 20 counties had given a net Republican majority of 5,348 and that the other 19 counties, if they maintained the same comparative gains on rate of 1872, would give a net Democratic majority of 2,556 which taken from the net Republican majority left the State to the Republicans by 2,792 majority. Thus matters stood on the 8th and hence it was that the State was generally conceded to the Republicans by an increased majority over 1872. As soon, however, as the news was telegraphed from New York that the result of the National ticket depended on the result in Florida, the whole Democratic Camp was aroused. Their partizans began to gather in crowds and loudly boast of their ability and determination to sieze the State at all hazards. The wildest commotion prevailed. There was a sudden change in the peaceful aspect of affairs as well as in the Democratic opinion that the Republicans had carried the State.

One of their number, however, did venture several days afterward to send a private dispatch to a friend North that the Republicans had undoubtedly carried the State. But that dispatch having been made public, he was soon bulldozed into retracting it and adhering to the Democratic policy of lying the State through at any cost.

Experience in former elections had shown that the Democracy of Florida would not hesitate to resort to wholesale fraud by raising and falsifying returns whenever it became necessary. In 1872 the Republicans carried the State by 1,579 majority, yet the whole Democracy and its press without an honorable excep-

ELECTION OF 1876 IN FLORIDA

tion, set up a claim to the State and strenuously asserted that claim up to the day of the canvass - not, however, by giving facts and figures but by general assertions. It was not discovered upon what ground they based their claim until the State Canvassers met and opened the county returns. Then it was found that the return from one county, Jackson, had been changed just 2,000 votes, by erasing the figure 1 in the columns of thousands of the Republican vote and inserting it in the column of thousands of the Democratic vote - thus effecting a change of 2,000 votes in favor of the Democracy and electing their entire ticket by 421 majority. This fraud, however, was so apparent that the canvassing board unanimously voted to send to the county for a certified copy which was done and State finally declared for the Republican ticket by 1,579 majority.⁷ Remembering these facts and knowing the inducements now to be greater and the opportunities equal, the Republicans feared similar proceedings and consequently determined to send messengers to all the counties not reported to ascertain the vote and get it announced as quickly as possible, also to get certified copies of county and precinct returns and collect any and all facts it was possible to obtain bearing on the election. The first messengers dispatched by special train that night soon returned and reported that two rails had been removed from the track and their tram ditched about three miles out from Tallahassee. It was under this condition of affairs, that I answered a telegram from the Chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee enquiring what the situation was as follows:

“The Telegraph lines were now again cut, the Democrats having first telegraphed to party friends living at or near the termini of said lines, their instructions. [“(?)”] I only know that when our messengers finally got through on the railroads and took teams for these distant counties, they found the roads picketed with armed men who threatened their lives if they

7. For a different version of the election see Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 639-641.

attempted to proceed farther and that they were thus prevented from reaching most of these distant counties - that the returns were held back until the county began to demand them, then they were sent in only after it was too late to get certified copies or other evidence of their fraudulent character and made to show a Democratic increase of 115 per cent over their vote of 1872 instead of less than 3 per cent shown in their counties reported before the importance of Florida was known. Having a very full knowledge of the political situation in the State at the time, I am unable to account for this difference except upon the basis of wholesale and systematic fraud committed in the interest of the Democratic State and National tickets and I believe most of it was obtained in that manner. Many Democrats have since asserted that their success was not at the polls but effected after the election and that they would prove it beyond dispute if I would contest the office of Governor in the Courts with my opponent - from my knowledge of the facts, I am convinced that it was the intention of the Democrats to make the returns show 100 majority for the Tilden electors and they would have succeeded in making them show 90 majority as they claim if one of their own counties had not failed them. This was Baker County - a small Democratic County which gave 95 Democratic majority but was returned by the County Canvassers, by throwing out two precincts, 41 Republican majority, which made the returns from all the counties in the State show on their face 45 majority for the Hayes Electors. An effort has been made to create an impression that this change in Baker County was effected by Republicans. This is a great mistake. The facts are these: The County Canvassers were Democrats who partaking of the general spirit and following the precedents of their party, honestly believed they had the authority to throw out precincts for fraud at the polls - In this County, two Democrats were running for the Legislature, Mr. Gurganus, the regular nominee of his party and Mr. Conova [Canova] as an independent Demo-

cratic Candidate. The Republicans made no nomination but supported one or the other of these candidates. Mr. Conova up to this time had been an extreme partizan and one of the most active workers in his party and the contest became very bitter and personal in the county. Conova was defeated, but charged that his defeat had been procured by unfair means, intimidation and fraud at these two precincts.⁸ A majority of the county canvassers being his ardent supporters, listened to his complaints with favor, threw out the two precincts and returned Conova elected. Thus it was that the fraud in Baker Co. as it is called, grew out of a local fight among Democrats and was done by Democrats for Democrats. At the time it was done there was no reasonable doubt but what the State had gone Republican by a large majority and consequently could not have been done with a view of affecting the State or Electoral ticket. If there was any improper motive it must have been for the purpose of affecting the local ticket and when as some of the county officers now testify, the County Judge Diggers said to them, "We are beaten unless something is done", he did not refer to the State or National tickets of either party, but to the local county ticket. Now, this whole matter was brought to the attention of the State Board of Canvassers by the Democratic Attorneys who urged them to go behind the county return and correct the error which was promptly and unanimously done. So it required no Jason to be sent in search of this "Golden Fleece" which was discovered, captured and returned at the time to the rightful possession by the State Board of Canvassers. But when this Board went behind and corrected Baker County returns, the Republican Attorneys asked them to go behind and correct the returns of other counties where they had been defrauded - especially Jackson County, a large Republican County where there

8. George P. Canova, contrary to Steams's statement, appeared before the Assembly Committee on Privileges and Elections and relinquished his claim to the seat, declaring that he did not consider himself fairly elected, *Florida Assembly Journal*, 1877, pp. 23-24.

are 600 or 800 Republican majority but which had now for the first time been returned 100 Democratic majority. I believe and now publicly charge that there was a fraud of 600 votes committed in the interest of the Democratic party at the election of 1876 in Jackson County, State of Florida, and I demand that this Committee fully investigate it to the end that justice may be done and the truth of history established. The State Canvassers after a full, fair, open and public investigation of all the evidence adduced before them by either and both parties during the time allotted to them in which to make the Canvass from the 27th day of November to the 5th day of December, did declare the Hayes Electors chosen by a majority of 930 votes and upon this declaration of the proper and lawful officers I did issue the Certificate of Election to said electors. I believe the Canvass was conducted throughout impartially and conscientiously with a view of arriving at a correct and just result in accordance with the law as understood and construed by the Democratic member of the Board in a long written opinion submitted to and adopted by the Board two years before. This construction of the law was questioned by neither party in 1876 during the examination and canvass of the votes. Both parties occupied exactly the same position before the Board as to their duties and powers. The face of the returns were against the Tilden Electors so the Democrats desired the Board to go behind the returns and investigate but they were against the Republican State Ticket so the Republicans desired the Board to go behind the returns and investigate. Thus the Democrats were on the offensive in regard to the Presidential Electors and on the defensive in regard to the State ticket, while the Republicans were on the offensive in regard to the State ticket and on the defensive in regard to the Presidential electors.

The Board were unanimous on all points of law and, while not unanimous on all questions of fact, they were unanimous in their votes on these questions to the extent of electing the Republican

ELECTION OF 1876 IN FLORIDA

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tickets both State and Electoral. When this result was ascertained, the Democrats immediately changed their opinion of the law and desired to submit the question of construction to the Supreme Court of the State to which proposition the Board of Canvassers readily consented, being desirous of only a legal result and confident of the correctness of their position. But the Court overruled the Attorney General's opinion of the law and held that the returns must be canvassed according to the face of the same regardless of frauds. This decision defeated the Republican State Ticket but left the Republican electors chosen. Throughout the Canvass, there were present a large number of prominent gentlemen from abroad representing both political parties who witnessed the count and every transaction connected therewith - I never heard one of these gentlemen express a wish or desire that the Canvassers should do anything more than to discharge their duty honestly and conscientiously and ascertain the true result of the ballots cast at the polls. The Republican visitors with whom I was thrown most by reason of political associations always said "Give us a fair, honest result and if Hayes has fairly carried the State, give it to him, and if Tilden has carried the State, give it to him." William E. Chandler⁹ of New Hampshire was especially emphatic on this point and, on one occasion when I expressed some apprehension lest, under the excitement growing out of the prevailing conviction among Republicans that they were being kept out of Democratic Counties for the purposes of fraud against them, some of our own men might be impelled to commit some rash and fraudulent act in regard to the election, he said it would be most unfortunate for anything of the kind to occur, the eyes of the whole world are upon us and it would be better to lose the election by unfair means than to have the country think we had attained it by unfair means and fur-

9. William E. Chandler, New Hampshire National Republican Committeeman, later served as secretary of the Navy and United States senator. Chandler headed the group of national Republican visitors who came to Florida to make certain that the state would be returned for Hayes.

thermore in that event, it was more than probable that Gov. Hayes would come out publicly and decline the office.

I fully believe Florida was carried as honestly for Hayes as Massachusetts or New York or Indiana for Tilden.

I invite the fullest investigation into every transaction connected with the election in Florida in 1876 confident that the more thorough de investigation, the more evident will appear the integrity of the result.

Washington, D. C.

Feb. 21st, 1877 ¹⁰

Dear Osborn:

Yours received [.] You are undoubtedly correct that in these times (and I doubt if ever there was otherwise) the man must seek the office and not the office the man. I agree with your views and shall act upon your suggestions here. But in regard to the Quo Warranto I do not agree with you altogether. I cannot talk to Randall ¹¹ and I could have no faith in what he would say to me. I think some of our friends whom he would trust and at the same time fear to betray - say Higgins Durkee and Eagan ¹² - should do the talking with him and get his views and pledges &c. If they can make the arrangements with him. I will undertake the case and can & will raise the money here to carry it through. For me to talk to Randall would be fruitless for I should be afraid of him and he of me and afterwards I could simply inform my friends that it would be useless to try the writ which would be no more gratification to them than than [*sic*] it is now. Meanwhile Randall would continue his cheap talk to them - Now let them put him to the test & squarely pledge him and I

10. Marcellus L. Stearns to Thomas W. Osborn, Feb. 21, 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio. Photostat of original letter and typewritten copy furnished Florida Historical Society by Watt P. Marchman, Director of Research.

11. Chief Justice Edwin Randall of the Florida Supreme Court - a Republican carpetbagger.

12. Edwin Higgins and J. H. Durkee - Jacksonville carpetbaggers; Dennis Eagan - Madison carpetbagger.

will put the thing through and furnish the means. But I don't propose to run any risk by giving Randall a chance simply to ratify their other illegal action and throw further doubt upon the Electoral vote [.] Again is not there some probability of Hayes going back on what Republican Governments there are in the South instead of helping build up others - It seems to me the tendency of public opinion is that way, and we may look for the warm and loving embrace of the Southern whites by the next Administration. The power and strength which they have demonstrated is having its influence and commands respect - The National Republican ¹³ came out this morning strongly advocating this policy.

Truly Yours

M. L. S[tearns]

13. A Washington, D. C. newspaper.

SPANISH INTEREST IN BRITISH FLORIDA, AND IN
THE PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(I) RELATIONS WITH THE SPANISH FACTION OF THE
CREEK INDIANS

by MARK F. BOYD AND JOSE NAVARRO LATORRE

Despite the loss of Florida to Great Britain in 1763, colonial officials in Cuba, probably reflecting the attitude of the Spanish Court, maintained a lively interest in their erstwhile province and preserved a hope of its eventual recovery. When the mounting tension in the British colonies to the north progressed from civil disorder to the revolutionary struggle, Spanish interest in the conflict became intense as the cherished hope began to exhibit the possibility of attainment. The meagerness of the news which reached that Court through random channels was insufficient to reveal the trend of events or determine the moment for decisive action. The situation demanded the deliberate collection of adequate intelligence, and by a Royal Cedula to the Governor of Cuba, dated February 28, 1776,¹ the latter was directed to gather all possible information and dispatch suitable persons, preferably those connected with the Asiento, or in the guise of smugglers, to Pensacola, to Florida (meaning St. Augustine), and to Jamaica, for this purpose². Compliance resulted in the submission of various reports, certain of which are reproduced below to develop our theme. While these are mainly focused on relatively minor events, they nevertheless afforded the principal independent considerations which determined the Spanish intrusion in the struggle, and hence actually have a broader significance.

A prominent advocate of the recovery of the lost province was an emigrant Floridian, Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, who occupied a post in the colonial government of Cuba. He figures largely in our narrative, particularly in the second part. He was widely and favorably known to the Indians, and because of this

1. A.G.I. Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 174. No. 199.

2. See Bibliography, *post*: Abbey, 1928-1929, pp. 56-68.

prestige his services were in constant demand in Havana for the reception and interviewing of Indian visitors.

Whatever may have been the degree of the attachment of the Alachua Indians (nucleus of the Seminoles) for the British in East Florida, and it is generally regarded to have been strong; an important faction of the Lower Creeks, on the other hand, preserved a strong attachment to the Spanish. This, if not actively stimulated by the Spanish authorities, was nevertheless passively encouraged in the hospitable reception accorded those Indians who had the hardihood to undertake the sea-voyage to Havana.

These junkets were initiated even before the delivery of Florida to the British. Thus Captain Don Bentura Diaz, who with a small force had been sent to reoccupy Fort St. Marks in order to formalize its delivery to the British, related to the Count of Ricla on January 19, 1764, the return of three unnamed Indians from Havana, who remained at that post until they had consumed three barrels of rum delivered in their baggage. In 1768, Pierce Acton Sinnott, assistant Indian commissioner stationed at Fort St. Marks, reported to John Stuart that Thlehulgee (otherwise known as Tugulkee, or the Young Twin of Coweta, son of Malatchi) and a companion, who had gone to Havana in November, 1766, had recently returned, well dressed. Their landing place was unknown, but he mentioned a report that a Spanish vessel had been observed off the mouth of the Apalachicola River. Sinnott also related that an Indian arriving at St. Marks a few weeks previously from the southward, reported seeing three two-masted Spanish vessels on a large bay (supposed to be Tampa) and had refused an invitation given in the Creek tongue to board one (Boyd, 1941-42, xix:200;xxi:52;xxi:136)³.

Further visits, alluded to in the documents which follow, were made in 1772 by Escuchape (Escotchabie or Scutchabe, the Young Lieutenant of the Cowetas: Mereness, 1916, p. 548) on invitation from Havana, probably delivered by his son, who had

3. See Bibliography (*post*).

made a similar visit in 1771, and in 1773 by the Captain Estimaculache and the Cacique Lajaliqui (document 1, post) who have not been otherwise identified in contemporaneous literature. Escuchape's visit was evidently of some duration, and on his return to Tampa Bay late in 1772 or early 1773, he was received by a multitude of Indians who had gathered to welcome him (doc. 2). It is not revealed whether Escuchape had any other motives in making the journey than the anticipated enjoyment of lavish Spanish hospitality, and the motives of the Spanish are unknown. The presence of this gathering so overawed the master of his transport that the latter could not refuse a request to receive another Havana passenger (or passengers) who may have been the Estimaculache and Lajaliqui just mentioned. No reference to other visitors prior to 1776 has been encountered, when the visit of Fitechage (otherwise unidentified) was mentioned (doc. 1).

Most of these visitors arrived in Havana as passengers on Spanish fishing vessels, which then as now frequented the fishing grounds off the west coast of Florida. Rude establishments were erected ashore on that coast where their catches were salted and dried. It is said that about 30 vessels were at this time engaged in this occupation, which was carried on from the months of August to March, inclusive. Their presence became known to the British, and although Governor Grant was ordered to suppress this activity, he lacked means to do so. As late as 1769, both Grant and Haldimand saw in their presence an opportunity for the opening of clandestine trade. When reports indicating that many of the contacts with the Indians were made on Spanish initiative, Hillsborough became alarmed, and ordered Stuart to investigate. Their correctness was quickly verified (Alden, 1944, p. 326; Mowatt, 1943, p. 20). That a clandestine trade of small proportions actually developed, but reversing the trend desired by Grant, is revealed by William Bartram (1928, p. 194), who visited the town of Talahaschte on the Suwannee River in 1774.

He related that the white trader at this town, when short of articles for trade, could usually renew his stock of the requisite goods from Spanish vessels on the coast at better terms than he could secure them from the wholesale Indian stores in Georgia or St. Augustine.

Some few prominent Indians, such as Thlehulgee in 1766 and Escuchape in 1772, may have visited Havana on invitation, but in general the initiative for most of these visits probably arose with the visitors themselves, to whom the prospects of a novel sea journey, enjoyment of Spanish hospitality, the acquirement of presents of unpredictable value, and an enhanced prestige on returning home, must have had an irresistible appeal. The number who regarded themselves as of sufficient consequence to merit Spanish favors was probably boundless, and likely ensured that one or more parties would arrive annually. The size of the parties indulging in these junkets was, fortunately for their hosts, usually controlled by the number who could crowd onto any small fishing vessel discovered detained in a west coast harbor, or by the capacity of a canoe, as Bartram (1928, p. 193), says that west coast Indians occasionally made the voyage to Havana in canoes.

Despite the studied courtesy of their reception, most of the visitors, as the documents testify, were actually unwelcome, as they produced an embarrassing drain on the treasury and were of little service as sources of intelligence. Since the Indians were remote from the principal area of conflict, their comprehension of the issues was slight, and the information they did disclose was so highly garbled that it was of meager and uncertain value.

Rather than attempt their discouragement by slighting the visitors, an attempt was made to curb their frequency by prohibiting the masters of fishing vessels from transporting Indians to Havana, or even to permit them on board of anchored vessels. This was an impractical order, as the parties engaged in curing fish on shore, or the fishing vessels obliged to put into a west

coast harbor for wood, water, or because of weather, were at the mercy of the Indians ashore, and could rarely repel a visitor or deny an Indian's request for transportation.

Among the earliest of the visitors mentioned in these documents, the Captain Estimelauche and the Cacique Lajaliqui, produced as credentials various old dispatches from Spanish governors to the nation, and expressed a desire to see Florida restored to Spain. And to attain this end, they declared a willingness to engage in relentless war against the English if provided with arms and ammunition, and offered to deliver the fort of St. Marks, of which they then had had possession for three years. They also expressed a willingness to embrace Catholicism. The governor found the proposals embarrassing, and gave a temporizing reply accompanied by liberal presents to soften the refusal.

In addition to a reiteration of the foregoing proposals, Fitechage, in 1776, suggested the initiation of a Spanish trade with the Indians of British Florida. This may imply that by 1776 the Indians had begun to experience inconvenience from a shortage of the trade goods heretofore furnished from warehouses in the Atlantic ports. The governor again temporized in the matter of aid against the English, but saw some slight advantage to be derived from minor trading operations along the Florida coast. On submission of the proposal to the Court, the Minister of the Indies approved the utilization of some vessels for this purpose as a means of reducing the annoying frequency of the Indian visits, providing precautions were taken to prevent clandestine trade with the English. Unfortunately an impediment arose to imperil the friendly relations, and it appeared that Louisiana might offer advantages superior to Havana as an entrepot for the trade. Nevertheless the governor of Cuba was anxious to develop the trading project, but the intendent saw in it an excellent opportunity for smuggling. The arguments pro and con were submitted to the consideration of the Council of the Indies, which sought the opinion of de comptroller, whose

decision supported the viewpoint of the intendent. As a consequence, the Council, apparently late in 1776, disapproved the proposal for Indian trade and of the admission of Indians to the port of Havana (docs. 1,2).

Unaware of the position taken by the Council of the Indies, the Indians continued to be anxious for the opening of the desired traffic. The delay led to a visit, late in 1777, from Tunape (the Tonaby of the English), accompanied by an extensive suite (doc. 6). He alleged that the Cacique Lajaliqui and the Captain Estimalauche had been his emissaries, and that because of Spanish failure to open the trade, he felt impelled to make the journey to renew the negotiations in person. He appears to have been recognized by the Spanish as an important personage, judging from the number of documents to which his visit gave rise. His formal "talk", delivered in the presence of the governor, although doubtless designed as a personal buildup, is probably the only known autobiographical sketch of a southeastern Indian. In it he emphasized the depth of his devotion to the Spanish, again tendered the fort of St. Marks, described the extent of their destitution, and their pressing need for trade goods. (doc. 4). Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente was delegated by Governor Navarro to give the official reply (doc. 5). He explained the impracticability of accepting the proffered concessions, but offered to supply their most pressing needs if promptly informed of the required items. Although the desire of the colonial officials to establish trade appears to have been intensified by Tunape's proposals, the latter was informed that its initiation required royal approval.

During the course of Tunape's visit, Naval Commandant Bonet became interested in the inexhaustible supplies of naval stores which Florida could furnish. On the vessel which returned Tunape and party to Tampa Bay, he sent two shipwrights to make a survey of the resources in the vicinity of that bay (docs. 8,9). Some Spanish efforts to exploit the Florida forests for naval stores

had been made in 1777. Thus in April of that year, Lieut. Benton of the British vessel *West Florida*, seized three Spanish vessels on the charge they were laden with timber cut on British soil (Abbey, 1929, ix. 265). The news quickly reached Governor Galvez at New Orleans, who in retaliation seized eleven British vessels then in that port, engaged in contraband trade. The presence of such vessels had long been countenanced in that port, although in violation of existing regulations. Galvez stated that the captured Spanish vessels were laden with tar (Caughey, 1934, p. 71). Bonet appeared to disregard that he would thereby create a situation similar to that caused by the presence of British logwood and mahogany woodcutters on the coast of Belize, which had created a controversy then already of long standing.

Also on Tunape's transport, concealed from the eyes of the Indians, was an emissary of Governor Navarro, sent to secretly ascertain whether there were any British war vessels on the coast of West Florida. A few months after Tunape's departure, important intelligence from Florida required an analysis and interpretation by Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente (docs. 10,11). In his report he made strong representations to the Court of the desirability of recovering Florida. It may be inferred, although it cannot be substantiated, that the Julian de Flores mentioned, was the agent concealed on Tunape's transport. In the latter part of March, an Indian named Subayque brought an anonymous letter to Havana, describing the preparations the revolted colonists were making to attack St. Augustine and Pensacola. In document 11 Eligio makes allusion to information given him personally by the Captain Wacapurchase, who is tentatively identified as the Cowkeeper. The allusion does not permit one to judge whether Wacapurchase had made a then recent visit to Havana, or whether Eligio himself may have seen him while on a quick secret mission to Florida.

We know nothing of Tunape's subsequent life. In view of his professed hostility to the British, it appears unlikely, had he been

alive in 1783, that Charles McLatchy, one of the partners in Panton, Leslie & Co., could have established the trading post on the Wakulla River a few miles above the vacant fort. Furthermore had he been living, it seems improbable that the Spaniards would have been obliged to negotiate, as they were, with the Creeks for permission to reoccupy the old fort of San Marcos de Apalachee, which was not undertaken until 1787. The Spanish faction among the Lower Creeks must have been greatly weakened by his death.

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THE DOCUMENTS

1. Brief, Dealing with Various Communications from the Governor of Cuba on the Subject of Trade with the Uchise Indians, Extracted for the Council of the Indies, February 27, 1778. Archivo Historico Nacional [Madrid] Legajgo 3884, Expediente 1, Document 9.

(A)

Havana, February 16, 1773

The Governor

1. Confidentially relates that on the 14th instant there arrived at that port on one of the vessels [employed] in fishing about the keys adjacent to Florida, fourteen Indians of the *Uchise*¹ nation who occupy the Province of Coweta¹ in the vast extension from the Point of Tanche as far as Santa Rosa, with authority from the emperor to discuss important subjects.

2. The principal messengers were the Captain Estimalauche and Cacique Lajaliqui, and their credentials were several [old] dispatches directed by various [former] governors of Florida to those of their nation. By virtue of acquaintance with these people, and the prestige which he enjoys among them, the auditor, Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente was charged with their maintenance and investigation of the purpose of their mission, which in brief is their desire for the restitution to the Spanish dominion of the English establishments in that province, which they call theirs, for the attainment of which, with the Tallaposa¹, Apizca¹, and Chataa¹ nations [they desire to] wage pitiless war against them in this province if they are provided with arms and munitions. For the storage of which and the first establishment [of the kind] they offer immediately to deliver the fort of San Marcos which they have already possessed for three years²; and finally their ready disposition and anxiety to embrace Catholicism and the domination of His Majesty.

3. Notwithstanding the misleading inconstancy of these people and the present harmony of Spain with England, it appears unwise to emphatically scorn their proposals, for the great convenience in any event to have these barbarians as friends, and

1. This and all following superior numbers refer to sections of the *Appendix*.

thus I have decided to dismiss them in hope of [their contentment with] some dilatory consideration of their proposals, and offering them, as is always done, the protection of His Majesty, and some presents as expression of appreciation for their loyalty. [Endorsement] Dated May 6 [1773?] Approved that they be regaled and cultivated without accepting their proposals.

(B) 4. The same governor relates on the 11th of last April [1776], the return of three bands of Indians of the same nation, conveyed by the fishermen who frequent the coasts, despite their orders not to admit them on board, which they cannot evade, because while on the beaches they are overwhelmed by large numbers of Indians who come in their canoes and oblige them to admit them [to their vessels].

5. The principal messenger was an Indian called Fitechage, and his mission was no different from that of his predecessors, except for the additional proposal that means be adopted to maintain commerce with us, to provide the goods which they require, as they esteem ours, in exchange for the products of their country.

6. The response of the governor in the matter of aid against the English was as in the preceding, and in respect to the commerce they hope for: should there be no prior inconveniences, there might be some advantage. He inquires what may be the pleasure of His Majesty on sending some small vessels to trade with the Indians on the coasts of Florida, by which means their frequent expensive visits will be avoided and relations and friendship will be preserved, in case some event should find it useful.

7. In the [provision] of maintenance, rations and indispensable presents for these three bands, there have been spent 999 pesos 5 reals which the Royal Treasury paid by authority of the Intendant, whose approval was sought. [Note:] He has always ordered approval of the expenditures for this purpose.

8. [Endorsed] ***Approved the expense, and that with the

opportune and necessary precautions to avoid all trading with the British, some vessels may be permitted to pass to determined points on the coast for trade with the Indians, and avoid their frequent visits to that plaza. Also take the precaution to inform the interim Governor of Louisiana, Don Bernardo de Galvez of the proposals of the Indians on his arrival at that port, in order that he may employ the information to further the service of His Majesty in cultivation of friendship with the Indians adjacent to Louisiana. July 20, 1776.

[Rubric of Don Joseph de Galvez.]

(C) 9. Replies on the 9th of October that he has discussed the subject of the establishment of commerce on the coast of Florida with Don Bernardo de Galvez, and has informed him of the grave impediment to this [project] which has arisen, to the end that if the proximity of Louisiana to the Province of Coweta (where the Indians reside), affords superior advantages, this may be quickly undertaken.

10. The impediment arises from the treacherous killing of one of the Indians at sea, by the master of our vessel after their departure from Havana, from jealousy over an Indian woman who was a passenger. When the news was divulged in Coweta they became incensed against us. Consequently it is necessary to allow time for their desire for vengeance to cool. It has been impossible to punish the culprit because he has fled and his refuge is unknown.

11. [Ordered:] That it be made known that if capture of the delinquent master is possible, he will be tried and punished in accordance with the crime, and endeavor [to suggest] at every opportunity that the Indians put aside the anger [*el encono*] which they have conceived against the Spanish nation.

December 29, 1776.

(D)

Havana, May 6, 1777.

12. *** The governor relates that on the 30th of April there entered a fishing vessel with three *Uchise* Indians [on board]

proceeding from the bay of Tampa. The opportunity was taken to tranquilize the preceding atrocious incident, and, to give them assurances of friendship. He assigned Don Juan Eligio de la Puente, Auditor of the *Tribunal de Cuentas* to attend to their maintenance and ascertain the reason for their coming, since he is well versed in their management.

13. *** It appeared from declarations by the master of the vessel and the Indian leader Chanilla³, that, anchored in the bay, an Indian arrived at the side of the vessel in a small canoe. He was courteously invited aboard and fed. By signs he told the master that he wished him to go ashore in his company. Although in the beginning the master refused, he finally accepted after repeated invitations and was taken to a place where there were three other Indians and five Indian women. He experienced a pleasant and courteous reception, then leaving him alone with the women, [the men departed]. They returned from their hunt with deer meat and a quantity of bear fat with which they regaled him, while the three Indians asked that he carry them to Havana.

14. *** The Indians confirmed that which has been related, and added that they came representing their emperor and casiques to learn the punishment which had been given to the Spaniard who had treacherously killed their companion. On being informed they were elated. They added that in their provinces there had been neither incitement nor thought of taking up arms, or of effecting the least injury to the Spaniards.

In view of this, the governor instructed Eligio de la Puente, to make them understand the horror with which the crime of the aggressor was viewed and the active and continuous searches which have been prosecuted for his apprehension and application of the merited punishment. Giving them some presents in accordance with custom, he dispatched them with the message that the casiques should send two or three principal men to re-establish good relations as Eligio proposed, and then the pro-

posed commerce will be initiated. Madrid, July 3, 1777. [Endorsed:] Approved July 9, 1777.

(E) Council of the Indies, February 14, 1776

[Note: Since this is based on doc. 2, dated 12/24/76, it would appear erroneous to ascribe the endorsement to 1776. The year evidently should be 1778.]

[Endorsement:] In view of the two representations of the Governor, the Marques de la Torre of September 28, 1775, and of the *Intendente de Exercito* of the 8th of the following month of the said year, the first arguing for establishment there of commerce with the *Uchise* on the coasts of Apalachee and Florida, and the second, the impediments against it, because all of the measures taken for the restraint of smuggling by the islanders of Cuba are inadequate, and if the port is opened to some coasts dominated by the English, the risk and damage which may arise should be known. The Council, agreeing with the opinion of the *Fiscal* and that declared by the *Contaduria General*, thinks that it is unjustified to approve in any manner the proposal of these Indians, nor permit them to enter the port of Havana, and that the requisite orders to this effect be prepared and communicated to the present governor, and approve of the expenditure for the Indian messenger.

2. Extract from the Opinion of Thomas Ortiz de Landazuri of the *Contaduria General* on the subject of Commerce with the *Uchise* Indians. Madrid, December 24, 1776. Coleccion de Documentos sobre Luisiana. Tomo I (folio 106). Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Seccion de Manuscritos.

By Royal Order and concurrence of the Council there were referred to this *Contaduria General* [Comptroller] two letters [one], of the Governor of Havana, the Marques de la Torre, and the [other] from the former Intendant of the *Exercito y Real Hacienda* of that island, Don Nicolas Joseph Rapun, their dates September 28 and October 8 of the year before ⁴, with various documents, Having as is his duty proceeded with an examination [of these], he found that the first is essentially a statement that the same vessel which transported the *Uchise* Indians ⁵ to the

coast of Apalachee (of which it appears an account was given under dates of May 4 and June 1 of the year before ⁴ [1773 ?; 1774 ?], on its return brought another [Indian] ⁶ with the introduction that he is one of the principal men of those villages, by whom he was sent with a new commission to treat with the governor on important subjects. The master of the vessel asserts that although he wished to avoid this in accordance with the orders he had received, he was compelled to it by the multitude of natives who had gathered to receive the Cacique Escuchape ⁷, whom he had transported from the port of Havana.

They relate that the message of the before mentioned Indian, according to the attached attestation, was similar to those preceding, which in summary comprised many complaints against the English and the assurance that they desire communication and trade with the Spaniards, but adding with great force the request that they be provided with a vessel to maintain the traffic with that port on the supposition that they will pay its value with the produce brought from their coasts for sale there, and that likewise other vessels be permitted to depart from that port which desire to bring the goods and produce which they consume, in exchange there for horses, cattle, skins, and other kinds which abound.

On rejection of the proposal that these Indians be given a vessel to be sailed by themselves, the messenger was told that they [*i.e.* the Spaniards] would try to bring to their country the goods which they consume, so that they could acquire them without making the voyage. He was dismissed with this hope in a fishing vessel. There was spent 52 pesos and six reals on his lodging and rations.

There was an individual [Don Ramon Bosque] aware of the importunities of the Indians, who sought permission to export to the coasts of Apalachee and Pensacola an assortment of those goods which [the Indians] esteem, to be exchanged for horses and other produce; and even though the idea appears useful

because no trouble can be foreseen from its practice, rather the exportation of the goods which the Indians desire appearing advantageous to our commerce, and the importation of horses, cattle, dried beef, and skins, which are the products which they offer to furnish. He desired to learn the judgment of the Intendant Rapun.

In the opinion which he [*i.e.* the Intendant] gave that Minister, he holds that from the execution of the project [there may be] damaging consequences, based [on the circumstance] that the English have establishments on the coasts of Apalachee and Pensacola, and that our vessels, under the pretext of trading with the Indians, will traffic with the English, carrying them money and produce of this island and securing their goods, being inclined to this suspicion by the experience with the fervent inclination which attracts those natives to contraband and intercourse with foreigners.

Although similar suspicions doubtless occurred to the Governor, [he thinks that] on this occasion they arose from the zeal of the Intendant, but they are not sufficiently [unimportant] to justify rejection. The project of trading with the Indians is obviously useful, because the articles to be received from them could not be mistaken for those which would suit the English to sell. Neither horses, skins, or meat, are the products which might be bought in the English establishments, nor are our vessels needing the excuse of traffic with the Indians to go to the coasts of Apalachee and Pensacola, since on account of fishing they go there daily.

Notwithstanding, these remarks, which by their nature appear to refute the apprehensions of the Intendant, induced [the Governor] to deny the permission sought, even though the goods intended for the traffic are of slight value, as would appear from the list enclosed, deciding not to give assent before His Majesty has determined what might be his royal pleasure; in realization that one of the advantages from the trade which the Indians

request, and to which he inclined, will be the prevention of their visits which continue to be costly to the royal treasury.

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Informed of all the foregoing, this *Contaduria General* is of the opinion that the reasons on which the named Intendant Rapun based his misgivings about the consequences which will result if trade with the *Uchise* Indians is permitted, are so well founded, that they entirely convince that not the least reason for doubt should remain, as a consequence of the extended experience which has been had with the conduct and deviousness of the natives of that island, [who are] discontented with the repeated rigid provisions [adopted] to discourage their trade and communication with the foreign colonies which they so much desire; the injuries consequent from this inveterate abuse are remedied already in part by the encouragement of agriculture and direct commerce with Spain. So that while approving the expense incurred by the Governor occasioned by the mentioned most recent *Uchise* Indian messenger for those of his nation, he can also be informed at the same time that his project of trade with them is rejected, for fear of the consequences hinted [at] by the beforementioned Intendant, and that he again be ordered to prohibit, under grave penalties, that the masters of fishing vessels, take or receive on board for any cause, motive, or pretext, Indians of the said nation.

On all of which the superiority of the Council will decide, and propose to His Majesty that which is found most appropriate.

3. Don Diego Joseph Navarro [Governor and Captain General of Cuba] to Don Joseph de Galvez [Minister of the Indies]. Havana, January 15, 1778. A. H.N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exp. 1, Doc. 5.

There have appeared before me eleven *Uchise*¹ Indians and one *Tallapoosa*¹ repeating their former requests that Spaniards be sent to take possession of the fort of San Marcos de Apalachee, which the Cacique Tunape⁸ and the members of his band defend with the approbation of their emperor. [They also ask] that

they be sent a spiritual Father for the continuation of the exercise of Catholicism among those who say they are baptized, and to baptize the new-born. [They furthermore ask] that a service of vessels to that coast be established, which in addition to supplying them with the goods they require would export the produce and acustom the Indians to trade with the Spaniards. [They also asked] clemency for the Campeachean who killed three Indians while transporting them to their territory. [All this is presented to] Your Excellency more extensively by the declaration from Tunape taken by Don Eligio de la Puente, principal auditor of this *Tribunal de Cuentas*, submitted as enclosure No. 1; I transmit [also] as enclosure No. 2, an official letter to that Ministry, [from] which Your Excellency will see how the aforesaid Eligio complied with my order in replying to him [*i.e.* Tunape].

For complete compliance in terms consistent with articles 33 and 34 of the confidential instructions of January 3 of the past year, I apprehend a lack of criteria to determine the safest manner in which to send one or more vessels to engage in the solicited commerce with the Indians, and avoid as far as possible the repetition of the visits which they make without discretion on the part of the masters, who, although instructed to refuse [such passages], are obliged to bring one or another in order not to exasperate them and suffer some extortion as [a consequence] of their temerity.

Don Juan Eligio makes a suggestion of procedure which may be followed in the case of Florida, and to me it appears that if His Majesty has no objection, it would be very appropriate to send to Apalachee a person versed in that language who would serve as interpreter and trading agent in the exchange for [local] produce, [of] the trade goods brought by masters known to be loyal vassals, incapable of clandestine relations with the English. On this point I hope Your Excellency will inform me what might be the wishes of His Majesty for the immediate solution of the matter, as well as the pleasure of the King to concede

the pardon which the Indians ask for Juan Ledian, the Campechean.

Meanwhile the Indians have been entertained, the expenses for their rations and lodging have already attained nine hundred and sixty-five pesos, six and one-half reals, as specified in the report attached as No. 3, for the satisfaction of which the necessary requisition has been sent to the Intendant of the Army and Royal Treasury [*Exercito y Real Hacienda*].

Your Excellency will observe that there is not included any sum to defray the return passage of the Indians. This is because on the completion of the assignment given to a competent person who is sent on the same vessel concealed from the Indians, for a discreet reconnaissance of the bays of Pensacola and San Joseph, to determine whether or not an English war vessel may there be present, and carry the information to our squadron in the soundings, I will advise Your Excellency of the expenses incurred, which to me appeared a legitimate precaution in view of the news received, which I communicated to Your Excellency in confidential dispatch No. 162.

For the complete information of Your Excellency on all that has occurred as a consequence of the visit of these Indians, there only remains to include the questions which the *Commandante General* of this squadron has asked of Don Eligio, which appear designed to determine whether it [i.e. Florida] can provide spars, rosin, pitch, and tar for the squadron. For this reason he has sent two [other] men on the vessel to be left at Tampa Bay, to survey its forests and return to this plaza by any available fishing vessel.

4. [Enclosure 1 with foregoing]. Declarations of the Master Joseph Bermudez and of the Cacique Tunape. Havana, December 22, 1777. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exp. 1, Doc. 6.

(A) Joseph Bermudez, Master of the schooner *San Antonio*, who on the 13th of the current month arrived at this port from the bay of Tampa, declares it as truth, that having departed from this port with the requisite permit to fish on the west coast of Florida, and on arriving at the beforesaid bay of Tampa, there

came out several canoes of *Uchise* Indians, numbering perhaps fifty persons of both sexes, among them the Cacique Tunape and Captain Talope, who said they came [out] in order to journey to this city, being desirous of a conference with the Governor and Captain General. He replied to them saying, it would give him much pleasure, but that he could not transport more than six or eight, as his vessel was heavily laden, but on their insistence that there should be more, he finally embarked twelve, being those who he has brought, the others being left [at Tampa]. [He declares] that the treatment he has received from the before mentioned Indians, and from others met on those coasts has been as affectionate as brothers, and that he is ignorant of the motive of their journey as he does not understand their language. And in order that compliance with the verbal order of the Governor and Captain General of this city and island be evident, he declares this in Havana the 22nd of December, 1777.

(B) Tunape, Casique of the new village established by himself [on the site of] San Luis de Talimali, six leagues distant from the fort of San Marcos de Apalachee, declares through Don Tadeo de los Rios, interpreter of this language, the following:

That he is a native of the town of Coweta ¹, capital of the Province of the same name, belonging to the *Uchise* nation, and is one of its principal men. That from the time he began the use of speech and have some understanding, he was advised and counseled by his father until the time of his death, that he should be a lover of the great King of Spain, and that he should defend his vassals from their enemies, and that he should serve them in the meanwhile as they may employ him. In order to emphasize this, and for him to develop affection, he was carried at the age of 9 or 10 years to St. Augustine of Florida, at the time when Don Antonio de Benavides governed those provinces, who received them with much affability and offered them many courtesies.

That since then he has continued much inclined to the Span-

iards, and that ever since he learned how to manage firearms, he came to live with them at the before mentioned fort of San Marcos de Apalachee, where he remained, obeying with the greatest punctuality and affection whatever orders its commandant or the Governor of Florida gave him, serving in particular for the conveyance of letters from one part to another, in which activity he was occupied for about 20 years.

That when the before mentioned fort was submerged during a storm ⁹ and therein perished the larger part of its garrison and its commandant, Don Sebastian Sanchez, the very few who escaped fled precipitately to St. Augustine, leaving him to collect the dead and give them burial, in order that the wolves might not devour the corpses, and to conserve the cannon, pedreros, balls, bells, and other utensils which remained there without other guardian.

That immediately on the return of the Spaniards with the Commandant Don Alvaro Lopez to rebuild the fort, he not only immediately delivered to him that which he had gathered, and in the meanwhile, until they had [the new fort] enclosed, he and all his band maintained [guard] to defend them from whatever enemies might attack them, and freely provided them with fresh meat, bear fat, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, and gourds.

As a consequence of his apprehensions when Florida was delivered to the English, he advised the emperor, chiefs, and principal men of the Province of Coweta, and of those of the Tallapoosas, of his intention, with the aid of his band, to prevent the said English from establishing themselves at any point on the west coast, and on some portions of the east: that to force them from Apalachee he was disposed to besiege the fort in such a manner that not one of its garrison could go outside to gather oysters, to fish or to hunt birds and other animals. Thus deprived, without the least chance for relief, they had to relinquish it, and spiking the cannon, they fled one wild night in a schooner they had, and as soon as the declarant knew of this

on the following day, he went to the fort with his band and took possession of it ².

At the earliest opportunity he communicated with the Governor of Havana by means of the principal man Lajaliqui, and later repeated the message by the Captain Estimalauche, requesting the Spaniards to come and take delivery; [which] it appears was inconvenient to the governor.

He now comes on the same errand, and in case this should be impossible, requests the governor to order that he be given two drums [*caxas de guerra*] and a flag with the arms of the King. The former he requires to call his band together, the other to be raised on a staff, in order that all who see it will know that castle belongs to the Great King of Spain, and that he will defend it until the last drop of his blood is shed.

He also asks that the governor facilitate the going and coming of small Spanish vessels to the said fort of Apalachee, not only for the purpose of bringing [the goods] which they lack, which they will purchase with horses, meats, corn, beans, skins, and medicinal herbs, but that jointly the newly-born children as well as those, who, although then small, were heart-broken when the Spaniards withdrew, may become acquainted [with] them, and maintain a friendly intercourse and acquire affection for them [*i.e.* the Spaniards], as otherwise this will be lost with the passage of time and the English, who have long desired [to replace] them, will succeed.

He knows that at the moment there is found in Pensacola an Englishman ¹⁰, who has dispatched various messengers to the *Uchise* nation, [and] to those of the Tallapoosas, *Apiscas*, *Allavamos*, and *Chataas* ¹, urging friendship with the English from the sunrise, that they unite with them, that these be permitted to settle on Florida lands near the sea, and that they make war on the English of Savannah, Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Philadelphia and the Indian nations which are their adherents. He is certain that the invitation will not be entertained by the

Uchises nor the Tallapoosas, because he knows these are ready to respond blindly to that asked of them in the name of the Great King of Spain, and even believes the same of the *Apizcas* and *Chizcas* because they fear these will open hostilities. But he is ignorant of what may happen with the *Allavamos* and *Chacaas* ¹, since these nations are closely allied and the latter is very numerous. He has news that although some *Cimarrones* ¹¹ [i.e. Seminols], which for their misdeeds had fled from the *Uchises*, had been persuaded by the English of St. Augustine to make war, as they did, against the English of Savannah, he knows that when the news of this reached the emperor and first warrior of the Province of Coweta, they were released [from their commitment] and ordered to return immediately to their respective villages, as otherwise [he would] send a force to destroy everyone, to [the execution of] which threat he is certain they will not give occasion.

That he, on whatever occasion arises, will sooner lose his life and that of all the force which accompanies him, before permitting any English to settle between the bar of Aix and the Boca de Ratones, and from the Punta de Tanche to St. Joseph's Bay, which is the territory he is prepared to guard and defend ¹². But this policy, meanwhile, can only persist during his lifetime and that of the elders who accompany him, since at his death, he fears that the youths, since they are unacquainted with the Spaniards, will be attracted to the English who are very persistent, and since these bring them what they need, and purchase what they have, he fears that by similar means they will succeed.

Since his efforts [to initiate trade] have never met with success, he did not undertake to enumerate the goods required, but they already completely lack powder, ball, guns, axes, hoes, and other indispensable articles required for defense from their enemies, to hunt animals, build their huts, or to dress themselves in the meager clothes they use, and even at the moment [they lack] provisions, since in the present year the harvests were poor, [for

which reasons] he humbly asks that the Governor and Captain General, by virtue of the paternal love with which the King of Spain regards him, with which he lived content, may graciously order they be provided with that which he selects, and anything else of those expressly required, as he may determine to be the most convenient. [He also recalls that] it is well understood that in his village as well as in others of its neighborhood, there are many Christians, who wish that all those who are born may so be also, for which they charged he should ask that the [Spaniards] should send there priests who could baptize, teach them the catechism, hear confessions and attend [them] when dying.

That with respect to the deaths caused by Juan, son of the Campechean, [he declared] this is already forgiven by the mourners, for the confirmation of which they brought a son of the most important of the deceased, who affirmed the declaration. In view of this [attitude] he also humbly petitions the Governor and Captain General to refrain from punishing anyone, since they now are actually in care of Juan's father, who has always looked after those of the same nation when they come [to Havana], and that furthermore the son was drunk when he committed the murders.

He finally stated that all which has been said is true, because he does not have more than the one tongue, with which he has spoken in the sight and hearing of all those who accompany him, who know it themselves, and from the beginning have confirmed it in general. So that it may be evident this is done in compliance with the verbal order of the Governor and Captain General of this city and island, which was by me conveyed to him, the within named Cacique Tunape declares the foregoing without signing it as he does not know [how to write] because of which deficiency it is signed by the said interpreter, Don Tadeo de los Rios, in Havana, December 22, 1777.

Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente
Antonio Tadeo de los Rios
Navarro

5. [Enclosure 2 with No. 3]. Official letter from Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente to Don Diego Joseph Navarro. Havana, January 12, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 7.

In compliance with Your Lordship's notice that I would be expected to receive the declaration of the Cacique Tunape of the *Uchise* nation, and reply to him, he was made to understand clearly and distinctly, just as previously you had ordered told to the principal man Lajaliqui and the Captain Estimalauche [when they proposed] that the Spaniards take the fort of San Marcos de Apalachee and settle those lands, that such action continues [to be] impossible, and the same with regard to the priests he requests for the baptism of infants, their instruction in the catechism and the consolation of the dying. That in respect to the pardon of Juan, son of the Campechean, for the crime of murdering three Indians of his nation, [he was told] that the King will be informed, since from his sovereignty must originate the decision. And with regard to the sending of vessels laden with goods and materials to be exchanged for their produce, they should determine that which they lack, which he can accomplish readily, and if attended to promptly, one may expect to see shortly the relief of their need. In the matter of presents in the name of His Majesty, [these are itemized] in the accompanying memorandum. They remain satisfied and content with all [attention paid them], honoring Your Lordship with obsequious thanks. He and his companions depart with the hope that the piety of the King can always be depended upon in their need and for the approval of the proposed commerce with them. Upon this point, I must not overlook presentation to Your Lordship, that for its establishment, I conceive it indispensable that it be conducted in the manner prevailing in Florida, to which place you should assign a person of confidence in the King's service, who speaks the language of the Indians, through whom might be conducted the barter, thus avoiding either their being cheated, or that there arise controversies and resentments, which always result in fatal consequences, which must always be guarded against

by anticipation. It also appears that its success will be furthered if the persons engaged in this traffic are well known, and that there be employed only two small boats which are sufficient to carry and bring the products and produce with which one and the other may trade.

* * *

This is accompanied by the memorandum [Doc. 8], which with the permission of Your Lordship, I drafted and delivered on the 28th ultimo, to Don Juan Bautista Bonet, Commandant of the Navy.

6. [Enclosure 3 to No. 3]. Statement by Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puerta of Expenses incurred for the Entertainment of the Indians. Havana, January 12, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 8.

Report on the twelve individuals, eleven of the *Uchise* nation and one of the Tallapoosa nation, who, in the schooner *San Antonio* [of which] Joseph Bermudez is master, were brought from Tampa Bay to this city the night of the 12th ultimo, and left to return there the afternoon of the 10th instant, whose names, and the expenses incurred for the presents which have been made them, for maintenance during their stay here, and for rations for their journey, to wit:

Names of the eleven *Uchises*: Casique Tunape, Captain Tolope, Chanilla, Sulitique, Suslache, Apatatasche, Ynculiche, Sinpuque, Injale, Aychue, Lusluaique.

Name of the Tallapoosa: Saslape.

Goods and articles presented to the said twelve Indians, and thirty-five others of both sexes who came in their company but remained waiting at Tampa Bay:

[Omitted]

The amount of the expenses incurred as evidence by the total of the foregoing is nine hundred sixty-five pesos, six and one-half reals. Havana, January 12, 1778.

7. Don Juan Bautista Bonet [Commandant of the Navy], to the Marques Gonzales de Castejon [Minister of the Navy]. Havana, December 28, 1777. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 3.

The auditor of the *Tribunal de Cuentas* of this city, Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, a native of Florida, was granted this post by the King in recognition of his services there until the time of [its] delivery to the English. [He is] highly esteemed by all of the Indian tribes adjacent to that presidio, [as well by those] of Apalachee and Pensacola, as a consequence of which he enjoys a title in, and freedom of, their territory. By them he was given, in token of this, a fan [*abanico*] composed of feathers, arranged as each of those nations deemed significant.

When disputes arise between any of these tribes, representatives of either or both factions attempt to pass to this city by means of any fishing vessel, in order that Eligio may determine what is just, which decision is always accepted.

There have now arrived twelve of the principal [Indians] as Your Excellency will perceive from the accompanying note. Among them is a youth of from 10 to 11 years of age, son of a chief, who I am attempting to have left in my custody for his education, and by this means guarantee the sincerity of their expressions, as well as for its possible consequence to the monarchy, in view of the abundance of spars, other excellent woods, and a continuous production of tar, pitch and rosin of good quality, sufficient to supply this and other arsenals. All of this appears to me worthy of being brought to the King's attention by Your Excellency for a suitable decision, which I will execute thereafter as favorable opportunities arise, since the present opportunity to cultivate good relations with these people is of the greatest consequence to the monarchy.

8. Accompanying Memorandum, apparently that referred to in Doc. 5, by Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente. Havana, December 26, 1777. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 4.

A fishing sloop has brought from the coast of West Florida to this port, twelve Indians of the *Uchise* tribe of the Province of Coweta, the principal among whom [is called] Tunape, who relates that shortly before their departure from that coast, there had just arrived at Pensacola an English gentleman¹⁰, who dis-

patched emissaries to his nation, as well as to the Talapoosas, *Apizcas*, *Chizcas*, *Allavamos*, and *Chatas*, [urging] them to unite with the loyalists [*realistas*], that they permit them [*i.e.*, the English] to settle on the lands adjacent to the sea which the King of Spain ceded to them [*i.e.*, Florida], and that they participate in the war against the colonists and their Indian adherents. He is certain that the first two will not respond to the invitation, and even believes the same of the third and fourth, but not of the fifth and sixth, since he has some suspicion that these may be influenced.

The aforesaid Tunape comes for the third time to offer the fort of Apalachee (which Eligio says is only slightly smaller than Morro [Castle here]). Eight years ¹³ have passed since the English garrison was withdrawn because of its blockade by the selfsame Tunape and his band, who would not permit the garrison [to go] outside [the walls], even to fish in the surrounding river.

Tunape asks, in case the Spaniards do not care to take it, that he be given two drums [*cajas de Guerra*], a flag with the arms of the King [of Spain], powder, and ball, and he will continue as its custodian and will defend it against enemies, he will prevent, as he had done until the present, that any English establish themselves on any soil he is guarding, that only the Spaniards may pass and settle, and utilize the timber and fruits which they produce, and the fish which they secure on its coasts.

Finally, speaking with confidence, he says that the *Uchises* and Tallapoosas, who always travel as brothers, have no fear of the neighboring Indians, nor of the *Chalaque*, *Chicasas*, *Chicasaes*, *Cusupuyas*, *Chaschices*, *Yuches* and *Mojaas* ¹, [who are] English adherents, since all of them will gladly make war on the order of de King of Spain, or if he becomes involved.

Endorsements: (a) The sturdy trees produced in the said lands of Florida are pines, live-oaks (*encinas*) and other oaks, walnuts, white poplars and black, *vardas*, and junipers, of which the first are in such numbers that it is impossible to exterminate them.

They serve equally for masting vessels of any draught as well as for the distillation of choice and abundant rosin and pitch, from which subsequently is made the best tar.

(b) Under date of January 15 [1778 ?] Bonet reports the arrival of another vessel with six *Uchise* Indians offering to supply spars, and he anticipates arrival of still another group. [Since] these manifest loyalty, this friendship may influence the plans of the King as regards these territories.

9. Don Juan Bautista Bonet to the Marques Gonzales de Castejon. Havana, January 14, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 10.

I will touch separately to Your Excellency upon the delicate expressions of affection for the King and his vassals made by the Indians of the districts of Tampa and Apalachee. I am informed by the master rigger and other intelligent persons of this place, that the number of pine trees of outstanding quality is immense, which can barely be distinguished from those of Flanders. I have sent from the carpenters of Rivera, Juan de Villavicencio and Miguel Santoyo to accompany the Indians who are found here, the object of which I have expressed to Your Excellency by the instructions given them, a copy of which is enclosed.

If the outcome is favorable, as I am promised, and of which I will give a report to Your Excellency, the great service it will be to the King to have this arsenal with such an important resource for the subsequent necessities, will be one of my greatest satisfactions.

[Enclosure]

Havana, January 8, 1778.

Instructions to be observed by Juan de Villavicencio and Miguel Santoyo, carpenters of Rivera, on the mission to the bay of Tampa to which they are assigned:

Immediately on arrival [to] examine the pines shown them by the Indians and the master of the vessel, which appear to be of easy removal to the river, in particular those which were recognized some years back, which according to tradition were suitable for spars in this arsenal.

Also to try and cut down in the dark of the moon 30 to 40 of the thickest and straightest, without knots, white, and the least resinous, which you can distinguish by sight in view of your experience, since you have been selected for this service with attention to the knowledge you are supposed to possess.

Also try and bring, in the first fishing vessel which returns to this port, three or four pieces of a yard [in length], for their examination and appraisal here, and [also] bleed 200 to 300 of the best apparent for that purpose, by which means you will secure the best quality, which will be those you describe when convenient. The Indians are to be charged with the collection of the gum which they exude, as also how to transport it to the river, since they very well know how to do it.

10. Don Juan Joseph Navarro to Don Joseph de Galvez. Havana, April 10, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 11.

I have discussed with the principal auditor of this *Tribunal de Cuentas*, Don Juan Eligio de la Puente, the news communicated by Julian Flores, Joaquin Escalona, and the Cacique Tunape, of which I informed Your Excellency yesterday by dispatch No. ———, and the confidential [letter] communicated to him by the *Uchise* Indian Sibayque, and recognizing the zeal with which this able servant regards subjects related to the service and interests of the monarchy, I have asked him to express his opinions about these reports, based on his experience and extensive knowledge on Florida subjects and contiguous territory inhabited by the Indians, I would judge that he might appraise [*convenir*] the situation now and hereafter.

Preparatory to such a desirable objective, he has submitted to me the accompanying letter [Doc. 11] and is engaged in the preparation of a map of the Provinces of Florida, bearing all the information worthy of the King's attention, for decision as to the parts of the same provinces desirable to acquire and hold to control the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico and of its exit, the Bahama Canal, [used] by our squadrons and merchant vessels.

Immediately on delivery of this document, I will examine it with the Engineer Commandant of this plaza, with whom I have already discussed the subject, and transmit it to Your Excellency for those ends, which [due] to your great comprehension, it may be useful.

11. Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente to Don Diago Joseph Navarro. Havana, April 1, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 12.

Under date of yesterday, I offered to transcribe, as a separate memorandum for Your Excellency, my discussion of the information contributed by Julian de Flores, Joaquin Escalona and the Cacique Tunape, together with the news communicated to me by the *Uchise* Indian named Subayque on the 18th of the past month, which I fulfill with this, to wit:

Julian de Flores related that on the 2nd of the past month, there arrived at Pensacola from London, ten vessels, three of which were of war, and the remaining seven with provisions, guns, ball, clothing, and goods for the Indians, and that of those [tribes] counted in that continent, the English loyalists, which at present hold Pensacola, have as their adherents only the nation of the Cherokees, of whom they have there approximately 400 men. They live in distrust of the *Uchises*, Tallapoosas, *Apizcas*, *Chizcas*, *Allivamos*, and *Chataas*, since they could not, at the time when the northern insurgents were doing much damage and were overpowering the European troops, establish the least firm amity with them.

Joseph Escalona added that the *Uchises*, Tallapoosas and *Chizcas* assured them that they are determined no longer to obey other than that which the King of Spain orders them to do, and at his intercession, the first [named] did not kill an English Infantry captain who was journeying from Pensacola to St. Augustine, and [who had] had a strong argument with Tunape.

This [is confirmed], although with some variation, without doubt for the safeguarding of [either] he who wrote the letter, or he who served as interpreter, [by] hinting the same, and [by

that] which the Captain Wacapuchase ¹⁴ told me, who although old can serve in any undertaking.

The Indian Subayque, at the time of giving me a farewell embrace, said to me, that he hoped shortly to give me many in St. Augustine of Florida, to which I replied, this cannot be, because that plaza belongs to the English, and I could not go there, upon which he replied that which I copy literally from the footnote [of the letter], in words which are better suited to his idiom than to ours:

"You do not wish to tell me that which you know. Today is the 35th day since I left the town of Savannah [Sabana] where the Captain Aleck [Aliqui] ¹⁵ carried me to see the vessels which the English of Carolina, equipped with large cannon and many soldiers to go to take St. Augustine ¹⁶, and he told me he expects it to be given to the Spaniards who will come to receive delivery of it within six or eight moons; and that on the river of the *Chicazas* (which the Spaniards call Flint or White Earth, and the French entitle the Beautiful River) will be found other embarkations for descent to the great river (which is the Mississippi ¹⁷) and take Pensacola, to which attainment Mister Galphin [Maestre Galfen] ¹⁸ also marches by land, with guns, powder, ball, and clothing, to assemble the *Uchises*, Tallapoosas, *Apizcas*, *Chizcas*, *Allivamos*, and *Chataas*, and with them to make war on the English who live there, and those who come from where the sun rises [*trace de sol*] until they finish them at once. Consequently they [will] effect it, since notwithstanding Mister Stuart [*Maestre Estuard*] ¹⁹ has gone about asking them to join his party and offering them many things, he has only succeeded in allegiance of the *Chalaques* ¹, who are worthless.

In its conclusion, and forecasting it to be true that the northern colonists [will] attack the plaza of St. Augustine and that the outcome will be its surrender, as Captain Aleck told the Indian Subayque, I will turn to state, that based on my experience and knowledge, it appears to me that the mentioned colonists expect to capture it quickly, as well as the presidio of Pensacola and the other establishments which the royalists have on that continent, and that these neither ignore it as regards their preparations and plans with the Indians alluded to, whose adherence I believe Mister Galphin, a rich trader in skins with whom I am acquainted, will gain, as appears to me from the great affection which they have for him, which they do not have for the Brigadier Don Juan Estuard (Colonel John Stuart) who never has known how to attract them, which is clearly proved by that which the Captain Wacapuchase informs me, since having been

always a partisan of the English, he has broken his friendship with them. I conclude from all the foregoing that the colonists will finally possess all of Florida.

In virtue of which and as a consequence of my love for a sovereign of whom I have had, with the highest pleasure, the honor and fortune to be born a vassal, and having repeatedly affirmed my loyalty, I see myself in the necessity of presenting to the superior [comprehension] of Your Excellency that the Provinces of Florida in possession of the English was [for] us, excessively grave, as in detail on different occasions, through various reports and plans, has been brought to the deep comprehension of His Majesty, but in the power of the northern colonists I consider them much more prejudicial. Therefore I humbly supplicate, that Your Excellency, in view of the importance of the subject, and to augment the well known zeal with which Your Excellency attends to matters affecting the greater service of the King, may be disposed to order done with that [which] I obtained to report, the employment of which may be for your greater pleasure. God Protect Your Excellency the many years I desire.

APPENDIX

1. Caveta is Coweta, a town on the west bank of the Chattahoochee River, inhabited by the dominant tribe of the Lower Creeks. In conformity with common Spanish usage, the name of the town was extended to cover the entire territory which it dominated, hence "Province of Coweta" for the Lower Creek territory. In documents of the XVII and early XVIII centuries, it was called the "Province of Apalachicola", and the Lower Creeks were collectively referred to as Apalachicolos. In the present instance they are called Uchises (*Uchiz, Uchizes*) and are not to be confused with the Yuchees (*Yuchi*). The names *Talapuzes* and *Talapuches* are the equivalent of Tallapoosa, which the Spanish applied to the Upper Creeks in general, although specifically, Swanton (1922 p. 286) regards it as the name of an Alabama

town. In view of the circumstance that McGillivray himself (Caughey, 1938 p. 226) used the expression "Lower Creeks or Talapuches", this interpretation may be incorrect. We follow the form Tallapoosa. The *Allivamos* and *Allavamos* are the Alabamas. The other large Indian nations are mentioned, as *Chalagues* for Cherokees; *Chataas*, and probably *Chacaas*, for Choc-taws; and *Chicasas* or *Chicasaes* for Chickasaws. *Chizcas* or *Chiscas*, is regarded as a synonym for Yuchi (Swanton, 1922 p. 119). By *Apizcas* is probably meant Abihka, a division of the Upper Creeks. The synonymy for the names *Cusupayas*, *Chaschices*, and *Mojaas* has not been ascertained, although presumed to represent Creek groups.

2. Tunapes statement that with the aid of his band he besieged the fort so narrowly that he obliged the English (presuming to mean the garrison) to stealthily depart, appears to be devoid of foundation. Captain Harries, commander of the first British detachment to garrison that post, who arrived early in 1764, gathered from Captain Don Bentura Diaz, Spanish commander by whom it was delivered, and who had just re-occupied it in August, 1763, that men of his force going for wood or water were frequently ambushed by Indians, and that some time before, perhaps in October, 1763, three had been killed. Harries also related in February 1764, that one Forester, a trader, whose habitation was 70-80 miles distant, feared his life would be imperiled during his return journey from the fort. John Stuart, the Indian Superintendent, held a council with headmen of five local villages at the fort on September 9, 1764, in which he urged amity with the garrison. It is not known whether Tunape was present. The reply to Stuart was made by *Chebayache*, chief warrior of Chescata-loofa (Chisca Town), who promised to maintain friendly relations with the garrison. Correspondence from the subsequent commanders of the post do not speak of, or hint at, friction with the Indians, while Governor Grant in writing to General Gage on July 30, 1767, said that the Indians had never complained of

the treatment accorded them by Swettenham or Wright, successive commanders of the post. Furthermore, Pampellone, in command there prior to these, stated (June 21, 1766) that provision shortage was relieved by the Indians continually bringing in fresh food. The size of the detachment constituting the garrison was continually reduced by authority until the abandonment of the fort as a military post late in 1769, and the structure delivered to a Mr. Gordon, who proposed to establish there an Indian store. The statement in Document 1, abstracting a letter of 1773, that the Indians then had already possessed the fort for three years, would indicate that their occupation began in 1770. It may be that as a consequence of disagreements arising over trade, they forced the departure of the trader's staff, as alleged (Boyd, 1941-42, XIX 403; xx, 84,203,386; XXI 46,143). The reference in Seibert (1929 II, 277,365) to an order of the Council of East Florida assigning a detachment to barracks at St. Marks fort, probably refers to the Castillo at St. Augustine. About the close of the Revolution (1783) Charles McLatchey established a trading post on the Wakulla River a short distance above the fort. The post itself was not re-occupied by a Spanish garrison until 1787 (Boyd, 1936 p. 14).

3. The name Chanilla is mentioned twice in these documents (1,6), and it cannot be determined whether these are the same or different individuals. In Document 1 it is given as *del Yndio Capataz Chanilla*, which has been rendered as the Indian leader Chanilla. Were the name of the master of the fishing vessel given, we would have concluded that the designation *capataz* indicated he was of the vessel's crew, probably the equivalent of mate, since however, we have not previously encountered the word applied to an Indian leader. But in view of the anonymity of the master, it is unlikely the mate would be particularized. Hence it is concluded that Chanilla was spokesman of the party of three.

4. We have here rendered *ano proximo* as "the year before", although strictly speaking, in the absence of *pasado*, it should mean

“next year”. However, from the context it is clear that the letters mentioned were dated the previous year, which is confirmed by the last paragraph of document 1, where the same letters are definitely dated 1775. However it is not certain that the rendering of *de otro ano* as “the year before” (*i.e.* before 1775) is exact. It literally means “of another year”, and while it could mean “year before last”, it also could be applied to one still earlier. Hence while in this case it could mean 1774, we incline, because Escuchape went to Havana in 1772, to the opinion that the year meant is 1773. If 1773 is correct, this might refer to the visit of Cacique Lajaliqui and the Captain Estimalauche. Although the reference is to only one visitor, it is improbable that a cacique would arrive unattended.

5. Escuchape and party.

6. This may refer either to Lajaliqui or Estimalauche.

7. Escuchape told Taitt in the spring of 1772, of his intention to visit Cuba during the following summer (Mereness, 1916 p. 548). According to Alden (1944 p. 327) he made a second visit to Cuba in 1775, from which he returned without talks or presents. He is the Escotchabie or Scutchabe of the English, and according to Taitt, was otherwise known as the Young Lieutenant of the Cowetas. As early as 1769 he was regarded as more friendly to the Spanish than any other Creek chief. He was a participant in the Pensacola congress of 1765. In May, 1769, he told Stuart that a conference between representatives of the whole Creek nation and the Spaniards was to be held at the mouth of the Apalachicola River in September of that year. This lead Stuart to arrange for a British war vessel to patrol the adjacent coast during the month to prevent the anticipated meeting, a precaution which was fruitless (Alden, 1944 p. 326).

8. Tunape, in English documents Tonabe or Tonaby, was one of the signatories of the treaty of Picolata, November 18, 1765, his residence being given as Apalache Old Fields. He was not singled out for distinction as the recipient of a medal. On the

Gauld-Pittman map of Apalachy (1767) (W. L. Clements Library), *Talahassa* or *Tonaby's town* is shown as about 5 miles N by NE of *Old Spanish fort* (San Luis). In the legend of the Purcell-Stuart map of 1778 (1773 ?) (Boyd, 1938 xvii, p.22), Tonaby is named as the headman of Tallahassa Taloofa or Old Fields Town, situated near the head of Tagabona alias West River of Appalatchi (Wakulla River), about 10 miles northwardly from Fort St. Marks, and consists of 36 houses, a square, 16 families and 30 gunmen. On this map Tallahassa Taloofa is located about a mile east of "Ruins of Sn Luis Fort and Town". While the site of this town cannot be precisely located, it is probably embraced in the present expanded limits of the capital city of Florida, to which it gave the name. We are unfamiliar with data relating to Tunape's subsequent life, although inferring that he died within a few years. It is likely that his band survived as the Tallehassa Indians mentioned by Captain Hugh Young (Young, xiii, p.88), who accompanied General Jackson on his march through Apalachee in 1818. He stated they are "settled on the road from Okalokina to Mikasukey [and number] only fifteen. Chief Okiahhija a weak man and unfriendly. Character worthless, dishonest and inveterately hostile. They have neither arts nor cattle, but their land is excellent and gives them fine crops with very little labour". If the same band, they had deteriorated greatly in forty years. They may have been the nucleus of the Muscogee speaking present day "Cow Creek Seminoles", sometimes known as Tallahassee Indians.

9. The old wooden fort at St. Marks was inundated during a hurricane in 1758 and 40 men were drowned (Boyd, 1936 xv, pp. 9, 11). The fort was similarly flooded again in 1766.

10. Unidentified.

11. The employment of the word Cimarrones recalls a suggestion of the late Howard Sharp, that the word Seminole is corruptively derived therefrom, as the Muscogee language does not have the true *r* sound, for which they attempt to substitute an aspirate *l* or *hl*.

12. The hinterland approximately outlined by these coastal limits would appear to comprise most of the interior of the peninsula excepting: (1) the area ceded to the British by the Treaty of Picolata; (2) the territory occupied by the Seminole of Alachua; and (3) further suggests that the Calos or Caloosa were occupying the remainder of the coast to the southward of Boca de Raton. The Bar of Ais is probably the Fort Pierce Inlet of today, and Punta de Tanche is Cape Sable.

13. Eight years previous to 1777 goes back to 1769, the year of the military evacuation. As shown in note 2, while 1769 is the year in which Fort St. Marks was abandoned as a military post, rather full correspondence from its officers during the entire period of British occupation, indicates that subsequent to Stuart's council with the adjacent Indians in 1764, relations with the Indians were uniformly harmonious. Hence, as previously indicated, Tunape's assertion that he drove out the British garrison is not plausible, although probably correct enough if it refers to the trader's staff at a subsequent date.

14. From the allusion to Captain Wacapurchase, it may be inferred that Don Juan Joseph had had a personal interview with him, although nothing in the available documents indicates that Wacapurchase had been to Havana. Although at the time of the cession of Florida to the United States, a chief of one of the Lower Creek towns situated on the Apalachicola River was known as Vacca Purchase, it hardly seems possible, in view of the interval of more than forty years, that he is the person to whom Don Juan alludes. The Muscogee name for cow, *Waka*, is suggestive of the Spanish *vacca*. Since the Creeks became familiar with domestic cattle through the Spaniards, it is likely they accepted the Spanish name for them. *Pucase* is a Muscogee word meaning *master* or *lord*, and when used in conjunction with *Waka*, would indicate that its possessor was a noteworthy owner of cattle. This circumstance leads to the suspicion that Don Juan Joseph was actually referring to the leader of the Alachua band known to

the English as the Cowkeeper, who was generally regarded as an intensely loyal English partisan, which attitude he preserved to his death. However he may have given deliberately the idea to Don Juan Joseph of a break with the English in the hope of receiving Spanish bounty.

15. Aliqui is probably the Indian better known as Captain Aleck of Cussita (Kasihta). He was made a great medal chief at the Picolata congress of 1765, and was also a signatory of the Pensacola treaty of the same year.

16. A group of Creek chiefs, mainly Cussitas and Oakfuskie, were invited by Galphin to come to Charleston in 1777, where they were shown the military strength of the revolted colonists. Meanwhile Brigadier Prevost in Florida, was making plans for an attack on Georgia in the fall, with a force of loyalists, traders and Indians. Among the latter were the Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles. These plans however, were thoroughly disrupted by tales related by the Indians who had been entertained in Charleston. Alexander McGillivray revealed to Stuart that the Indians returning from Charleston had "spread poison [talk]", and that as a consequence, parties were in pursuit of Stuart's deputies, Cameron and Taitt, with the object of murder (Shaw, 1931, p. 117).

17. This probably relates to preparations for Willing's raid on the Lower Mississippi River effected in February, 1778.

18. George Galphin, an Indian trader for 30 years, had had his headquarters at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River below Augusta. In 1775, the Provincial Congresses of Georgia and South Carolina appointed Galphin with two others as Indian Superintendents to the Creeks, and shortly afterward, Galphin, and two different associates, were appointed Indian Superintendents for the Southern District by the Continental Congress. Galphin sent emissaries in the guise of traders to every nation. His influence was especially strong in Coweta (a red or war town) and Cussita (white or peace town). His influence was exerted to keep the Indians neutral.

19. *Maestre Juan Estuard*, or John Stuart, was British Indian Superintendent for the Southern District. As a loyalist, he fled Charleston in 1775. He continued in this office until his death in Pensacola in 1779. His influence with the southern Indians was great, and it was through his efforts that most remained British partisans during the Revolution. These efforts were largely directed to the maintenance of trade with the Indians through Florida ports. He never had the military title of brigadier, although in November 1777 he was given a commission as colonel of the several nations and tribes within his District (Shaw, 1931, p.99).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903. By George W. Pettengill, Jr. (The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, Harvard Business School. Boston, 1952. 133 pp. \$2.00).

A glance at a modern map of Florida shows three main railroad systems - the Seaboard Air Line, Atlantic Coast Line, and Florida East Coast. The forging of these great trunklines from 174 short lines built between 1836 and 1900 is "The Story of the Florida Railroads."

Florida's efforts to develop adequate rail transportation began as early as 1831, when the Leon Railway Company was incorporated. This was one of the 255 roads chartered during the nineteenth century that never got beyond the paper stage. The territorial period did see the building of three railroads, the St. Joseph, the Iola, and the Tallahassee, although the first two were abandoned before statehood.

The first effective period of railroad building was in the last half of the 1850's and was the direct result of the passage of the Internal Improvement Act of 1855. Under this act, companies constructing roads over state-approved east-and-west and north-and-south routes not only received generous land grants but had the interest on their construction bonds guaranteed by the state. The interest guaranty protected investors but did not relieve the railroads of the obligation to repay the Internal Improvement Fund out of corporate earnings.

By 1861, the Florida Railroad had completed its line from Fernandina to Cedar Key and the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central had built from Jacksonville to Lake City, where it joined the Pensacola and Georgia, running to Tallahassee. The Pensacola and Georgia had also bought and rebuilt the Tallahassee Railroad. In addition to these major lines, the Florida and Alabama Railroad had built from the Alabama boundary to Pensacola and the little St. Johns Railroad spanned the fifteen miles from Toco to St. Augustine. In all, there were 433 miles of track.

Railroad property was seriously damaged by the Civil War, the loss amounting to more than a million dollars, or one-seventh of the total valuation of the entire rail system at that time, according to Mr. Pettingill. The companies had also been unable to meet their interest obligations to the Internal Improvement Fund and, as a result, faced bankruptcy. The period of political Reconstruction was also a period of forced sales and reorganization of the corporate structures of the railroad companies, as well as of physical rehabilitation of existing lines.

The second great stimulus to railroad construction in Florida was the sale of four million acres of Internal Improvement lands to Hamilton Disston in 1881, which freed the Internal Improvement Fund of debt. The sale was effected by Governor William D. Bloxham, and during his administration 804 miles of railroad were built. Ten years after the Disston sale there were 2,566 miles in operation, exclusive of several hundred miles of private logging roads.

This rapid expansion necessitated two things, standardization and consolidation. The gauge of railroad tracks in Florida varied from three to six feet, the broad gauge of five feet being considered standard in the state. In 1886, however, to conform to the standard being established by roads to the north, the gauge of most of the Florida roads was changed to four feet, eight and a half inches.

Consolidation was the work of Florida's two best-known developers, Henry B. Plant and Henry M. Flagler, and of syndicates of outside capitalists. The first two important mergers, which occurred in 1884, revealed the shape of the future SAL and ACL systems. The first was the work of an English syndicate, headed by Sir Edward J. Reed, to whom Disston had sold one-half of his interests. The second was engineered by Henry B. Plant. About the same time, Henry M. Flagler began his operations on the East Coast.

The heart of Mr. Pettingill's book is three chapters in which

he discusses the development of the three big modern systems. Taking their predecessor roads up one by one, he traces mergers and new construction which resulted in the formation of the Florida East Coast Railway Company in 1895 and extension of its line to Homestead by 1903, the transfer of the Plant System to the Atlantic Coast Line in 1902, and acquisition by the Seaboard of its early Florida holdings in 1900 and 1903.

Mr. Pettingill is a railroad and locomotive enthusiast, and much of his book is directed toward the reader of very specialized interests. This is especially true of the rosters of locomotives, showing names, builders, dates, and other technical data, which are appended to the discussion of each railroad company.

There is much of interest, however, for the general reader who is willing to skip the technical details. In fact, there are some good stories of early railroading, such as the one of the alligator that got stuck in a culvert, causing water to back up and wash out half a mile of track. And nowhere else has there been brought together all available material, company by company, on Florida's nineteenth century railroads.

The usefulness of the book is curtailed by its lack of an index. Citations to sources would have been appreciated by serious students of railroad history, and a map or maps would have been a welcome addition. The illustrations, consisting of photographs of locomotives and early railroad folders, are pleasing and interesting.

DOROTHY DODD

Florida State Library

Mandarin on the St. Johns. By Mary G. Graff. University of Florida Press, 1953 (128 pp. Illus. \$3.75).

This is a carefully chronicled story of a quiet little town whose pulse-beat throbbed with the ebb and flow of life on the river.

For 340 years the story of the present Mandarin site paralleled the story of the St. Johns. It began with Ribault's discovery of

the River May (as he dubbed it on May 1, 1562), the early Indian and mission life, and continued on with fortunes blighted by warfare contingent to the changes and near-changes of flags over Florida. A respite from these troubles came in progress under British rule for a brief twenty years, then prosperity at last when the United States acquired Florida. The terror of the Seminole War passed into the grand days of river traffic, and with it Mandarin was born. The turn of the twentieth century brought swifter means of transportation to Florida and the opening up of the peninsula to citrus and vegetable growing, ending, sadly, the dreams of those who saw their Mandarin as a future commercial and agricultural center of importance.

But there were others who dreamed. To them Mandarin was a winter home with an incomparably lovely, restful, and restorative climate and environs. Best known of these was Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. In this volume Miss Graff has made a valuable addition to factual and interpretative information on the life of Mrs. Stowe. Because of this, *Mandarin on the St. Johns* has an especial appeal to many readers throughout the nation.

Other homeseekers have found the "quaint odd peace" of life in Mandarin. Today it is virtually a commuters' town for those who are fortunate enough to escape there from the busy Jacksonville, twenty miles away.

So close to the heart of every home-towner is the story of his beloved home; so lost in legend, is fact. Thus is the local historian's task doubly constricted. The author has admirably surmounted these difficulties as she delineates the lives of these gentle people - the ancestors or predecessors of her own neighbors.

Nothing was too small to find its place in the story as, with a sense attuned to time and change, the author selected from the local press of 1879, the old and the new: "venison would be available in the Mandarin market" and "ice cream at all village stores for only two cents a pound".

Mandarin on the St. Johns is a welcome contribution to local Floridiana for which there is a great need.

Miss Graffs references are extensive, although it is noted she turned to secondary sources on a few occasions when original data were available. A critical eye might note something to be desired in the presentation of background history outside the Mandarin area and perhaps in the organization of the local material-but neither of these faults, if they are such, are significant.

The physical features of the book are unusually fine. Perhaps the omission of a detailed map of the area is the only criticism worthy of mention.

DENA SNODGRASS

Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry of the South, 1753-1950.

By J. Carlyle Sitterson. (University of Kentucky Press, 1953
414 pp. \$6.00).

In recent years a number of regional studies of the economy of the South have appeared in print. This has been especially true of studies of life and labor in the "cotton kingdom." With the publication of Sitterson's *Sugar Country* the student of southern history is introduced to a full account of the cane sugar producing areas of the United States.

Since the sugar cane plantations of Louisiana never produced less than ninety-five per cent of the sugar crop before 1860 this unique story of the sugar economy is largely concerned with the Mississippi, Lafourche, and Attakapas sections of that state. In these sections the cultivation of cane and the manufacture of sugar generated a way of life which outshone, in many ways, the better-known culture of "king cotton" in the other southern states.

The author has divided the study into two major parts: "The Slavery Regime, 1753-1865" and "The Modern Industry, 1865-1950." Under the slavery regime is found the history of the introduction of the cane into the South, the plantations and farms, the planters and the labor forces, the cultivation of the cane and the manufacture of sugar, and the economic aspects of politics, profits,

losses, credit, and markets. Under the modern industry is found the history of the changes after the Civil War in the land holding, labor forces, manufacturing, and marketing. The political and economic aspects of the fights for the tariff and against the sugar trust are outlined in some detail, and the volume is concluded with a survey of the contemporary scene in southern sugar planting and manufacture.

Although essentially a study of an industry, the author never loses sight of the colorful cultural effects that have surrounded the complex social order which accompanied the development of the sugar cane economy.

The Florida reader of *Sugar Country* will be rewarded with occasional references to cane sugar production in the peninsula state in the years from 1753 to 1900. Ante bellum sugar production in Florida reached 2,750,000 pounds in 1849 only to decline before more profitable cotton production to 1,669,000 pounds in 1859. Hundreds of Florida planters and farmers cultivated from 20 to 100 acres of sugar cane and some of them manufactured up to 20 hogsheads of sugar along with the production of the more profitable bales of cotton. Promising sugar plantations and sugar mills were established on both the east coast and the west coast, but those on the east coast were destroyed during the Seminole Indian Wars which began in 1835, while those on the Manatee and Homosassa rivers did not survive the Civil War.

David L. Yulee's Homosassa plantation, which is not mentioned in this volume, consisted of several thousand acres and was one of the targets of Federal raids on the west coast from 1862 to 1864. The importance of Florida sugar was recognised when the Confederate government seized a shipment of 50,000 pounds of Yulee's sugar which the Florida planter had reputedly sold for a dollar a pound on delivery at Savannah.

A chapter on sugar in the Everglades describes the major developments on the muck soils along the shore of Lake Okeechobee after 1920. Little information on the Florida scene is added

to the several accounts which have been previously published and upon which the author depended for his survey. However, Florida readers will be interested in seeing the Everglades development in the perspective of the whole story of the southern sugar region.

The story of the Louisiana sugar country is based on the results of thorough searches through plantation records, diaries, and correspondence. The reader who is interested in the singular history of this distinct region will be well-rewarded with this authoritative and entertaining account. Professor Sitterson has made a serious, yet delightful, contribution to the economic and cultural history of the South.

J. E. DOVELL

The University of Florida

The Caribbean: Peoples, Problems, and Prospects. Edited by A. Curtis Wilgus. (University of Florida Press, 1952. 240 pp. \$4.50).

One of the interesting ways in which the University of Florida has been exercising an effective leadership has been through its annual Caribbean conferences. These serve two important purposes: they bring together those persons most interested in discussing the problems of the Caribbean area, and they make the results of these discussions available to a much larger group of interested readers by publishing the papers read at these conferences.

The Caribbean: Peoples, Problems, and Prospects is the result of the Second Caribbean Conference which was held in December, 1951.

These meetings, which have become well known throughout academic circles in the United States and the Caribbean, are under the direction of Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, Director of the School of Inter-American Studies at the University, who has had much experience in planning conferences and publishing their

findings. Specialists from a wide variety of fields are invited to attend. Botanists, public health officials, sociologists, historians, businessmen, statesmen, writers, philosophers, city-planners, and economists all come together to discuss the one geographic area in which each has an interest - the Caribbean.

In this volume the twenty papers are grouped under the major headings of Health, Land, Trade, Culture, and Diplomacy. Although it is impossible to describe all of these in a review of this kind, attention may be called to some of those which may be of particular interest to the readers of this *Quarterly*.

Historically-minded Floridians will be interested in Dr. Fred E. Soper's analysis of the renewed yellow fever problems facing public health officials, and relieved to learn that this problem is not as serious in the Caribbean area as it may be farther south.

Economists and others will be interested in the three papers dealing with the problems and experiments taking place in land utilization, as well as in the four articles on Caribbean trade. Interesting among the latter is the one by Frank K. Bell, Vice President of the Alcoa Steamship Company which cooperates with the University of Florida in offering these conferences. In another paper George Wythe calls attention to the fact that Caribbean trade occupies relatively the same position in our foreign trade that it did in the early years of our history, providing roughly one-fifth of our commerce.

Among the excellent articles discussing various phases of culture in the Caribbean, Harriet de Onis's paper on "The Short Story in the Caribbean" stands out as possibly the best-written essay of the collection. Costa Rica's interesting experimentation with agricultural schools for those of her Indians who have been dislocated by the building of the Pan American Highway is most sympathetically and carefully described by Doris Stone. For scholars interested in research, John P. Harrison's description of opportunities for Inter-American studies in the National Archives offers a challenge.

The section on diplomacy was designed as a climax to the conference and the distinguished participants made it exactly that. Rexford Tugwell, Clarence Haring, W. H. Callcott, Alberto Lleras Camargo, and Wilfred Mauck speak from both experience and study on the various phrases of foreign relations between the United States and this area. Dr. Haring's clear exposition of the way in which the United States has arrived at a policy of non-intervention and the reasons why we shall probably continue it should interest and effectively answer those who believe that we have an obligation to support democratic groups within other countries.

These articles represent reports of progress or current surveys rather than the findings of scholarly research. Their value, for the most part, is immediate rather than permanent. They are designed to present an up-to-the-minute report on conditions in the Caribbean, a report made by experts, and one not readily available elsewhere. The assorted papers are tied together into an integrated whole by a brief, cordial foreword from President J. Hillis Miller and an imaginative introduction by the editor, Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus.

One criticism might be made. Casual opening remarks are effective in a speech but detract from a paper. Those articles which plunge directly into the subject command attention much more favorably than those which begin with remarks addressed to a former, but now absent, audience.

IONE STUESSY WRIGHT

University of Miami

Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1949. No. 15, Francisco Aguilera (Ed.) (The University of Florida Press, 1952. 289 pp. \$7.00).

Of particular interest to students of Florida history is the recent publication of Number 15 of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. The purpose of the publication is to ". . . furnish

a cumulative and permanent body of reference material in the fields of Latin American social sciences and humanities.”

The volume is divided into topical sections paralleling the academic disciplines embraced by the fields of the humanities and the social sciences. The *Handbook* is a cooperative project prepared by the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress and is edited by Francisco Aguilera of the Foundation. Each section of the work is edited by a recognized scholar in that field. The personnel responsible for the handling of the several sections varies from year to year, as does the exact areas covered. The fields covered in the present volume are Anthropology, Art, Economics, Education, Geography, Government, History, International Relations Since 1830, Labor and Social Welfare, Spanish American Language and Literature, Brazilian and Haitian Literature, Law, Music, Philosophy, together with a “General” section. Each section is further divided into geographic and/or chronological groupings.

Each bibliographic item is numbered (there are nearly 3,000 entries in the current volume, however, some are duplicates), complete data are given together with a brief descriptive or critical comment for each item.

Of professional interest to students of Florida history are several items to be found in the section on the History of Middle America and the Islands. Entry No. 1450 is a catalog of documents found in Section 9, *Papeles de Estado*, of the Archive of the Indies. These documents embrace the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of Florida history. Item No. 1460, edited by John Walton Caughey, is a file of documents assembled and, in many cases, translated by the late Joseph Byrne Lockey, entitled *East Florida, 1783-1785*. Of some interest is the item (No. 1498) by Jose Garcia Casteneda entitled *La municipalidad holguinera, su creacion y su desenvolvimiento hasta 1799*. Holguin was, for some time, the focal point of fairly heavy migration from Florida. Of personal interest to Florida historians is the

notice that with the publication of the current volume Dr. Raymond Crist, Department of Geography of the University of Florida, has joined the list of Contributing Editors. The current number also marks the second volume published by the University of Florida Press after having assumed this responsibility from the Harvard University Press with the publication of Number 14.

The *Handbook of Latin American Studies* is a "must" on the reference shelf of every library, and well deserves a place on the private shelf of every student of Florida history as well as of Latin American History.

MARSHALL K. POWERS

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

INDIAN RIVER HISTORY

Stories of Early Life Along Beautiful Indian River is a noteworthy addition to local Florida histories. It was written and recorded by Anna Pearl Leonard Newman of Vero Beach, and printed by Stuart Daily News, Inc. (1953, 89 pp., 11 pp. illustrations, \$3.00).

The author says: "This is the story of the Indian River Country as it was related to me by those who should know, the early settlers themselves."

English Topographical Terms in Florida, 1563-1874 by E. Wallace McMullen, Jr., (University of Florida Press, 1953. 227 pp. \$5.50, paper), is not historical, but topographical as the title states. It is a dictionary of terms (not names), such as lagoon, hammock, key, mangrove, sink, head, pine barren, savanna, scrub, wrecking ground - many of which are local in application in Florida. There are numerous references to historical material in which the terms are used.

Origin of Names of Army and Air Corps Posts, Camps, and Stations in World War II in Florida, by Mary Moore Allen, Goldsboro, N. C. is a processed brochure of 30 pages (\$3.00).

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
Jacksonville, November 12, 13, 14

For the first time since its organization in 1934, the Southern Historical Association will meet in Florida. Last fall the colleges and universities of Florida, the Colonial Dames, the Jacksonville Historical Society and the Florida Historical Society, extended an invitation which the Association accepted, and the Nineteenth Annual Meeting convenes on November 12, 1953, at the Hotel George Washington. Registration begins the evening of November 11, 1953, in the Mezzanine Lobby of the Hotel and for fifty cents registration fee, members of the Association and non-members who are interested in Southern History, may attend all sessions.

Professor LeRoy Graf of the University of Tennessee has arranged a series of stimulating papers for the 10:00 A. M. and 2:30 P. M. meetings on November 12, and 13, and the 10:00 A. M. session on November 14. There will usually be three morning and afternoon meetings running concurrently on phases of Southern and Latin-American history. Of special interest to Floridians is the Thursday afternoon session, with President John C. Blocker of the Florida Historical Society presiding and papers by Arthur Thompson on David L. Yulee, Charlton Tebeau on Barron Collier, and Frank Slaughter on the novelist's use of historical source material.

Fletcher M. Green, Head of the History Department at the University of North Carolina will speak on "The Spirit of '76" at the Phi Alpha Theta banquet at 7:00 P. M., November 12. President J. Ollie Edmunds will extend greetings to the Association at the annual luncheon on November 13, on behalf of Barry, Florida Southern, and Rollins colleges; Florida, Florida State, Miami, Stetson, and Tampa universities, the Colonial Dames of Florida, the Jacksonville Historical Society, and the Florida Historical Society, The Colonial Dames of Florida and the Jacksonville Historical Society will be hosts at a tea from 4:00 to 6:00 P. M. at

the home of Mrs. C. D. Towers. Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna will deliver her presidential address at the Annual Dinner of the Association in the Auditorium of the Hotel George Washington.

Tickets for the banquets and luncheons may be obtained at the registration desk. Ticket prices are: Phi Alpha Theta Banquet, Flagler Room, Hotel Seminole, \$2.85; Annual Luncheon, Auditorium, Hotel George Washington, \$2.25 (complimentary to members of the Southern Historical Association); Annual Banquet, Auditorium Hotel George Washington, \$3.75.

The Committee on Local Arrangements representing the several hosts, is: Rembert W. Patrick, Chairman; Richard P. Daniel, Charles S. Davis, Frank Johnson, Jesse L. Keene, Gilbert L. Ly-can, Sister Mary Arnold, O.P., Mrs. William S. Manning, Dena Snodgrass, Charlton W. Tebeau, Charles T. Thrift, Mrs. C. D. Towers.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

A noteworthy milestone in the continued growth of the Historical Association of Southern Florida is the issue of vol. I, no. 1 of *The President's News Letter*, dated August 1, 1953. This is a processed sheet sent to all members (and they are legion). It will be issued bi-monthly, with the purpose of keeping the whole membership in touch with what the Association is doing, the progress made on projects already underway as well as planned, especially the marker projects and the program meetings. It is also a recording of historical news of general interest in the region.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A memorable event to all who are interested in the history of Florida and the South will be the Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Jacksonville on November 12, 13, 14. Our Society is a host to the many hundreds who will attend from all parts of the South, hence it is an obligation of, and will be a gratification to, our individual members to attend one or more of the sessions - especially the afternoon session on Thursday, when our president will preside and three of our members will furnish the program, which will be papers relating to Florida history.

It was our Rembert W. Patrick who proposed and who extended the invitation to the Association; and who, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, has carried it through.

President John C. Blocker has returned from an extended tour in Europe, and Secretary and Librarian Edward C. Williamson from a two-weeks tour of duty as Major in the U. S. Army Reserves.

While we have had a remarkable increase of membership recently, due to the individual work of a few members, our total is far short of what we need, both to increase the size of the *Quarterly* and to carry on the work of the Society. Can you not interest one or more of your acquaintances in joining with us in building up the Society, so that Florida's place in the history of our country will in time be recognized as fully as is that of the other States.

Dr. Mark F. Boyd, president of the Florida Historical Society 1946-1949, has recently received three honors in recognition of his investigations in and writings on tropical medicine, especially malariology, of which he is a foremost authority. He is the first American to receive the Prix Emile Brumpt for research in that field, the award coming from the University of Paris.

Also, he has lately been elected an honorary member of the Belgian Society of Tropical Medicine; and at the last Commencement of the University of Florida he received a Centennial Award for his researches on malaria in Florida.

One of our long-time members and former director, Mr. H. Maddox of Archer, died since our last issue. He had been interested in Florida's history for several decades, especially that of the Suwannee River, of which he knew more than anyone else. After much research in documentary evidence as well as inquiry along the river in years past, he drew up a map (24" x 48") of the course of the river in Florida on a sectional base for accuracy and duplicated it for distribution to Florida historical libraries. This indicates the location, as far as could be determined, of every known site, past or present, along the river. It is a very worthwhile contribution to Florida's recorded history.

NEW MEMBERS

(Mar.-Sept.)

Lillian M. Seaburg, Univ. of Florida
 Rev. Donald A. Cooke, Jacksonville
 William C. Norvell, Lakeland (fellow)
 Grady H. Wallace, Lakeland
 David S. Prosser, Lakeland
 Clarence M. Gay, Tallahassee
 Nathan Mayo, Tallahassee
 Thomas W. Morgan, Tallahassee
 Mrs. Nina M. Blocker, St. Petersburg
 J. Ryan Beiser, Univ. of Tampa
 Mrs. Irene A. Beggs, Florida Southern Col.
 Frank G. Slaughter, Jacksonville
 S. Gwynn Coe, Florida Southern Col.
 David L. Dowd, Univ. of Florida
 Martha C. Boman, Bartow
 Robert Bruce Lochrie, Univ. of Florida
 Mode L. Stone, Florida State Univ.
 George Lewis II, Lewis State Bank
 (institutional)
 Millard F. Caldwell, Tallahassee
 David B. Kibler III, Florida Southern Col.
 Carlton W. Palmore, Auburndale
 Lyle N. McAlister, Univ. of Florida
 Walter R. Hellier, Fort Pierce
 Mrs. George E. Merrick, Coral Gables
 Richard J. Chamberlain, Lakeland
 Mrs. W. T. Cash, Shady Grove

Nominated by
 Edward C. Williamson
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Albert H. Roberta
 Albert H. Roberts
 Albert H. Roberts
 John C. Blocker
 James W. Covington
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Richard P. Daniel
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Edward C. Williamson
 Edward C. Williamson
 Edward C. Williamson
 R. Lee Goulding

Albert H. Roberts
 Albert H. Roberts
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Donald Worcester
 Sam C. Gay
 C. W. Tebeau
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

Mrs. T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Pensacola
 Rev. Clare M. Cotton, Tallahassee
 Roger Prosser, Lakeland
 Richard E. Bozeman, Madison, Wis.
 Mrs. Charles J. Williams, Jacksonville
 Mrs. Carl E. Dunaway, Miami
 Palm Beach News & Life, Inc., Palm Beach
 Paul H. Raihle, Chippewa Falls, Wis.
 Arthur W. Thompson, Univ. of Florida
 Jack M. Godfrey, Winter Haven
 Frederick W. Brundick III, Jacksonville
 (fellow)

Ruth L. Bruner, DeFuniak Springs
 Harris Powers, Jacksonville
 Jesse L. Keene, Univ. of Tampa
 Claude M. Haynes, Jacksonville
 Dr. Efraim F. Llebrez, Cardenas, Cuba
 Mrs. Robert H. Payne, Jr., Tallahassee
 William G. Smith, Jacksonville
 Eileen Liston, Miami
 Robert L. Thompson, Tampa
 John B. Callahan, Jacksonville
 Mrs. Elsie W. Booth, Cantonment
 Warren W. Willis, Lakeland
 Eunice L. Seagraves, Washington, D. C.
 Elam V. Martin, Daytona Beach
 Tampa Morning Tribune, Tampa
 Peninsular Telephone Co., Tampa
 Florida Book Store, Inc., Gainesville
 William D. Baldwin II, Jacksonville
 John W. Rembert, St. Petersburg
 (fellow)

Benjamin R. Pittenger, Tampa
 Emmet L. Hill, Tallahassee
 Reinhardt Holm, Pensacola
 James S. Milner, Pensacola
 George S. Okell, Miami (\$25 fellow)
 H. T. Cook, Bunnell
 Edwin M. Clark, Tallahassee
 Horace G. Williams, Anderson, S. C.
 Ovid Leon Futch, Sebring

T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 John C. Blocker
 Charles J. Williams
 Mrs. Robert M. Angas

Edward C. Williamson
 Edward C. Williamson
 Mark F. Boyd

Robert R. Bowen
 Margaret Key
 T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
 Rembert W. Patrick
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 H. Maddox
 Mark F. Boyd
 Bayard B. Shields
 Edward C. Williamson
 John C. Blocker
 Bayard B. Shields
 T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
 Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
 John W. Griffin

Edward C. Williamson
 Robert R. Bowen

Edward C. Williamson

T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
 T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
 T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
 John C. Blocker
 John C. Blocker
 T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
 Mrs. Alberta Johnson
 Julien C. Yonge

NEW SUBSCRIBERS TO THE QUARTERLY

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

Blountstown High School
 Macclenny-Glen School
 Taylor School, Sanderson
 Brandon High School
 Allapattah Branch Library, Miami
 Edward L. Constance Junior-Senior
 High School, North Miami
 St. Theresa High School Library
 Coral Gables
 University of Tampa Library
 Reddick School
 Winter Haven Senior High School

Sanderson School
 Green Cove Springs Junior-Senior
 High School
 Lemon City Branch Library, Miami
 Central Library, County School
 Office, Tampa
 Collier City School, Goodland
 Jacksonville Public Library
 Florida Normal and Industrial
 Memorial College, St. Augustine
 Matthew W. Gilbert High School,
 Jacksonville

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE OF THE QUARTERLY

Paul E. Fenlon has a Master's degree from the University of Florida and is Instructor in the School of Business Administration there.

Mark F. Boyd is past president of the Florida Historical Society and has contributed numerous scholarly articles to this **QUARTERLY**.

Professor Jose Navarro Latorre, a historical scholar of Madrid, Spain, is especially interested in the history of Spanish America.

