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THE SPANISH DANCE

by LOUIS CAPRON

ALL THROUGH THE EARLY social history of Florida runs mention of "the Spanish Dance." Authorities agree that, until after the war between the States, it and the waltz were far and away the favorite dances. But today, a hundred years later, it has disappeared as completely as though it never existed. It is never danced. Nothing answering its description is to be found in books on the dance, encyclopedias or histories of the dance. Two years of search and inquiry brought out not a single person who had even heard of it. "The Spanish Dance is peculiar to Florida," Ellen Call Long wrote in *Florida Breezes*.¹ Here, then, was an authentic facet of Florida's history that had passed into oblivion.

What was the Spanish Dance? It wasn't any of the well-known Spanish dances with their heel taps and castanets. It wasn't the Fandango or the Sevillanas. "This dance," Lieutenant George A. McCall, fresh out of West Point, wrote home in 1822, "uniting the beauties of the minuet with those of the waltz, is unrivalled in the fine attitudes and chaste movements its peculiar figures are calculated to exhibit."

Ellen Call Long described it as "a gliding, swinging movement, particularly adapted to display of graceful action, but as intricate to me in its evolutions as the labyrinth of Ariadne, to her pursuers: but they dance it well here, and it is beautiful."

Fairbanks, in his *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine* (1858) writes:

The graceful Spanish dance, so well suited in its slow and regular movements to the inhabitants of a warm climate, has always retained the preference with the natives of the place, who dance it with that native grace and elegance of movement which seems easy and natural for everyone, but is seldom equalled by the Anglo-Saxon.²

Williams, in 1837, says:

Dancing is the favorite amusement of all our southern

1. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes* (Jacksonville, 1882), p. 108.

2. George R. Fairbanks, *The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1858), p. 183.

inhabitants. The Spanish dances are still preferred by the natives, while the Americans consider cotillions as more genteel, and object to the waltzing that is practiced, and indeed mingled in all Spanish parties of pleasure. They are easy and graceful and will probably preserve their present standing in Florida.

But it is McCall, with the enthusiasm of a young lieutenant transported to an exotic, tropical wonderland of dark-haired beauties with flashing eyes, who gives us our best picture. It was Pensacola in 1822 - "A Boquet Ball in the spacious ballroom of the 'Hotel d'Espagne,' which was brilliantly lighted and gayly decorated." The King was a Mr. Norton, and he "had boldly challenged the fairest and gayest young widow of Pensacola to share his honors on the inevitable occasion."

The *King* and *Queen*, of course, occupied the most conspicuous position in the dance, on the right of the Spanish contra-dance. The music, measured and slow, commenced; the queen began the figure. She glided through the intricacies of the dance with a light step, to which the movements of her matchless figure (full but not over-grown) conformed with facility and grace. . . . This dance uniting the beauties of the minuet with those of the waltz, is unrivalled in the fine attitudes and chaste movements its peculiar figures are calculated to exhibit.

. . . la Fleur and her partner . . . slowly passed down the long alley of smiling damsels and gallant men, lingering in the exchange of partners and interchange of courtesies with each succeeding couple as they went.⁴

Jacob R. Mott, Assistant Surgeon in the army, also paid his tribute to our dance:

The dance went joyously on; and figures of the most lovely proportions, fit models for sculptors and painters, and arrayed in dazzling beauty, were gliding through the labyrinthine mazes of the graceful Spanish dance. Myriad dark and fawn-like eyes shed a pure radiance of glad light with their kindling beams; while the rich black tresses and olive complexion attested the claims to Spanish descent, in strong con-

3. John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), p. 117.

4. Major General George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 46-48.

trast to the lighter locks and whiter skins of America's daughters.

The Spanish dance seemed deservedly to prevail over all others except the waltz; but it was a very different thing from that which is called the Spanish dance in our northern cities; here all was grace and ease, like the floating of down upon the breath of morning.⁵

What was this dance, "peculiar to Florida," that could move staid northerners to such ecstatic raptures? With all the revival of interest in the old time dances, this one had obviously escaped notice. Perhaps the explanation lay in its stateliness and grace, for the dances that are being revived are the active, rowdy dances of the countryside.

After considerable research, one lead at last proved fruitful. It was an article from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society that had been republished by the *Barre Gazette* and was reprinted again in 1957 - *The History of Square Dancing* by S. Foster Damon.⁶ Fortunately, Mr. Damon gave his authorities, and there was our final clue: "Wm. B. DeGarmo [DeGarmo] (*The Dance of Society*, New York, 1875, p. 50) is equally condescending. Under 'Contra Dances' he describes the Spanish Dance and the Sicilian Circle (two progressive circles)."

A copy of DeGarmo's book was located at the Library of Congress, and in it was described a dance answering to all the clues we had found. It was done to a slow waltz. It united "the beauties of the minuet with those of the waltz." There was a long alley of smiling damsels and gallant men," either a line or a circle. There was an "exchange of partners and interchange of courtesies with each succeeding couple as they went." There was a "gliding, swinging movement." It was "intricate." Above all, done with grace and the ease of constant practice by "smiling damsels and gallant men" in the rich Spanish costumes that still prevailed in St. Augustine and Pensacola, to the languorous strains of a slow, Spanish waltz, it must have been a thing of infinite beauty, "like the floating of down upon the breath of the morning."

5. Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, edited by James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1953), p. 112.

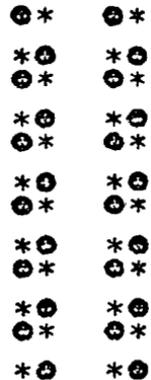
6. S. Foster Damon. *The History of Square Dancing* (Barre, Mass., 1957, p. 35.

7. William B. DeGarmo, *The Dance of Society* (New York, 1875), p. 51.

SPANISH DANCE:

DANCED TO SLOW WALTZ MUSIC.

Form in Circle all around the room thus: or in lines, thus :



Form in circle all around the room (as above) or in lines, thus. N. B.-The couples nearest each other, in diagrams, have their backs to each other and dance in opposite directions; half the couples face one way and half the other.

If there are too many couples to form one circle, two circles may be formed, one within the other. The couples are not numbered in this dance.

At the commencement of the 2nd strain.-

ALL FORWARD. - (The gentleman takes lady's left hand in his right. They forward towards *vis-a-vis* - the gentleman advances one step, with left foot (counting *one*); then brings right foot to and behind left (counting *two*); and then rises slightly on the toes (counting *three*) - taking one measure of music; he then steps back with right foot (*one*) ; and draws left foot to and in front of right foot (*two*) ; rises (*three*) - taking another measure of music The lady does the same step at the same time, but advances with the right foot and steps back with left. After which exchange partners, etc.

THE SPANISH DANCE

95

As the couples advance towards each other, the hands which are joined should be slightly moved towards *vis-a-vis*; and, as they retire, the hands are brought back again. This movement of the hands and arms, when gently and gracefully executed, harmonizes prettily with the step, the movement of the body, and the measure of the music.)

-They all forward (as above) towards *vis-a-vis* (1 measure); back (1 measure); forward again and change partners (2 measures) which causes a quarter turn to the left, 4 measures

Repeat, to regain partners (which causes another quarter turn to the left) 4 measures

Repeat the whole (ending by facing as at first) 8 measures

CROSS RIGHT HANDS AND GO HALF ROUND (The two gentlemen give right hands to each other, and two ladies the same-crossing hands-the gentlemen's hands above the ladies'), 4 measures

CROSS LEFT HANDS AND RETURN, 4 measures

WALTZ OR PROMENADE, once and a half round, to next couple, 8 measures

(The next couple is the one facing the same as your late *vis-a-vis*.) Recommence the figure next couple and repeat it round the circle or down and up the line until the music ceases.

THE RETURN OF RUNAWAY SLAVES 1790-1794

by RICHARD K. MURDOCH

AMONG THE DUTIES ASSUMED by the federal government after the ratification of the constitution was the general supervision over relations with the Indians living both within and without what were generally claimed to be the national boundaries. This assumption of authority was resented by many of the frontier residents long accustomed to dealing directly with the Indians. They were convinced, rightfully or wrongfully, that all savages were to be mistrusted, that the so-called Indian lands were open to seizure and settlement by the first to arrive on the scene, and that there was nothing illegal or immoral in acquiring the Indians' private property, presumably recently stolen from the legitimate owners. Although this attitude, a product of bitter experience, was not conducive to peace and stability along the frontier, it nevertheless governed the relations between the two races for a long period of time. Of particular annoyance to the settlers and to the large plantation owners was the ease with which valuable Negro slaves from Georgia and South Carolina escaping from their masters managed to disappear across the Oconee River into the Indian country and then often reappear in either St. Augustine or Pensacola where the Spanish authorities as like as not treated them as freed Negroes. Even if they were not allowed to roam freely, they were merely put to work on the most available public works project at no expense to the Spanish government. It was not the treatment accorded the runaways that irked the Americans so much as it was the fact that the Spanish officials blandly refused to discuss the question of rounding them up and sending them back to the United States where they rightfully belonged. No manner of argument seemed to carry any weight with the officials in either East or West Florida.

Ever since 1784 appeals for the return of runaway slaves transmitted to the Spanish governor in St. Augustine through the local Georgia law enforcement officers had resulted in the repeated assertion that since the former English governors of colonial Georgia had not seen fit to cooperate with the authorities in East Florida prior to 1763 in the exchange of stolen property and return of runaway slaves, the Spanish, now returned to the

province, were bound by long standing orders from Madrid not to cooperate in any way with the Americans.¹ This uncooperative attitude was maintained in spite of frequent protests from Georgia that it was no longer a colony under the jurisdiction of the English monarch and that any royal orders, or lack of them, regulating Spanish-English relations dating from the period prior to the war for independence had no bearing on Spanish-United States relations. This stand was only one manifestation of Spain's unwillingness to discuss the problems outstanding with the United States lest the mere agreement on her part to open discussions might be construed as a sign of willingness to compromise on such vital issues as the navigation of the Mississippi River, control over the southeastern Indian tribes, and the establishment of a permanent southern boundary line.

It was not until 1790 that appeals to the Spanish court finally brought about a change in this adamant stand against cooperation with the United States in trying to solve some of the frontier problems. Events taking place on the continent of Europe, especially the early revolutionary changes within the French nation, and the warlike attitude of England in the long quarrel over the northern Pacific coast, may have convinced the Spanish government of the wisdom of settling some of the problems with her new North American neighbor. On May 17 a royal order was issued annulling all outstanding regulations forbidding the return of stolen property and runaway slaves and establishing that as soon as a copy of the new order reached St. Augustine, the governor of East Florida was to commence apprehending and locking up all Negroes escaping in the future from the United States. He was ordered to return them to that country, however, only after those claiming ownership had established the validity of their claims and had paid all the costs of capture and maintenance of the slaves.²

1. A clear statement of the Spanish view was contained in a letter from the governor of East Florida to Governor Houstoun of Georgia in which the former stated: "One of the provisions of the old rule is that no fugitive Negro from Georgia be returned, as the London court refused to reciprocate." Vicente Manuel de Zespedes to John Houstoun, St. Augustine, November 28, 1784, East Florida Papers: box 108 D9. Subsequent reference to this source will be abbreviated as EFP and then the box number.
2. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada to Leonard Marbury, St. Augustine, August 3, 1790, EFP: box 108 D9.

Copies of this order were sent to the two Spanish diplomatic agents in Philadelphia for presentation both to the new Secretary of State and to Congress and also to all Spanish consuls and commercial agents in the coastal cities of the United States in order that announcements of the change in Spanish policy could be inserted in as many newspapers as possible.³ Among the very first in the United States to get the news of the order was Leonard Marbury,⁴ the acting Spanish consul in Savannah, who received a copy from East Florida together with the request that the information contained in the document be transmitted to the governor as well as to all the newspapers in the state.⁵ Marbury forwarded the copy to Augusta as requested together with the letter from the Governor of East Florida as it seemed to him that the latter's explanation of the full meaning of the terms of the order might be of assistance to the Georgia officials. His letter reached Augusta some time in late December for on the second of the next month the governor wrote a hasty note to the Secretary of State to forward the copy of the order and to enquire what he should do if anything to help implement the new Spanish policy. This dispatch from Georgia was in the hands of the Secretary of State on the fourth of March.⁶

The copies of the order sent from Madrid to Philadelphia by way of Havana did not reach the hands of the federal government until late in the year, some months after the order had been promulgated in St. Augustine and had become known across the

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3. Jose de Jaudenes and Jose Ignacio de Viar to Edmund Randolph, New York, July 26, 1794. Telamon Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia Library, Athens, Georgia.
 4. Leonard Marbury was a successful Savannah merchant who was employed at various times as acting consular agent by both the English and Spanish governments.
 5. Quesada to Marbury, St. Augustine, August 23, 1790, and Marbury to Quesada, St. Marys River, September 15, 1790, both in EFP: box 108 D9. There really was little need for Marbury to have the letter and order printed in the local newspapers as the news was already well known, probably having been brought from East Florida by one of the many travellers who crossed the St. Marys River almost daily. Apparently the local magistrates in the town of St. Marys were well aware of the change in Spanish policy within a day or two of the promulgation of the order.
 6. Thomas Jefferson to Governor of Georgia [Edward Telfair], Philadelphia, March 26, 1791, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Federal Edition), VI, 226-227.

river in Georgia.⁷ At that very time the new Secretary of State was preparing a final set of instructions setting forth the duties of the commissioner about to be appointed to serve the Creek Nation as stipulated in the Treaty of New York concluded earlier in the year with a large number of the Creek chieftains. This agreement had been negotiated partly to ease a situation considered critical by the officials in Georgia and it represented an example of the announced policy of the federal government to draw up treaties with various Indian tribes on a basis of trust and friendship similar to treaties signed with foreign powers. Like many of these federal Indian treaties the Treaty of New York contained clauses guaranteeing the reciprocal exchange of prisoners and stolen property, the last considered to include Negro slaves as well as livestock and household goods. In addition to property taken as prizes of war these treaties often provided for the return of runaway slaves although specific mention of this class of property was usually restricted to treaties with the tribes in the southeast and in the lower Mississippi River valley. These Indians, especially those belonging to the Creek Nation, had for many years followed a sedentary agricultural economy which featured among other things the slave-holding system. When the aforementioned treaty was finally agreed to in 1790, Article III specified the return of stolen property and runaway slaves.⁸

Thus when Jefferson and his assistants were preparing the instructions to be sent to James Seagrove of St. Marys, Georgia,⁹ the newly appointed commissioner to the Creek Nation, the

7. The royal order of May 17, 1790, was officially promulgated in East Florida on September 2. The Secretary of State's letter of March 10, 1791, to the governor of that province (document 3) gives no indication as to when the news first reached Philadelphia but Jefferson's letter to Georgia of March 26, mentions that the news was in his hands by the 4th of that month.

8. The Treaty of New York is printed in full in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832), I, 81-82.

9. James Seagrove of New York and Philadelphia, merchant, financier, politician and land speculator, settled in Savannah in 1786 and soon became deeply interested in the development of a deep water port at St. Marys in Camden County, Georgia. Although the present paper does not include the reasons for the selection of Seagrove as commissioner, it might be pointed out that later events were to prove that this appointment was an unwise one. Sufficient to say that at the time of his selection, his candidacy had strong support from several influential members of Congress and from such prominent persons close to the president as Robert Morris and General Samuel Blachley Webb, onetime aide to Washington.

change in attitude of the Spanish government toward the perplexing problem of the return of runaway slaves was already known and had to be taken into consideration as it was obviously of great importance to many of the frontier slave owners. There was considerable doubt in Jefferson's mind as to whether the terms of the new royal order were retroactive and thus could be applied to the runaway slaves already in hiding in East Florida. He expressed this doubt in his letter to the governor of Georgia implying that same additional discussion with the Spanish officials would be necessary. Among other things, Jefferson wrote :

How far he [Governor Quesada] may think himself authorized to give up those who have taken refuge there heretofore is another question. I observe that the orders he announces to have received say nothing of the past. It is probable therefore that an application from us to give them retrospective effect, may require his asking new orders from his Court.¹⁰

Both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War under whose joint authority fell the administration of Indian affairs realized that the government could not afford to employ and pay a staff of Indian agents and commissioners large enough to adequately cover the entire frontier area. Thus it was determined that the new commissioner to the Creek Nation would be entrusted with a multitude of minor duties over and above the mere enforcement of the terms of the new treaty and any others that might be agreed to in the future. He was authorized to call upon any federal troops in the vicinity to assist him in preventing encroachment across the Oconee River into the Indian lands. One of his additional duties was to observe carefully the activities of the numerous Spanish agents and traders among the Creeks, attempting, whenever possible, to counteract their efforts in undermining what the federal government thought were the truly friendly relations established by the Treaty of New York. What Jefferson and Henry Knox, the Secretary of War, apparently were not aware of when they drew up these instructions was the extent to which the major Creek tribes felt themselves pledged by treaty to adhere to the traditional Spanish cause. The so-called

10. Jefferson to Governor of Georgia, March 26, 1791, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Federal Edition), VI, 226.

Treaty of Pensacola of 1784 was considered by the officials in New Orleans, St. Augustine and Havana as the keystone of their relations with the Lower Creeks who had generally agreed to the terms of this document.¹¹ The ever-increasing host of agents maintained by Spain in the southeastern portion of the continent, an area claimed by that country and the United States, were supposedly responsible to the governors of East and West Florida, and of Louisiana. It is reasonable to assume that had Jefferson been fully aware of the number and influence of these agents in this disputed area he might well have reconsidered the appointment of but one American agent for the same area to act as a counterbalance to Spanish activities.

Seagrove received his instructions as commissioner to the Creeks while on a visit in Savannah and almost immediately returned to his new home in St. Marys which he designated in his first reports to the Secretary of War as his official base of operations. He reported that he was about to undertake a long expedition through the entire Creek country to visit various chieftains to ascertain the cause of the undercurrent of unrest that was troubling the Georgia frontier. His plans were completely altered, however, by the arrival of orders from the Secretary of State to undertake a hurried visit to East Florida to present the governor of that province, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada,¹² with an official request for discussions on the problem of the return of runaway slaves hiding in Spanish territory. Although there is no direct evidence at hand that Seagrove had heard of the change in Spanish policy prior to the receipt of Jefferson's letter instructing him to leave for East Florida, since the information was common knowledge in Georgia he must have heard of it. Apparently Jefferson sent along a copy of the letter that he was about

11. The governor of Louisiana, Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet gave orders to all Spanish agents that the agreement reached at Pensacola in 1784 be utilized as the basis for all future negotiations with the Creek Nation as it antedated any treaty agreements between those Indians and the United States and thus offered the Spanish an excellent arguing point. See the diplomatic correspondence of Carondelet with various high ranking officials in Madrid in Archivo Historico Nacional: Estado, *legajo* 3898, photostatic copies in the Library of Congress.
12. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada assumed the duties of governor of East Florida in July, 1790, replacing Zespedes. He retained this post until February, 1796, when he was removed at his own request because of chronic ill health.

to send to the governor of Georgia thanking him for the information on the receipt of the new royal order. In this way Seagrove was informed of the need for thorough discussion of the terms of the order in order that there might be no disagreement as to the meaning of some of the passages. He made hasty preparations for his trip, leaving his personal affairs in the hands of his brother and his official duties as Indian agent to one of several assistants.

Under normal circumstances an official visit of this sort would have been entrusted to the commander of the federal troops garrisoning the tiny fort at St. Tammany, near the town of St. Marys. He would have been ordered to deliver the letters to the first trustworthy trader or traveller on the way to East Florida with instructions to take it directly to the commander of the Spanish post of San Vicente Ferrer on the St. Johns River.¹³ The appointment of a permanent Indian agent in St. Marys now made it possible for the federal government to make use of his services as an intermediary with the governor of East Florida. Thus James Seagrove, recently appointed to deal with the Creek Nation and to maintain general peace between them and the Georgians, was called upon to handle as his first major task a matter that had nothing to do with Indian affairs.

During the previous six years Seagrove had visited St. Augustine several times either as agent for the Georgia government or on his own business and he was thus well prepared for the task now imposed upon him by the Secretary of State. Upon receiving his orders from Philadelphia he wrote to the commander of the Spanish post on Amelia Island requesting a passport to permit his travel to St. Augustine and also asking that the governor be informed of his impending visit. As he was well known to the Spanish, he was informed in short order that the necessary documents would be ready for him upon his arrival at the Amelia Island post. He set out the next day, August 1, crossing the river in his own sailing vessel, and after picking up his passport, made his way overland to the East Florida capital which he reached late on the afternoon of the same day. He delivered Jefferson's

13. San Vincente Ferrer, a small wooden stockaded post on the St. Johns River, a few miles from its mouth, was built to protect the river crossing from Amelia Island and the plantations south of the St. Marys River.

letter appointing him federal commissioner to negotiate with the governor to Captain Carlos Howard,¹⁴ the governor's private secretary, for translation into Spanish before presenting it officially.

During the long audience on the following day he and the governor discussed the problem of runaway slaves at great length, finally agreeing that Seagrove retire to his lodgings in town to prepare a tentative list of proposals that might be utilized as the basis for later discussions. The governor needed this delay to enable him to call a meeting of his council to request their advice on what concessions he was in a position to offer Seagrove. Late in the evening of the same day the American commissioner sent a dispatch to Howard for translation and presentation to the governor for his scrutiny. Four days later, at the next audience, the governor expressed his objection to several of Seagrove's new proposals and then he ordered his remarks to be put down in written form. He told Seagrove that he was sending a dispatch to Jefferson by way of the two Spanish agents in Philadelphia to acknowledge the secretary's letter of March 10 and to review in general terms all that he had said and written to the American commissioner.

The governor's devious tactics and his obvious efforts to delay the negotiations apparently piqued Seagrove and he requested permission to retire to his quarters to consider the alterations that the governor had just proposed. After a three day delay of his own, he composed a third letter which he presented to Howard on August 9 in which he agreed with the governor's proposed amendments to his original propositions. After this letter had been translated and presented to the governor, the two men discussed the altered proposals and tentatively agreed to a set of terms based on Seagrove's latest suggestions. He was compelled to accept the governor's stand that the new propositions should not in any way apply to runaways who had reached East Florida between May 17, 1790, the date of the original order, and September 2, the date of its official promulgation in St. Augustine. Being a cautious man trained to obey instructions to the letter, the governor explained that he could not extend the time covered by the agreement backward as this would be assuming authority not granted

14. Carlos Howard, the private secretary for both Zespedes and Quesada, was a member of the Third Battalion of Cuba and rose rapidly from captain to colonel during the administration of Quesada.

him in the official instructions accompanying the aforementioned royal order. Seagrove was also forced to agree to obtain the services of an English speaking Spanish subject living in or near St. Augustine to act as agent for those Americans claiming to be the owners of the apprehended Negroes. This demand had been made orally during the previous meeting on the 6th so that when Seagrove appeared three days later he was able to report that he had obtained the services of George Fleming,¹⁵ a most respected businessman and planter, one of the few former English subjects who had elected to remain in the province after the retrocession to Spain. The governor offered no objection to the choice of agent and agreed to cooperate with him in every way within his power.

Although the completed agreement fell far short of Seagrove's expectations he consented to the sending of copies to higher authority for comment and anticipated ratification. After taking his farewell of the governor he returned to his rooms to prepare a full report of all that had transpired during the previous ten days together with copies of all the letters that had passed between himself and the governor. He anticipated sending this packet of letters to Philadelphia once he had returned to St. Marys, employing the military courier who made periodic trips to the north. There is no evidence presently available to indicate what reception this report received from the State and War Departments or whether it was ever presented to Congress for discussion. Governor Quesada prepared the same sort of dispatch to forward to his immediate superior, Luis de Las Casas,¹⁶ the governor-general of Cuba. Because of the complete absence of available shipping the governor's report did not leave for Havana until after September 1, nearly three weeks after Seagrove had left the province.

15. George Fleming had been a resident of East Florida during the period of English occupation and when the retrocession took place in 1784, he chose to remain and become a Spanish citizen, partly because he was a Catholic and partly because of his extensive property holdings. He married a daughter of Francisco Felipe Fatio, the largest property owner along the St. Johns River, and he eventually was granted a commission as captain in the local militia. He supplied the military garrison with fresh beef raised on his extensive plantation to the north of St. Augustine.
16. Luis de Las Casas y Aragorri was a most capable governor-general of Cuba from 1790 to 1796 during which time he took an especial interest in the affairs of the two Floridas.

Shortly after the governor's letter reached Cuba, Las Casas called an emergency *junta de guerra* at which time the terms agreed to by Seagrove and Quesada were given tentative approval. The governor was ordered to begin the apprehension and return of runaway slaves and to continue this unless at some future time the court in Madrid should see fit to countermand these orders. In other words Las Casa's was assuming full responsibility for ordering his subordinate in East Florida to implement a change in practice without waiting to obtain royal permission. The governor-general sent a copy of all the dispatches to and from St. Augustine and of the findings of the *junta de guerra* under a covering letter dated November 29 to the Conde del Campo de Alange,¹⁷ the Minister of War. When this information reached Madrid in the summer of the next year, the whole matter was eventually turned over to the Conde de Aranda,¹⁸ then acting as the king's first minister, for his personal attention before presenting it officially to the king and the Consejo Real. There is no evidence in the documents themselves or in the covering letters as to whether royal approval was granted but subsequent events indicate clearly that it must have been for half-hearted efforts were made during the next eighteen months to apprehend and return runaway Negroes to their rightful American owners. In July, 1794, the two Spanish diplomatic agents in the United States, writing to the Secretary of State, referred to "the agreement" as having been observed "to the letter" by the governor of East Florida but not at all by James Seagrove in Georgia whom they appeared to regard as the individual responsible to enforce its terms for the United States.¹⁹

17. Manuel Maria Negrette y de la Torre, Conde del Campo de Alange, held the position of Secretary of State of the Universal Department of War for Spain and the Indies, or in other words, Minister of War, from 1790 to 1792. Under royal order of May 20, 1790, the governors of Louisiana and the two Floridas were ordered to correspond directly with this minister on all matters concerning the Indians and frontier problems with the United States. Las Casas to Conde de Florida Blanca, Havana, April 21, 1792, Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo: Estado, *legajo* 9.

18. Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Conde de Aranda, was a most capable soldier and diplomat serving both Charles III and Charles IV in many positions including the important post of minister to France (1773-1787). He had an important part in the negotiations at the Treaty of Paris in 1763 and was later disgraced because he had been unable to obtain all the concessions demanded by Spain. For a short period in 1792 he was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replaced late in the year by Manuel de Godoy.

19. Jaudenes and Viar to Randolph, New York, July 26, 1794, *op. cit.*

All pretense at cooperation was officially terminated by Spain during 1794 when the Georgia-Florida border was reportedly threatened by the activities of French agents said to be in the pay of Edmund Genet, the newly arrived minister of the French Republic. Frequent protests to the American government about what the Spanish seemed to consider to be unwillingness to resolve various frontier problems did not elicit a response satisfactory to Madrid. Finally the Spanish diplomatic agents in Philadelphia informed Edmund Randolph, the new Secretary of State, that they had been advised by the governor of East Florida of the receipt of recent orders from Havana not to honor further the 1791 agreement on the return of runaway slaves on the ground that the state authorities in Georgia steadfastly refused to comply with the terms of the document. This refusal of the Georgians, so the Spanish agents claimed, was in spite of the direct orders from the federal government to carry out the terms as laid down.²⁰ There seems little doubt that they were referring to the haphazard manner in which legal claims to runaways were being presented often with no more evidence than a statement of fact sworn to before a local magistrate. The Spanish authorities demanded documents such as bills of sale, deeds or mortgages, all of which often did not exist.

The subsequent efforts of Seagrove and other federal and state agents to renew negotiations on the problem of the return of runaway slaves hiding in East Florida do not form part of this story and will be told at another time. Suffice to say that the rupture in 1794 although discouraging to those who had worked so hard to bring about the 1791 agreement was not to become permanent.

The following selection of documents is drawn from photostatic copies now in the Library of Congress.²¹ The originals are on deposit in Madrid and were copied in 1929 with the kind permission of the government of Alphonso XIII. All are in the Spanish language although the letter from Thomas Jefferson and those of James Seagrove are translations made by Captain Carlos Howard to enable Governor Quesada to read them as his knowl-

20. *Ibid.*

21. The original documents are to be found in the Archivo Historico Nacional: Estado, *legajo* 3898. "Correspondence of the governors of Louisiana and the captain-generals of Cuba, 1785-1793."⁵

RETURN OF RUNAWAY SLAVES

107

edge of the English language was very limited. In translating these documents into English an effort has been made to render them as readable as possible and in several instances a few words have been added and several long sentences have been broken up.

DOCUMENT 1

No. 231

I am sending Your Excellency a copy of a letter from the Governor of Florida With four documents that inform authoritatively that a commissioner from the United States arrived at that plaza²² to confer on the restitution of slaves and [that include] the final conditions to which the Governor agreed; and having found them in order, I have given my approval until His Majesty may command otherwise. May God protect Your Excellency for many years. Havana, November 29, 1791. Most Excellent Sir. Luis de Las Casas to Conde del Campo de Alange.

DOCUMENT 2

The annexed No. 1 is a translated copy of a letter that the Secretary of state of the United [States] of America, Thomas Jefferson, sent me in consequence of the notification given to Congress of the Royal Order commanding to cease the freedom that formerly was granted to fugitive slaves from the aforementioned States, and following it, my reply.²³

Number 2 comprises the propositions made me by James Seagrove cited in No. 1 [and] declared to be authorized to confer with me and to agree on the measures that might appear to me most conducive henceforth to gather up, feed and return the American slaves that have taken refuge in this province.

Number 3 contains my answer to the aforementioned propositions. And number 4 sketches the final conditions that the referred to Don James proposed and to which I agreed . . . all this I lay before Your Excellency in compliance with my obligation either for your approval that I hope for, or [for] any other resolu-

22. St. Augustine.

23. The royal order referred to was the one of May 17, 1790 which was officially promulgated in East Florida on September 2, 1790.

tion that you may hold as convenient. May God protect Your Excellency for many years. St. Augustine, Florida. September 1, 1791. Most Excellent Sir. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada. Most Excellent Sir. Don Luis de Las Casas.

DOCUMENT 3

Translation of a letter of the Secretary of State of the United [States] of America to the Governor of Florida. Philadelphia. March 10, 1791.²⁴

My dear Sir: We have received with great satisfaction the notification of the orders of His Catholic Majesty not to permit that persons held in slavery within the United States to introduce themselves as free persons in the province of Florida. The well known justice of His Majesty and of his government was for us a sure guarantee that such would be his wish. The assurances that Your Excellency have been pleased to give us of your friendly dispositions have not permitted us to doubt your execution faithfully of a regulation so essential to good interchange and neighborliness. As a consequence of the same principles of justice and friendship, we are confident that Your Excellency will permit and assist in the recovery of persons of the same description who before today have fled to the government of Your Excellency. The aforesaid James Seagrove is authorized to present himself to Your Excellency to consult on this point and to agree on those measures that may be to Your Excellency's approval for the return of such fugitives. I beg Your Excellency [to accept] this guarantee not to let pass any occasion to express our desire to reciprocate the indicated principles of justice and friendship with the vassals of His Catholic Majesty, and that it may please Your Excellency to accept the offer of the sentiments of respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, my dear Sir, your most humble servant, Thomas Jefferson. To His Excellency Governor Quesada.

24. The original of this letter appears in Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington; 1904), VIII, 138-139. The Spanish translation prepared by Captain Carlos Howard, the governor's secretary, contains a few minor alterations but these are unimportant in nature and do not change the meaning of Jefferson's original text.

RETURN OF RUNAWAY SLAVES

109

DOCUMENT 4

Answer

My dear Sir: In reply to the letter of Your Excellency of the 10th of last March authorizing James Seagrove to consult with me about the order of my Royal Master commanding the termination of the liberty of the Negro slaves from the United States that may seek refuge in this province and to agree on those measures that may contribute to the return of such fugitives, I have the honor to indicate to Your Excellency that I have signified in writing to the referred to James Seagrove as my opinion concerning the business, which opinion I now submit to the inspection of Your Excellency, it without doubt [agreeing] fundamentally with that which I proposed [to him]. I esteem myself fortunate with this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that it gives me pleasure on every occasion to uphold and increase the good interchange subsisting in actuality along these frontiers and which is founded on the principles of reciprocal justice. And it is with especial satisfaction to me that it offers me this same opportunity to express the high sentiments of respectful esteem that I hold for the public and private character of Your Excellency. May God protect you for many years. St. Augustine, Florida. August 6, 1791. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada. Most Excellent Sir. Thomas Jefferson.

These are copies of the originals that remain in this Secretariat in my care. St. Augustine, Florida. September 1, 1791. Carlos Howard.

DOCUMENT 5

Translation of the representation to the Governor of Florida from James Seagrove, in virtue of the letter of the Secretary of State of the United [States] of America in which the latter was commissioned for the purpose.²⁵

The following I submit, with devoted respect, to Your Excellency, the Governor of Florida, that in order to prevent runaway slaves

25. The original of this letter appears in the *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832), I, 248, and it is of interest that the Spanish translation modifies some of the writer's rather brusque and often undiplomatic language. These alterations, however, do not make any significant changes in the original meaning.

from the United States finding shelter in Florida, His Excellency the governor will be pleased to send a proclamation, ordering the civil and military officials of that colony, but most especially those on the St. Marys River, to arrest all such runaway slaves conducting them without delay to the Spanish post on Amelia Island to be detained there until a citizen properly authorized on the part of the United States arrives at that place and then to deliver them up, at the same time receiving as payment an established consideration for maintaining them and for the costs of bringing them from the place at which they were seized. There ought to be agreement on the amount . . . that the commanding officer of Amelia Island send as quickly as he can information to the official commanding the American post across the St. Marys River whenever he holds runaway slaves from the United States in his power . . . that His excellency be pleased to send strict orders against any person sheltering or concealing such runaway Negroes, and that he oblige said subjects to take such runaways and convey them without delay to the most immediate Spanish post, and from there to the common spot for their reception on Amelia . . . that His Excellency be pleased to order that all runaway slaves belonging to the United States that have been in hiding in Florida ever since the date of the order of His Catholic Majesty on this topic, should be returned in conformity to the previously cited terms. The undersigned commissioner of the United States is ready to explain any points relative to the foregoing. I remain with all possible respect to His Excellency the obedient and very humble servant. James Seagrove . . . His Excellency Governor of East Florida. St. Augustine, Florida. August 2, 1791.

This is a copy of the original that remains in this Secretariat in my care. St. Augustine, Florida. September 1, 1791. Carlos Howard.

DOCUMENT 6

Copy of the reply that the Governor of Florida made to the propositions of James Seagrove authorized to treat on the matter of Negro slaves which seek refuge in this province from the United States.

Immediately after I received the Royal Order commanding me to terminate the liberty that was permitted to the aforecited runaways, I published the necessary proclamation, sending in addition the necessary warnings to the St. Marys River. For the present I do not agree that such runaways should be conducted to Amelia Island. I consider that this plaza is the most secure and appropriate place. It remains to the choice of the commissioned officer whether such refugees should be put to work on the public works in which case their upkeep shall not be charged and also [it is up to him] to name an attorney here to pay for them and to arrange through his efforts for their subsistence and remission to the owners in the manner that he finds convenient.²⁶

But if the commissioned officer is disposed that the runaways should be guarded in jail without work, the owner should pay fully for the nourishment furnished and also should pay a regular fee to the troopers or sailors which will free the government [of so doing] if the interested party desires that they be guarded as far as the frontier. Each claimant should prove his ownership [making] a claim with certification by the Government of Georgia and by other documents that sufficiently attest [that they are] legitimately his property. An order was published imposing a penalty on any inhabitant who aids a runaway slave. I have not noticed in the province any slaves which [have] made their flight from the United States in the period between the date of the alluded to Royal Order and its publication in Florida, but in the case of there having been such runaways, it is the feeling of this government that they ought not be returned nor can [anything] be agreed to about them without an express order from the King. St. Augustine, Florida. August 6, 1791. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada.

This is a copy of the original that remains in this Secretariat in my care. St. Augustine, Florida. September 1, 1791. Carlos Howard.

DOCUMENT 7

Translation of the definitive conditions from James Seagrove in reply to the answer of the governor to his first propositions.

26. The governor's reference to the "commissioned officer" is obviously to Seagrove. He is leaving the decision of whether the runaways are to be employed or held in jail up to the American.

The undersigned commissioner of the United States, is of the opinion that since the Government of East Florida does not want to be responsible for the runaway Negroes that henceforth may seek refuge in this province, it will be agreeable to the interests of the owners that such runaways, immediately that they are taken, be put in de jail to guard them until they are justly reclaimed. In order to bring this about with the least possible hardship to the government, the commissioner has made an agreement with George Fleming, citizen of this city, on the supplying of the usual quantity of provisions to such incarcerated fugitives.²⁷ Also he is to take notice of whatever assistance is sought from this government as to soldiers or sailors to guard such slaves to the frontier to deliver them up at the St. Marys River, and I recommend a regular fee to satisfy the person who delivers them. I have the honor to remain with all possible respect to Your Excellency your obedient and most humble servant. James Seagrove. St. Augustine, Florida. August 9, 1791. His Excellency the Governor. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada.

This is a copy of the original that remains in this Secretariat in my care. St. Augustine, Florida. September 1, 1791. Carlos Howard.

Senor Villafane²⁸

Florida 1791

DOCUMENT 8

Conditions stipulated for the return of runaway slaves between James Seagrove, Commissioner of the United States, and our Governor of St. Augustine.

Dear Sir: I pass to the hand of Your Excellency the attached letter from the Governor General of Louisiana and the Floridas, and the documents which accompanied it, sent to that officer by the Governor of East Florida, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada:

27. Seagrove's reference is to the normal daily ration that was supplied to all prisoners locked up in the jail. Frequently Fleming was called upon by the citizens of St. Augustine to supply ration to friends and relatives awaiting trial.
28. There is nothing in the available material to identify this individual or to account for his name being written on the outside of the packet of letters. The Villefane family did contribute several members to the Spanish foreign service in the last half of the eighteenth century.

They treat of the conditions upon which the same Governor has agreed and consented with the Commisioner of the American United States, James Seagrove, for the delivery of the runaway slaves from the territories of the same states that seek refuge in ours in any part: to these the Captain General has given his interim approval while he sends de resolution for the agreement of His Majesty. [I pass this on] in order that Your Excellency be pleased to take action that he may think convenient according to custom. God protect Your Excellency many years. San Ildefonso. August 27, 1792. Conde del Campo de Alange to Conde de Aranda.

TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTHWESTERN FLORIDA AND CUBA- 1600-1840

by JAMES W. COVINGTON

WHEN CUBA had been settled by the Spanish, heavy inroads were made into the nearby supply of edible fish, and the Havana fishing interests were forced to look elsewhere for a ready source. Southwestern Florida with its almost inexhaustible schools of drum, redfish, mullet, pompano, and grouper was situated only a short distance away and easily fitted into the Havana market situation. The combination of the excellent Cuban market and the nearby available supply of edible fish proved to be a business opportunity which would be profitable for many years for the inhabitants of both the island of Cuba and the peninsula of Florida.

After the glorious days of the *Conquistadores* in Florida had passed, the people of Cuba still maintained commercial contacts in southwestern Florida. Some Indians living in Florida had demonstrated on many occasions evidence of a strong desire to acquire some European items, and the Cuban traders and fishermen moving up and down the coast were able to promote a respectable amount of business. Of course, items traded to the Indians were highly restricted. There could be no firearms, large knives, or anything which might be used as a weapon. Jonathan Dickinson, who was shipwrecked at Jupiter Inlet in 1696, related how the Spanish searched the homes of the Indians for money and weapons, and took from them all metal objects, including the stub of a nail.¹ Some trade items which have been found in Indian mounds near the coast included glass beads of various colors, copper and silver hawk bells, olive jar sherds, mirrors, silver pendants, scissors, axes, and other similar items.²

During these days there were many West Indian sea otters and manatees to be found near the islands and rivers along the coast of southern Florida. The Spanish living in Havana used

1. Evangeline and Charles Andrews, eds., *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal* (New Haven, 1945), 63.

2. Hale G. Smith, *The European and the Indian* (Gainesville, 1956), 55, 61-62.

the fat of these animals to grease the bottoms of the ships. The Indians captured, killed, and cured large numbers of the sea otters and manatees and traded them, plus mats made from bark and grass, for European articles to the visitors from Havana.³

The natives of southern Florida soon realized that the Spanish greatly desired ambergris, that valuable substance from which perfume was made, and they eagerly searched along the sandy beaches for it. When a Spanish trading ship appeared, the Indians would paddle their canoes to the vessel and surround it on all sides. Even before orders were given to anchor, the red men climbed aboard and traded the ambergris to the captain, pilot, and members of the crew. In return for this valuable secretion from the whale the Indians received scissors, knives, axes, hatchets, and fishhooks, and were most happy even when it appeared to European eyes that the exchange was most uneven.⁴

Some members of the Spanish party which rescued Dickinson and his group from the Indian captivity decided to do some trading with the red people. The Indians desired tobacco so much that they eagerly traded a yard of linen, silk or wool material, stolen from Dickinson, for a single tobacco leaf. One Indian boasted to the English that he had taken about five pounds of ambergris to St. Augustine and exchanged it for a "looking glass," an axe, a knife or two, and five or six pounds of tobacco.⁵

The captives observed some evidence of English contact with the Indians. They noted two English canoes, one of which was similar to those made in Jamaica, and other articles, including sheaves of *lignum vitae*, several tools and knives, and a razor with the name of Thomas Foster carved on the haft. One Indian living in the village had been seized by an English sloop and forced to work as a diver at a sunken wreck in the waters near eastern Cuba. When the vessel stopped in Cuba for water, he escaped

3. William Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida* (London, 1753), 19.
4. Material taken from Spanish manuscript, "La Florida," written by Escobedo during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. This material is now in the process of being edited for publication by the author.
5. Letter dated November 20, 1655, with no signature, published in Annie Averette, editor and translator *The Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine* (St. Augustine, 1902), 101.

and made his way to Havana, then to St. Augustine, and back to his village.⁶

In July, 1654, a party of Indians, residing on the coast near the Bahama Channel, visited St. Augustine carrying with them a sizable amount of ambergris. Part of their valuable load they presented to the governor, and the remainder they exchanged for Spanish goods. Some members of the garrison were most eager to supplement their often tardy pay by trading their extra or old clothes for ambergris. The governor took advantage of this golden opportunity by dispatching a scouting force to the Indian village, where broken and seemingly useless iron implements were exchanged for the valuable ambergris. Realizing that the situation really was a golden opportunity, word was relayed to Havana to send all discarded iron implements posthaste to Florida. About five hundred tons of iron arrived from Cuba and was given to the Indians, and the Spanish received in return an amount of ambergris which sold in Havana for forty thousand dollars.

Many of these Indians traveled from the mainland to Havana in their small canoes, making the journey from the Keys in twenty-four hours, and traded with the people in the city and the sailors. They carried fish, ambergris, tree bark, fruit, and a few hides or furs to the Cuban city. A very profitable item was the sale of cardinal birds to the sailors at a price ranging from six to ten dollars apiece. The Indians received a princely sum of more than eighteen thousand pesos during the month of March, 1689.⁷ Thus, these half-clad natives in their frail canoes carried on a considerable traffic but, according to the Spanish, acquired very few articles or cultural traits from Cuba.

After 1763, when some surviving members of the original southern Florida tribes migrated to Cuba, and the remainder have somehow vanished from the searching eyes of the historians, a large area without any hostile population was opened to the advancing Seminoles coming in from Georgia, Alabama, and northern Florida. These Indians had traded with Cuba even when they were living in the extreme northern part of Florida. They owned large, handsome canoes made from the trunks of cypress trees which were capable of holding from twenty to thirty men. These

6. Andrews, *op. cit.*, 61-62.

7. Anthony Kerrigan, ed., *Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida* (Gainesville, 1951), 344-345.

TRADE BETWEEN SOUTHWESTERN FLORIDA AND CUBA 117

sea-going canoes were used to carry the Seminoles on visits to the Florida Keys, Cuba, and the Bahamas. Usually, these people traded deerskins, furs, dried fish, beeswax, honey, bear's oil and other articles, for rum, coffee, sugar and tobacco. One Seminole presented William Bartram, in 1773, a piece of tobacco which he had received from the Governor of Cuba. A band of Seminoles, which had roamed as far south as Charlotte Harbor, traded furs and hides for dried fish which the Spaniards caught and salted or cured on the islands lying off the coast.⁸ The traffic between the Seminoles and the natives of Cuba probably continued until the Second Seminole War. A visitor to Charlotte Harbor in 1824 noted that it was a frequent event for the Indians to be transported to Havana, where they received a cordial welcome. Captain Isaac Clark met, at Charlotte Harbor, Jumper, a leading Seminole, who was waiting for his followers to return from Havana with a supply of rum.⁹

The knowledge that the coastal centers of Florida contained a bountiful supply of edible fish had brought Spanish fishing vessels to the waters of southwestern Florida as early as around the beginning of the seventeenth century, and by 1770, it was reported that thirty or more vessels from Cuba were engaged in this trade. However, it is a tradition at Key West that the first fishermen on the island, engaged in supplying de Havana market, had come from St. Augustine. Perhaps the inhabitants of the other ranchos had come from the same city.

The fishing season usually lasted from the end of August until the last of March of each year, and during this period the Cuban vessels used coastal islands as their headquarters. These bases or ranchos were located in the general area from Tampa Bay to Jupiter Island. A varied assortment of fish, including drum, sea bass, the highly prized pompano, and sea trout were caught and dried or salted at the ranchos. Valuable oil from the livers of sharks was collected to be sold at high prices in Havana. The roe from mullet and drum was carefully cured by the smoke

8. Mark Van Doren, ed., *Travels of William Bartram* (New York, 1928), 193-194.

9. George Humphreys to John C. Calhoun, March 2, 1825, Florida Seminoles, 1825, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, hereafter cited as RBIA.

of burning corncobs; thus making a dish which one person claimed was as good as caviar.¹⁰

When the fishermen first arrived at the ranchos to start a new fishing season, they usually prepared their nets and built a new hut or repaired the old one. Then they erected the racks, on which the fish were hung to cure in the sun, by stringing fresh lines, made from silk grass, to the wooden hooks and stakes. This native silk grass was very useful to the fishermen, as they often wove their nets and other similar apparatus from it.

The fish which were caught by the Cubans were dried upon the curing racks, as mentioned above, but the roe was treated in a different manner. It was placed in a salty solution for fifteen minutes, partially dried in the sun, and finally pressed between two boards. After some time has passed, the roe was placed on a rack in a small hut and cured by the smoke of corncobs.

The men engaged in these fishing operations had a typical arrangement in regard to a share of the profits from the trip. Each man furnished his piece of net, lines, share of salt and food for the trip. The proceeds were divided as follows: owner of the vessel received one-third; the captain was given two shares of the remaining two-thirds; each crew member received one share, and the young helpers were counted as two for one full share.

One expensive but indispensable item required for the voyage was salt. The fishermen were not allowed by Spanish law to go to any convenient spot along the coast and boil sea water in large kettles, and thus make a ready supply of salt. They were obliged, instead, to go to the King's warehouse at Havana and pay one dollar and fifty cents, or twelve reals, a fanego - a measure which was approximately equal to two bushels for salt they had previously collected at Cayo Sal and carried to the Warehouse.¹¹ These men were particularly unhappy about the forced purchase of salt at four times the sum they had received. How-

10. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, II (New York, 1775), 185. One of the first accounts of fishing along the coast of southwestern Florida is related in Escobedo's "La Florida." It tells how a Spanish vessel stopped at a rise in the shore and the crew was able to catch two thousand trout and more than one thousand "gold fish." Since there was no salt available in the flat areas, the fish were cleaned, split, and exposed to the sun and breeze. Such a procedure seemingly kept the fish from spoiling.

11. Cayo Sal is a small island group lying to the northeast of Havana.

TRADE BETWEEN SOUTHWESTERN FLORIDA AND CUBA 119

ever, the only other tax they were required to pay was the two and one half per cent duty of entry for the fish.

Since competing products from Newfoundland were not as well liked as the ones from Florida, the profits from the Florida fishing industry were most favorable. Sometimes these profits from fishing were supplemented by deals in skins traded with migratory Seminoles who hunted near the coastal areas during the fishing seasons. The hides usually were exchanged for salt and dry goods. One captain of a fishing vessel told James Forbes that each schooner averaged about two thousand dollars profit per trip, and sometimes two voyages were made per season.¹²

One possible use for the dried fish in Cuba was as food for the Negro slaves. It could be easily carried, stored, and eaten when desired without fear of spoilage.

When the English acquired Florida in 1763, they kept a close watch over the fishermen, but allowed them to continue their activities. Governor James Grant was ordered to bring their operations to a halt, but he did not enforce this command. When it was suspected that the various fishing boats might be a threat to the British control of Florida, the entire operations of the Cuban fishing vessels were completely reviewed and found to be harmless by the British in 1767-1768.¹³

Some of the fishermen liked the beautiful coastal islands and decided to live there permanently instead of traveling from Cuba to Florida and back again each year. They worked for the various companies during the fishing season, and then cultivated their small garden plots during the remainder of the year. They usually did not hunt in the interior for game but depended upon their cast-nets for fish during the slack season.

Since it was not the custom to bring white women to the ranchos, these fishermen married the Seminole women and the marriages were regarded as legally binding in Cuba. Many of the children born of these unions were taken to Cuba, baptized, and educated there. Some remained in Cuba, obtaining jobs on the island and enjoying all the rights and privileges of Spanish subjects.¹⁴

12. James G. Forbes, *Sketches: Historical and Topographical of the Floridas* (New York, 1821), 118.

13. Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Providence, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943), 20.

14. Petitioners to Joel Poinsett, Secretary of War, 1838, printed in "Petition From Some Latin-American Fisherman: 1838," James W. Covington, ed., *Tequesta*, XIV (1954).

The fishing ranchos contained an interesting variety of persons and cultures during this period. Most of the white Cubans living at the settlements had Indian wives, children, and even grandchildren. The mixed-blood children usually acquired mates from the Seminole tribe proper. Most of them were born at the ranchos, spoke Spanish, and had not gone ten miles into the interior of Florida. Several of the male full-blood Seminoles worked as crew members aboard the fishing vessels and were acknowledged by white observers to be capable sailors.¹⁵

By 1818, a limited number of persons had established permanent residences on islands along the coast and had planted vegetable gardens and small citrus groves. One, Andrew Gonzales, had cultivated fifteen acres of orange and lime trees and ten acres of corn, peas, pumpkins, and melons.¹⁶ Sometimes these farmers earned some money by selling the products of their gardens to the fishermen during the season. Since no legal title to these various farms was required or could be established in court, the United States Government, in 1828, refused to acknowledge the claims of such settlers to the land.¹⁷

One of the best accounts concerning the most widely known rancho is the description of Toampa Island by John Williams in the *Territory of Florida*:

Toampa Island lies five miles South of Boca Grande. It is about a mile long from east to west, is a rich shell hammock and produces many tropical fruits, as cocoanut, limes, oranges, etc., but is badly cultivated. The proprietor is a stout, healthy, old white-haired Spaniard, very industrious; carries on fishing to a great extent; keeps two small schooners running to Havana with fish and turtle. His village is built on the west side of the island and consists of from eighteen to twenty palmetto houses, mostly occupied by various branches of his extensive family.

There are three other fishing establishments in the bay. Most of the islands in this bay are fertile, but the Spanish and Indians who occupy them cultivate very little land. A small quantity of corn, beans, and melons satisfy them as they live principally on fish.¹⁸

15. Augustus Steele to General William Thompson, January 10, 1835, Florida Seminoles, 1835, RBIA.

16. *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, I (Tallahassee, 1940), 43.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

18. John Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), 25.

TRADE BETWEEN SOUTHWESTERN FLORIDA AND CUBA 121

There were several plantations located near Caximbus Sound. John Durant, from Savannah, Georgia, owned one, and another farm was owned by a mulatto man. Both owners employed some Seminoles to help cultivate the soil, and the crops were sold to the fishermen at a high price. Sometimes the garden vegetables were exchanged for clothing, powder, lead, and other Cuban products. The Indians often captured wild birds, put them in willow cages, and sent them to Havana to be sold.¹⁹

After the United States had acquired title to Florida in 1821, it took some time for the federal authorities to understand the extent of the trade relations with Cuba. However, as early as March, 1822, Acting Governor Worthington of East Florida wrote a letter to Washington telling about eight or nine American fishing smacks, which weighed between thirty-eight and forty tons apiece and operated under Spanish license near Cape Sable. The fishermen usually caught grouper-fish weighing from three to eighteen pounds and sold the catch in Havana at prices ranging from one dollar to one dollar and a half apiece. It was reported that every seven or eight days each vessel visited Cuba and sold the catch, receiving from three to four hundred dollars.²⁰ Such a year-round activity must have proved profitable indeed.

A number of Negroes who had run away from their masters in Georgia feared that they would be returned to slavery and migrated into southern Florida. One such group settled at Fine Island, near present-day Fort Myers, and established a little colony. They obtained muskets from the fishermen and made a living cutting timber and fishing, selling the wood and fish in Havana. It was said that this settlement was protected by several armed Spanish vessels. Some of the other Negroes who did not join this settlement fled by boat from Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor to the Florida Keys, and thence to the Bahamas via fishing boats.²¹

S. S. Seymour visited Tampa Bay in 1822 and discovered that one large fishing establishment situated there had been deserted since the change of flags. Someone told him about a very

19. *Ibid.*, 26.

20. W. G. S. Worthington to John Q. Adams, Secretary of State, March 18, 1822, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, XXII. The Territory of Florida, 381-382. Hereafter cited as *Territorial Papers*.

21. Governor William Duval to John Calhoun, Secretary of War, September 23, 1853, *ibid.*, 744-745.

popular item which the fishermen had sought—the fat of the manatee or sea cow. It commanded a high price in Havana—as high a price as purest lard in the United States. The Cubans preferred the flesh of the manatee when it was salted.²²

It was due to the uncontrolled activities of the wreckers from the Bahamas, rather than the Cuban and American fishermen, that a customs house was established at Key West, and revenue cutters made regular patrols along the coast.²³ Federal control over Florida was thenceforth demonstrated in several ways which were somewhat restrictive to the Cuban trade. Lieutenant Colonel George M. Brooke, who would soon establish a fort at Tampa Bay, was ordered to check on the cutting of wood at Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor, and to arrest all persons engaged in that activity. Unfortunately, he was so busy with the establishing of the cantonment, which would soon be known as Fort Brooke, that he was unable to check on the illegal wood cutting activities.²⁴ By 1824, however, Brooke had received some information about the Charlotte Harbor ranchos, and he requested that the United States Navy patrol the area. On March 19, 1824, the Secretary of the Navy ordered such a patrol, and at least one vessel stopped at Charlotte Harbor.²⁵

Fishing vessels flying the American flag were soon seen along the coast of southwestern Florida, and their owners pressed the congressmen for a tax to be levied upon the foreign craft. Such a bill was referred to the House of Representatives Committee on Territories, and this committee studied a letter from the Key West Collector of Revenue, William Whitehead. In the letter, Whitehead related how he had visited the ranchos at Charlotte Harbor and found one hundred and thirty men at the four establishments there. Half of the men were Indians; there were about thirty Indian women in the settlement and from fifty to one hundred children. They lived in palmetto huts in a simple manner and had as their chief food fish which they caught. Each establishment had a small schooner which carried the salted and

22. S. S. Seymour, *Titles and Legal Opinions, Lands in East Florida Belonging to Richard S. Hackley* (Brooklyn, 1822), 100.

23. See John DuBose to John Rodman, May 21, 1823, *Territorial Papers*, 684-686.

24. William Duval to Brooke, January 15, 1824, *ibid.*, 834.

25. See *Pensacola Gazette*, October 16, 1824, for the report of the visit of the U. S. Schooner *Terrier* to the rancho "Punta Rosa."

TRADE BETWEEN SOUTHWESTERN FLORIDA AND CUBA 123

dried catch to Cuba. Whitehead pointed out that at least thirty American vessels from Connecticut had been in the Florida coastal fishing business for some years, and carried their catch to Cuba and sold it there. This business was very profitable and realized a total figure of between twenty and twenty-five thousand dollars, but did not compete with the Cubans as the Americans sold only fresh fish, while the Cubans salted or dried their catch. It was only in 1831 that Whitehead heard of any Americans salting their catch, and they had not complained about the Cubans.

Whitehead had some very kind words for the Cuban fishermen. They paid all of their taxes which were due, and some wanted to become American citizens but were hesitant because they did not know English. The oldest fisherman had resided at Charlotte Harbor for forty-seven years. Whitehead believed the fishermen could openly navigate the water without fear of heavy taxes because Article Fifteen of the Adams-Onís Treaty gave equal protection to American and Spanish vessels for twelve years.²⁶

Most impressive were the duties paid by the fishing vessels. Duties on reported stores for 1829, 1830, and 1831, amounted to \$1,49,140. Salt purchased at Key West amounted to two thousand pounds; duties on salt imported from Cuba during the three years totaled \$1,297.70 and tonnage fees paid during the same period amounted to \$1,223.43. The entire sum for 1829-1831 paid into the United States Treasury was \$4,717.53. The exports of the fishermen during the year 1831 were valued at \$18,000 and consisted of dried fish, fish roe, and articles of American manufacture.²⁷

When Fort Brooke was established at Tampa Bay, the fishermen realized that a potential market was available, and they soon began selling Cuban cigars, oranges, pineapples, and other items to the officers and men of the garrison. Sometimes the fishermen captured large sea turtles and sold them to the army officers.

Captain William Bunce of Baltimore, Maryland, had probably become interested in the rich store of fish available in southwestern Florida waters during his visits to Key West. It is diffi-

26. Whitehead to Lewis McLand, Secretary of the Treasury, November 17, 1831, printed in *Key West Gazette*, May 30, 1832.

27. *Ibid.* William A. Whitehead served as Collector of Customs at Key West from 1830 to 1838.

cult to ascertain when Bunce became active in the West Coast fishing business, but the Key West *Enquirer*, on November 15, 1834, reported that Bunce's schooner *Enterprise* had left the harbor with a catch of dried and salted fish for the Havana market. He established a fishing village at the mouth of the Manatee River, at what is now known as Shaw's Point. This site had probably been purchased from an earlier owner and contained the usual assortment of huts and drying racks, but Bunce soon turned it into the most elaborately equipped rancho along the entire coast. Bunce's house contained a sleeping apartment and a store. "The whole interior was neatly finished and partitioned by planed and grooved boards, with planked floors and paneled doors. One hut served as a blacksmith's shop; another contained a neat turning lathe; the third was a carpenter shop. They, in fact, appeared to have appliances and means that you find in one of our small towns."²⁸ The fishermen lived in the thirty to forty circular huts constructed with palmetto thatched sides and roof.

In 1835, the ranchos began to experience much of the trouble which would ultimately lead to their liquidation. Military authorities at the nearby posts were disturbed about the number of Indians living away from the reservation at the fishing establishments, and pressure was brought to bear on Bunce. The owner defended his Indian employees by explaining that they had never gone into the interior of Florida, but he promised to discharge several temporary employees and to order all visitors to return to the reservation. The fishing ranchos, including those operated by Bunce, Caldez, Pelow, Rassa and Eslave, had experienced a poor season in the year 1834-1835 due to the outbreak of cholera in Havana, and only Bunce and Caldez operated to full capacity.²⁹

Judge Augustus Steele also wrote a letter in defense of the Bunce operations. He related how some of the fishermen were of Seminole descent but owed no allegiance to the tribe. They were not recognized by the tribal leaders and had not received any annuities from the federal government. He concluded by stating that if these mixed bloods were removed to the reservation, they

28. Taken from N. S. Jarvis' *An Army Surgeon's Notes*, printed in the *Tampa Tribune*, November 27, 1955.

29. Bunce to Thompson, January 9, 1835, Florida Seminoles, 1835, RBIA.

would be placed in want without means of support.³⁰ Finally, in April, 1835, it was agreed that Bunce was in the right and his employees could remain at their posts.

Trade barriers were raised higher around the United States with the laws passed in 1816 and 1828. In 1832, Spain imposed new discriminatory rates on American imports and, consequently, started a tariff war. The United States then raised the tonnage duties on vessels coming from Cuba and Puerto Rico. In 1834, an additional duty of one dollar per barrel was placed by Spain on items imported in American ships; but Congress, in turn, raised the rates on Spanish ships and imposed a special tax on Cuban coffee.³¹ The *Key West Enquirer*, on January 31, 1835, related how the Act of June 30, 1834, placed a tonnage duty on Spanish vessels coming from Cuba and Puerto Rico. A subsequent issue told how there had been no duty until January 1, 1833, when a ten per cent levy was imposed, and the rate was raised to twelve and a half per cent in 1834. The paper implied that the Spanish rate for American vessels entering Cuban waters was still much higher than the American charge.³² From the available evidence it is difficult to determine if these federal laws had much effect on the Spanish fishing company but, certainly, they were restrictive. It really did not matter much, for the Seminole War of 1835-1842 was soon to cause the destruction of the trade.

In December, 1835, the bloody Second Seminole War blazed forth, and its terrible effect was felt in all parts of Florida. One Seminole raiding party, composed of twenty-five men commanded by Wyhokee, struck at Charlotte Harbor and burned several houses, including the customs building. Dr. Crews, the former customs inspector at Charlotte, and Martin Lopez from St. Augustine were killed by a supposedly friendly Seminole employee while on a hunting trip to a nearby island.³³

The frightened inhabitants of one rancho jumped into two large cypress canoes and headed for the Gulf of Mexico. Near the mouth of Charlotte Harbor they were picked up by the U. S. *Van-*

30. Steele to Thompson, January 10, 1835, *ibid.*

31. Basil Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba: 1848-1855* (New York, 1948), 30-31.

32. *Key West Enquirer*, January 31, 1835.

33. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1836.

dalia and were returned to their homes with adequate military protection.³⁴

Within a short time a force of five hundred soldiers under General Smith moved along the Peace River searching for the Indians, but they could not be found. The Spanish fishermen aided the soldiers by serving as guides through this comparatively unknown area.

When the troops were transferred to another theatre of war, the fishermen became alarmed and one hundred of them decided to move closer to Fort Brooke where they might have adequate protection. The U. S. Cutter *Washington* discovered such a group on Palm Island where they had stopped en route to join one of Bunce's ranchos on Passage Island.³⁵ Even when the fishermen had settled on the islands at the entrance of Tampa Bay, the Seminoles threatened to attack them from Charlotte Harbor, using canoes to cross the water. The Passage Island (Cabbage Key?) settlement was composed mostly of whites, a few friendly Indians, and many children.³⁶

Several of the military leaders were certain that the Seminoles were receiving arms and ammunition from Cuba *via* the fishermen. Accordingly, revenue cutters increased their patrols and a tight net was drawn about the area, but there were always numerous gaps which never could be closed.³⁷ In June, the Dexter captured one Cuban in a canoe near Indian Key, and one of his Seminole Indian companions was killed, but the other jumped into the water and swam to safety.³⁸

34. Lieutenant L. M. Powell to Captain Thomas T. Webb, April 27, 1836, Records of the United States Navy during the Seminole War, 1835-1842, Navy Department Records, National Archives. Hereafter cited as "Naval Records."

35. M. P. Mix to Commodore A. J. Dallas, August 5, 1836, *ibid.*

36. Dallas to Mahlon Dickenson, Secretary of the Navy, September 18, 1836, *ibid.*

37. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 12, 1836.

38. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1836.

On January 21, 1836, the following order was sent to Commodore Dallas: "It has been represented by Governor Eaton to the War Department that the Spanish fishing vessels on the coast of Florida furnish aid to the Indians now at war. Want you to take measures to stop that trade." Mahlon Dickenson to Dallas, January 21, 1836, "Naval Records"

Three years later, on June 14, 1839, the Commander of the U. S. Steamer *Poinsett* was ordered to "stop all communication between the Indians and the fishing and other boats between the United States and Cuba."

J. K. Paulding to Commander I. Mayo, June 14, 1839, *ibid.*

In 1837, the officers and men of the naval squadron commanded by Commodore Dallas landed at Bunce's mainland rancho and burned some of the buildings. Bunce transferred the bulk of his operations to Cabbage Key in the mouth of Tampa Bay and hoped to stay in business. Unfortunately, however, the United States Army moved into every establishment, seizing those who had some or all Indian blood, and transported them to Oklahoma. Wives were even separated from husbands. One newspaper reported that about a hundred and fifty of these so-called Spanish Indians had been removed from Florida. Seven full blood Spaniards were caught up in the dragnet but, after many protests, were allowed to stay at New Orleans until the close of the war.³⁹

General Thomas Jesup, who had ordered the removal of the Indians from the ranchos, explained the reasons for his action in a letter to Bunce. He pointed out that the other Seminoles would refuse to go to Oklahoma if a few members of the tribe were allowed to remain. Both the treaties of Moultrie Creek and Payne's Landing forbade the Indians' living away from the reservation. Thus, Jesup ordered all full and part blood Indian men, women and children to be taken from Bunce's establishments and shipped to Oklahoma.⁴⁰

Another raid took place at the Cabbage Key rancho in the summer of 1840, and the sheds and palmetto thatched buildings were burned to the ground by orders of General Armistead. He took such action because he believed the rancho was a hiding place for "renegade Spaniards who had previously, and at this time, had intercourse with the savage band my troops had to contend against."⁴¹ Henry Wright, administrator of Bunce's estate, later sued the United States Government for damages resulting from the raid. The value of the several sheds on the island was estimated to be one thousand dollars, and Bunce's fishing operations had given him a profit of five thousand dollars in 1840. Several persons, including military officers, testified that Bunce and his men were most loyal and had not associated

39. Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1953), 365.

40. General Thomas Jesup to William Bunce at Mullet Key, May 15, 1837, Florida, 1838, RBIA.

41. Letter of General Armistead quoted in "History of William Bunce," by Walter P. Fuller, *Tampa Tribune*, January 9, 1955.

either with the "renegade Spaniards" or the hostile Seminoles. The estate was awarded the sum of one thousand dollars in compensation for the action of Armistead.⁴²

After their wives and children were deported and their employment terminated, the fishermen did their best to adjust to the new situation.⁴³ Several made a living selling fresh fish to the Seminoles waiting at Fort Brooke for passage to the West. It was reported that Luis Rojas received \$55.50, and Juan Castello the sum of \$53.69, from the government for fish during the period. Juan Montes de Oca sold fourteen dollars' worth of potatoes for the use of the Indians.⁴⁴ Some other fishermen went back to the ranchos where they would continue to ply their restricted profession for many years. One fisherman married another Seminole woman, but, by 1858, had lost three wives to the federal Indian removal policy. Certainly, the export trade to Cuba had suffered a harsh blow, but within a few short years the even more important cattle trade would soon take its place. That, however, was another complete account in itself.

42. *House Report* 194, Twenty-ninth Congress, First Session, 1-2.

43. The story of Bunce's rancho is related in the article by Dorothy Dodd, "Captain Bunce's Tampa Bay Fisheries, 1835-1840," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (January, 1947).

44. *House Document* 247, Twenty-seventh Congress, Second Session, II, 1.

A MASSACHUSETTS TRAVELLER ON THE FLORIDA FRONTIER

by ARTHUR W. THOMPSON

THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE is an excerpt from the travel diary of W. T. Allen. Leaving his home in Leominster, Massachusetts, on March 12, 1852, Allen enjoyed a forty-nine day tour of the Eastern portion of the United States. He journeyed by rail and boat to New York City and then by boat to Savannah, Georgia, and Florida. His stay in Florida lasted sixteen days, from March 21st to April 6th, and the account of his experiences on the Florida frontier comprises about fifteen of the fifty-five pages of his diary. After leaving Florida, Allen travelled to Savannah, Macon, Montgomery, Mobile, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Niagara, Albany, New York and Boston, returning to Leominster on April 29th, 1852.

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the writer. From the diary itself, however, one may conclude that Allen was probably a member of the middle class. The observations appear to be characteristic of that class at the time, commonplace, with occasional flashes of cultural interest.

It is likely that the diary was written at the time of the actual trip. On the other hand, occasional changes in tense and inconsistencies in diction indicate the possibility that some of the material may have been written after the event. In any case, there appears to be considerable accuracy in connection with his observations on the Florida scene.

The diary has been transcribed as originally set down by the author, with no changes in spelling, punctuation, etc. That portion of the manuscript reproduced here, including the entries for the period after he left Florida, is located in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library.

Journal of my journey commenced Mar. 12th, 1852-Friday-Took car from Leominster, ¹ Friday Eve. March 12-arrived at New York City at 9 a.m. Saturday March 13-took breakfast at [. . . ?] hotel-enquired for Co[u]s. [in] George Blanchard, but

1. Leominster was a small town in Worcester County about forty miles northwest of Boston.

did not see him.-walked about the city, till I was about tired out -went into the American Art Union Gallery, ² where I saw the largest collection of paintings that I ever saw together, and some of them were fine-I rested myself, and enjoyed seeing the paintings at the same time-called on George Colburn, and found him "O.K."-Went down to the river to see if any steamer was bound for Havana W.I., but found that none were to start for there very soon, but found Steamers bound for Virginia, Charleston S.C. & Savannah, Ga.-I was determined to go somewhere, so up to the Hotel I went and got my valise and went down to the river again -While looking among the vessels, I found a California knife, such as are sometimes used for other purposes than whittling, eating apples &c- thinks I to myself, that's just the thing, now I shall be safe (?) to go any where that I chose, so I pocketed it without saying a word to any one, and nobody saying a word to me-'twas cheap for so much happiness,-as it cost nothing, and was *worth all it cost* -just as they were commencing to pull in the plank, I ran aboard the "Florida" bound Savannah Ga. I found that the fare to Savannah was the same as to Charleston, so I preferred [*sic*] the longer ride for the same money-the first thing that I did was to secure my state-room midship, as there is *less motion* there than in any other part of the boat-We went out of the Harbor in fine style-the Richmond & Charleston Steamer started out at the same time, and we made quite a *show* ³ -When I went up on deck, who should I come across but a gentleman that I had a long talk with on board the steamer in crossing the Sound ⁴ - I felt quite well acquainted with him, and we had

2. The American Art Union, with galleries in New York, was founded in the late 1830's. By 1849, some 19,000 persons in the Eastern portion of the United States were paying five dollars a year for membership. This entitled them to an engraving of some contemporary painting, as well as a lottery ticket on one of a few originals available. In the fall of 1852, the Supreme Court dissolved the organization because of its lottery activities.

3. Actually, there were frequent steamers to Havana. One ship left New York for that port on March 15. The "Florida" sailed for Savannah on March 13th. The ship bound for Charleston was the "Union," not the "Richmond." This is confirmed by the author's reference to the "Union" in his March 15th entry. *New York Times*, March 15, 1852.

4. Reference here is to Long Island Sound. The author probably travelled due south from Leominster to New London, Connecticut and then by boat across the Sound to New York City. There were several alternative routes at the time and it is not possible to determine which was used.

some good talks together -After we got out to sea, I was quite seasick till the day that we got to the Savannah river -The steamer was most splendidly fitted up, and they seemed to make a business of eating-breakfast at 8 a.m. luncheon at 12 m.-dinner at 2 P.M.-tea at 6 & Supper at 8 or 9 P.M.-I was sick most of the time, so did not enjoy the good things, so much as I otherwise should-when I felt too sick to make my appearance at the table a servant would come to my room and ask what I'd have. I'd call for what I chose (which was not "*ever so much*") and ate it in my room & then lay down again -Most of the passengers were sick, "more or less" -Mar. 15. Monday-. . . -Passed Charleston at about 6 A.M.--didn't go near enough to see the city -When just opposite Charleston, we could see the "Union" (the C. Steamer that started from N.Y. at de same time that we did) coming on some way behind us -We had not seen each other since we left N.Y. harbour- we *beet [sic] them by considerable* -When we got to the mouth of the Savannah river the tide was out, so we had to wait till *floodtide*, before we could go up to the City -We arrived at Savannah, Mar. 16 at 5 P.M. -Some gentlemen were going to stop at the "Pulaski House,"⁵ and they said 'twas the first house in the place, so I concluded to go there too-it rained tremendously when we got to S[avannah]. & then the city did look dreary and dirty enough. I felt as though I should not stay there long, but the next morning was very pleasant. When I got to the Hotel, my trunk or valise was not to be found. I hunted all about and made all the inquiries I could but 'twas "no go" -then I began to be blue-at last some one came along and said that he left some baggage at the "*ladies entrance*," and if I would go with him perhaps we might find it -I looked the baggage over and at last found the missing valise, and right glad was I to find it too, for I should have been in a pretty "fix" if I had lost it when I was so far from home -My "*Sound and Florida*" (Steamer) *friend*, put up at the same Hotel & the morning after I arrived there we took a walk up to the upper part of the city on to a plantation, where I found violets, buttercups &c in blossom-it reminded me of home, but they seemed out of season -Savannah is quite a pleasant place -some of the streets

5. The Pulaski House was, by other contemporary accounts, the leading Savannah hotel of the day.

are very wide, with a *double row* of "China Trees" (or the "Pride of India") running through the centre-The China Tree is a beautiful thing when in bloom-it looks something like the *locust tree*⁶ - Some of my "Steamer friends" were going to St. Mary's Fla. and I told them I'd go too-We took the steamer "Welaka," Mar. 20 at 10 A.M. Arrived at Darien at 6 P.M. & went ashore-arrived at St. Mary's at 8 A.M. Mar. 21-left my three friends there, and kept on-saw lots of Pelicans in passing "Pelicans bar"-11 A.M. on the coast of Florida-quite cool-Pelicans all about us diving after fish-12 m. at the mouth of St. John's river-thousand and thousand of Porpoises all about us, jumping out of the water having high times-the beach covered with comerants [*sic*], eagles, water turkeys &c, &c-arrived at Jacksonville Fla. at 3 P.M.-quite a large place-arrived at Picolatta [*sic*] at 8 P.M.-stopped there to "wood up"-beautiful moonlight eve-took a walk up to the village-got to talking with a gentleman while walking-He said that he was from Templeton Mass⁷ -I told him that I was from L[eominster].-he said that he was acquainted with a number of people that I'm acquainted with, & I felt acquainted with him right off-he said that he came from N.Y. in the same steamer that I did-that he was journeying with his brother who was out of health-When he left Mass, he could hardly sit up-while I was with this gent, we came across his brother (Prof. Wyman of Harvard College) and I had a nice talk with him⁸ -They were well acquainted with Doct. Peck & wife & they said they (Dr. & Wife) were then stopping at St. Augustine & that they intended to call on

6. China Trees or the "Pride of India" were extremely popular shade trees in many, mid-nineteenth-century, Southern cities. Mitford M. Mathews, (ed.), *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (Chicago, 1951), I, 313.

7. Templeton is in Worcester County about twenty miles northwest of Leominster.

8. Both were sons of a physician who worked at Mclean Asylum in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The elder brother, first encountered by Allen, was Morrill Wyman (1812-1903), author of *Memoir of Daniel Treadwell* (Cambridge, 1888). The younger brother, in ill health at the time, was the eminent scientist Jeffries Wyman (1814-1874). The younger Wyman received his medical degree from Harvard College in 1837 and then studied in Paris and London for a year. In 1847, he published the first scientific description of the gorilla. This and other materials were later used by Charles Darwin in his *Descent of Man*. Dirk Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making* (Boston, 1948), pp. 312-13, 382.

them-that was the first that I knew of they [*sic*] being here & I told them I guessed that I'd keep with them & call on the Doct. too as I should like to see some one that I was acquainted with, so far from home. Augustine was only 18 miles from where we were then-arrived at Palatka Monday Mar. 22d at 8¹/₂ A.M.-quite rainy-took another Steamer for Enterprise-the "Thorn"-saw J.M. Forbes No. 48 State Street-ship merchant on board the boat ⁹-he hired a Negro boy to go with him to wait upon him-1.00 pr. day & boarded-11 A.M. stopped to take in wood saw an *Alligator* -Stopped raining quite pleasant- *Alligators in perspective!*- 12¹/₂ P.M. crossing "Lake George" ¹⁰-alligators all along the shore- March 22. 4¹/₄ P.M. Ft. Butler-Mar. 23-9¹/₂ A.M. Crossing Lake Munroe [*sic*] ¹¹ arrived at Enterprise-a "4 horse town"-at 10 A.M.-Enterprise is on Lake Munroe [*sic*] which is 7 miles long & 4 miles wide-Hotel is situated on a high bluff composed entirely of shells, 4 ft. high- . . .-Mar 24-Mr Forbes & party went up the lake in a sailboat that he purchased at Savannah. They killed an Alligator about 12 ft long, & Prof. Wyman took the skeleton of it-John C. Calhoon's [*sic*] sons ¹² own an island in the St. Johns river where they've built quite a nice house and live there during the winter-There are wild cattle and other animals on the island, and they have nice times in hunting them-this eve. *two Calhoons* [*sic*], and another gentleman came up to the Enterprise house. While coming up the river they shot 2 turkeys, one of them weighed 22 Lbs. They brought them both to the Hotel & we had a feast of them-Mar. 25. Pleasant and quite warm-went out hunting with Mr. Wyman, but found no *game* as 'twas in the middle of the day, when everything keeps quiet-early in the morning and about sundown is the time for hunting-I had a most miserable gun, one that I should hardly have dared to have fired, if I had seen

9. John Murray Forbes (1813-1898) was a prominent Boston merchant who, by the age of twenty-four, had made a fortune in the China trade. Later, he assumed a leading position in the commercial and railroad world. His grandfather, the Rev. John Forbes, had been rector at St. Augustine, East Florida. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 507.

10. Lake George is about seventy miles south of Jacksonville and about thirty-five miles west of Daytona Beach.

11. Lake Monroe, about thirty miles south of Lake George.

12. Andrew Pickens Calhoun, James Edward Calhoun, John Caldwell Calhoun, and Patrick Calhoun.

any game, but as it was, I made it answer very well-I had the pleasure of carrying it & nothing else-We saw lots of Turkey Buzzards but did not care about shooting them-Prof. Wyman and Doct. - went to a little grove, a few rods from the house, and shot some Paraqueets [*sic*] - a most beautiful bird- like the common Parrot only smaller-every morning the trees are filled with "mocking birds" which sing finely-6 P.M. a party just returned from up the river-they say that there is a party of Indians opposite, at "Ft. Mellon" ¹³ that Gen. Hopkins ¹⁴ & Capt. Finegan ¹⁵ just captured-Friday, March 26 . 1852-Mr. Forbes invited me to take a ride on his boat, & of course I accepted-We went to Ft. Mellon which is quite a little village, with an old church, built at the time of the "Indian War" ¹⁶ for a store house -it has been used for a church and all sorts of purposes since-the Indians were confined there, when I saw it-they were a dirty looking lot of them-Eleven in all-some of them were entirely naked, and others merely had shirts on-There was only one Warrior [*sic*] in the whole party, and he had a rope tied around his neck, which one of the soldiers kept hold of all the time-he was about 22 yrs old and looked as though he would fight some, if he had a chance-3 women, 2 boys about 16 or 17 yrs. old, who *could fight* if called upon, but not old enough to be called warriors [*sic*]-They were as "spry as cats," and seemed to be perfectly happy-1 Girl about 15 or 16 yrs. old, & 4 little ones 2 or 3 yrs. old, which were entirely naked, till some ladies and white children brought them some large cotton handkerchiefs to throw over their shoulders, but they did not keep them on long, as they were not used to them, and had rather be as they naturally were, than have them on, so they'd pull them off-one of the women, about 22 yrs. old, was *shot through the thigh with 7 buck shot*. When the Indians were attacked, the warriors [*sic*]

13. The present site is Sanford.

14. General Benjamin Hopkins of Mellonville served in the State forces operating against the Indians in the lower St. Johns River area. Caroline M. Brevard, *A History of Florida* (DeLand, Fla., 1925), II, 12.

15. Joseph Finegan was later associated with David L. Yulee in the building of the Florida Railroad between Fernandina and Cedar Key and, during the Civil War, served as Brigadier-General with the Confederate forces. He died on October 29, 1885 at Fort Mellon (Sanford). *Soldiers of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1903), p.329.

16. The Seminole War, 1835-1842. Armed conflict with the Seminoles continued between 1849 and 1859.

were all from home, except this one (I believe) that was captured-he was keeping guard at the time-in the eve-when Gen. Hopkins party came upon them suddenly, and captured the sentinel before he could give the alarm. The woman that was shot was trying to escape, when one of the soldiers shot her-She was called an *Indian beauty* and she was decidedly handsome-they brought her to Ft. Mellon on a litter between two horses, which must have been very painful to her to be jolted about as she was -there was no surgeon with the party, so that her wound could not be dressed till she arrived at Ft. Mellon-which was a great distance-the surgeon that dressed her at Ft. M. told me that if it had been a *white lady*, she would have been dead long ago, for she was in a high fever then: that her leg was broken *in two places* - and 'twas one of the worst things that could be done with a person with a broken limb, to move them about much-The Doct. tried to make the Gen. leave her with him till she got better, as 'twould "kill her to carry her farther"-The Gen. said, "no, you couldn't kill an Indian," that he should take them all with him, to some *military station* where he could get them off his hands, before he gave any of them up. At the end of the "Indian War" there was a treaty made between the Whites & Indians that the Indians should not go beyond a certain line,¹⁷ that they should agree upon-"Billy Bowlegs"¹⁸ was chief at the time, and all those Indians who would not come *under* him, were to be considered, "*outlaws*" by Indians & Whites *both* - All Indians found *north* of the *line*, after a certain time were to be *shot* or *imprisoned* -Capt. Finegan lives near the *line* and is allways [*sic*] having trouble with the Indians-he says they steal his cattle, & he shoots all that he comes across-he's very cunning and understands the Indians very well, and they both *fear & hate* him, so that he has to be on the look out all the time for fear they'll murder him-The "Floridians" do not like him very well,

17. Basically, the pre-Civil War policy of the United States government was to remove the Seminoles from Florida and resettle them on Western lands. Earlier, however, the treaty signed at Fort Moultrie led to the removal of the Indians from northern Florida. In return, the Indians received a five million acre reservation in southern Florida. Neither arrangement proved very satisfactory to many of the Seminoles. *Florida Statutes*, III (1941), pp. 126-31.

18. Billy Bowlegs, Seminole chief, finally left Florida for the West in May, 1857.

for they think he is trying to have another *Indian War*, for *his benefit*, as his business is raising cattle, and if there should be a war, he would find a market for his cattle, as he could *furnish* the *soldiers*-at the time this party was captured the people about there were frightened very much, as they thought the Indians would not take it peacably [*sic*], having their wives & children stolen from them-one old woman said that she was Billy Bowleg's sister, & the woman that was wounded was imprisoned some time ago at Smyrnia [*sic*], with her little child, but she made her escape & left her child-some of our party tried to make her understand that her child was at Smyrnia then, and that she would see it.-They said "Picaninny-Smyrnia," but she didn't seem to understand them at all-Where I was staying was one of the first settlements from the *line* & I did not know but that I might be woke up by the "war Whoop" some night, though I didn't fear it very much-some of the visitors at the Hotel were much frightened, and were for leaving right off-a great many families living outside the settlements, moved *in* for protection-There was quite an excitement all the time, till I left-Saturday, March 27. went to the Post Office at Daponts [?] & then to Ft. Kingsbury with Mr. Wyman & Mr. John Kinports [?] of Phila-Sunday March 28-took a sail with Mr. Forbes, had a nice time, but very little wind, so that we could not *sail* very fast but were in no hurry, as we had nothing else to do-very warm-in the eve, went with Mr. Wyman to Mr. Bethé's house and saw them making a coffin for Mr. Price, who died of consumption at our house just after I came there-they were making it by *torchlight*. another gentleman from Maryland died of consumption Mar. 26 and was buried at Ft. Mellon-Mr. Price's brother arrived at the hotel the eve that he died-he seemed glad to see him, as he was away from all his friends, excepting those that he'd got acquainted with at the Hotel-it must have been very sad for him to be sick-so sick-so far from home and *alone*-believe his home was in Georgia-Monday Mar. 29. East Wind-showers-very sultry-Mar. 30. Started from Enterprise with Messers Wyman, Mr. Forbes & Co. at 2 P.M. for Picolata. Arrived at Palatka Mar. 31. at 5¹/₂ A.M.-the passengers killed lots of alligators &c in going down the river-Messers Wyman & I stayed at Mrs. Judge

Rieds¹⁹ till evening, then hired a man to carry us to St. Augustine, which is 18 miles-I walked a part of the way, as 'twas very tiresome riding as we had to go very slow on account of the sand being so deep, that the horses could not go faster than a walk much of the way-we passed the spot where "Wild Cat"²⁰ and his party after their escape from St. Marks Castle,²¹ attacked a party of "play actors," killing a great many of them and taking their wardrobe-in 15 minutes after they were attacked, "Wild Cat" was dressed as "Richard III"!-We arrived at St. Augustine at 2 A.M. April 1., and "put up" at the "Magnolia House" a very fine hotel-called at the Post Office, and there saw Dr. Peck-in the evening called on Dr. Peck & wife with Messers Wyman. There I saw Miss Theresa Buswill [?]. I was right glad to see her & I had *no* idea of seeing *her* there, as I did not know that she was with the Dr. & Wife-had a very pleasant call-April 2d Dr. P. Messers Wyman & I went down to the beach in a "dug-out" (a boat made by digging out a large tree)-We started at 9¹/₂ A.M.-had a nice row down-ran aground a few times, but without any serious damage being done-found lots of beautiful shells &c-I found one very large one, which I gave to Doct. P. as 'twas too large for me to carry home-Prof. Wyman shot some comerants [*sic*] which were monsters-we did not start for home till quite late, and when we went to the boat, it was a long way from the land and came near getting adrift and leaving us on the island-but Mr. Wyman went in the water and drew it ashore. We were intending to return the way that we came, but the breakers were so high that they came entirely over the boat, and the boat was a very *heavy* bungling *thing*, so that we came near being *swamped*, as we could not manage it-so we went ashore on "Anistasia island," [*sic*] celebrated for the

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19. "Mrs. Judge Ried" may well have been Mrs. Martha M. Reid, wife of Judge Robert Raymond Reid. Reid, however, resided mainly in St. Augustine and, as a consequence, there may have been no connection between the two parties.
20. Wild Cat, Osceola and a group of Indian warriors were seized by General Jessup while under truce, October 21, 1836. They were taken to Fort Marion (Castillo De San Marcos in St. Augustine) and imprisoned. Wild Cat, with nineteen others, escaped on November 29th and continued to harrass the settlers until 1842. K. W. Porter, "Seminole Flight from Fort Marion," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXII (January, 1944), 112-33.
21. Fort Marion or Castillo De San Marcos. The fort was built by Spain and completed in 1756.

quantity of rattlesnakes living there-we had no matches to make a fire, as 'twas getting cool-at last Prof. W. made out to get a *blase* by means of his *gun*, though he had to try a great many times before he could do it-we gathered a lot of twigs of the *scrub oak* & *Prickly ash*, and made quite a cheerful fire, as we thought we might be compelled to stay there all night, but we got off at last, after trying a number of times, by towing the boat-Mr. Wyman had hold of the painter and walked on the beach, and pulled the boat along, and I took an oar and kept the boat off from shore. Mr. W. (the sick one) walked on the beach & Dr. Peck steared [*sic*] the boat-We got home at last, *wet* and *dirty* enough at 10¹/₂ P.M. The Dr's family were somewhat frightened about him, as they expected him back long before. We all had a nice time-April 3d 1852 - Saturday - Went with Mr. Wyman to the "St. Marks Castle"-The Castle is very large & built entirely of "cocina Stone"-a kind of stone *made of shells* of which there is a *quarry* on "Armistasia [*sic*] Island"-a very long island between St. Augustine & the Atlantic Ocean-'tis the only place where 'tis found in any quantity in all Florida, I believe-Large quantities are taken from the quarry yearly, for building houses &c-it is quite easily cut into any shape desired -on the Island there is a *light house* but no dwelling houses-it is covered with "scrub oak" & "prickly ash," so that it is impossible to go any distance on it as the "scrubing" [*sic*] is so very thick-When we were *cast away* on the Island the day we visited de beach, we tried to go the *Lighthouse* for some water to drink, as we had none since we left Augustine in the morning, but we found it impossible to go more than a few rods, so we gave it up, for the very simple reason *we were obliged to* - it is covered with Rattle Snakes also and the Island is often *burned over* to kill the snakes, and a great many are driven into the city, which makes it unpleasant for the inhabitants, to say the least-"St Marks Castle" is a regular Spanish Castle & is the most perfect proportioned building that I ever saw-there are watch towers at each corner, on the Southwest tower there is a higher one than the others, underneath which is the *dungeon* from which some bones were taken a few years ago-supposed to be the bones of some *unhappy mortal who was starved to death there* - since then it has been ascertained beyond all doubt that they were the bones

of a *hog* - there are battlements all around, high enough to protect a person when standing on the "esplanade," from the enemy outside, but there is a step about a foot & $\frac{1}{2}$ high for the soldiers inside to stand on when shooting at the enemy-it extends all around the "battlements"-the "esplanade" (on top) is about 18 feet wide,²² under which are large rooms for the soldiers, and to store the ammunition, &c.-the rooms are arched, all built of stone, the same as the outside-in the center is a *court*, quite large, into which all the rooms open-on one side is an *inclined plane*, for drawing up the Cannon to the battlements-just opposite the entrance is the "Chapel" which is ornamented with stonework very richly-'twas in this Castle that "Osceola" & "Wild Cat" were confined-Wild Cat & about 20 others made their escape through one of the "loop holes," which looked to me, too small for a man to get his head through-they tried to have "Osceola" escape at the same time, but he would not go, as he felt so bad to think that the *whites* captured him treacherously [*sic*] - he remained there, till he was removed to another *prison*, where he *died* of a "broken heart"-The Floridians say they (the Indians under "Osceola") were intending to take the whites tre[a]cherously, but prevented by the whites getting the start of them-they discovered the *plot* of the Indians in time to take advantage of it, and "turn the tables"- "Osceola" felt so bad (so they say) that he was discovered in his tre[a]chery, that *he died of a "broken heart"* - The Castle is not inhabited now, but is used as a *storehouse* for "Uncle Sam"-There is a "moat" or ditch all about it which can be filled with water in a very short time by means of a gate-there was a wall outside the moat-three gates & a drawbridge to cross the "moat" at the entrance, & over one of the gates & the entrance to the castle, there were the "Coat of arms" of Ferdinand VI.²³ Cut in stone and very beautifully executed too-probably they were made in Spain, and brought over, as the stone was different from any about these-the one over the gate is very much defaced by visitors breaking off pieces of it-'twas too bad to break it to pieces, as 'tis a beautiful piece of work-There is only one entrance to the Castle, and to gain admittance there, would be next to impossible, if the people in-

22. Actually, the "esplanade" is closer to twenty-five feet.

23. Ferdinand VI (1713-1759), second son of Philip V, ascended the throne in 1746 and under his regime the fort was finally completed.

side were against it, without the aid of Cannon or something that would have the same effect-Some of the rooms that I went into were *dark & damp*, and seemed *dreary* enough-Augustine was once a "Walled City" - the water extended around, naturally on three sides and the other the *south side* there was a ditch, with only one bridge, where there was a large gate & draw bridge-the gate itself was quite a curiosity-two towers each side-inside of each is a "sentry box" with two "loopholes" which commanded a view of the road leading to the bridge, for a long distance-the holes were through a wall *three or four feet* thick-there was a great deal of fancy work about the *gate* and it once must have been a very nice piece of work, but now it is in ruins -Prof. Wyman took a sketch of it-how many times I wished that I could take sketches-I would have liked very much to have taken sketches of the Castle & the "old Gateway" & perhaps would have tried, if I had stayed a little longer, and had the materials to work with-but I had neither *time, materials* or *ability* -so I guess 'twas just as well that I didn't try, for I should only have failed in the attempt and then I should have felt vexed with myself to think that I couldn't>About midnight, I was awoke by a lot of ladies and gentlemen talking in the yard to the Hotel-presently some one called out fire! fire! and commenced ringing the bell connected with the Hotel, and rang it some time, fairly soon I heard Mr. Wyman get up and run into the entry, and then I thought if 'twas anything serious he'd call me-then I heard them laughing in the yard, which made me pretty certain that 'twas only some fun of theirs, so I went to sleep again-The next morning the Landlady scolded well [?] about it-"Palm Sunday" April 4th. Went to the Catholic Church ²⁴ in the forenoon and saw the *performance* - the reading, singing & Preaching &c was in Latin or Spanish-so that I could not understand much of it-the bells on the Church are rung by a boy with a stick, with which he strikes the bells instead of pulling a rope as we do-some of the time he'd "put in like a master," and make a terrible noise, then he'd seem to get out of breath and work slower, it did sound funny enough-part of the services were to distribute *palm leaves* to all who chose to go for them-

24. The Roman Catholic cathedral in St. Augustine was first built in 1791.

first went the white men, then white women, next white boys, young and old, next Negro men, next Negro Women and Children-the boys seemed to enjoy it right well-all the time of that Ceremony, there was chanting by the Choir & Priests-took a nap in the afternoon & in the evening with the Messers Wyman called on Dr. Peck's family, and had a fine visit-Dr. P. walked home with us, and as we were passing the Market house we saw a crowd of people, and went to see the cause of it-in the Market House on the benches were that party of Indians that we saw at Ft. Mellon-some of them looked sorrowful enough.²⁵ They said the Warrior tried to escape. At Palatka some body gave him a tinder box and a variety of things such as he'd want in travelling through the woods alone, but he was captured before he had got far, and after that they *chained him-Monday* April 5th. Started from Augustine at 5 AM-got the black Steward "Charly" to get me some breakfast, and he routed the Landlady so that I could pay her my bill-then started with two others, for Picolotta [*sic*] - Had a beautiful ride and saw any number of most beautiful flowers - Messers Wyman were not going to leave under about a week, and then were not going where I should want to go, not intending to go North till sometime in June, so that I had to leave them there and proceed alone -I wished I could have been gone longer, but I thought I must be getting toward home -before I left Augustine I sent some "Ancient Citys" home (newspapers)²⁶ - St. Augustine is the *oldest city* in the United States-waited about half an hour at Picolatta [*sic*] for Steamer "Welaka" - had a nice trip to Savannah -²⁷

25. A report of General Hopkin's capture of the Indians was printed in the St. Augustine *Ancient City*, April 3, 1852.

26. The St. Augustine *Ancient City*, a Democratic Party newspaper, was founded in 1850. Its editor at the time was Sylvester Manucy.

27. The harbor of St. Augustine was inadequate for larger ships and, by the 1850's, had lost its significance as a port. "It was easier to reach the town from Charleston or Savannah via the inside passage and the St. Johns River to Picolata and thence overland by coach than to make the trip directly by sea." Twice weekly connections could be made between Savannah and Picolata. Edwin L. Williams, Jr., *Florida in the Union* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1951).

THE JOURNALS OF LIEUTENANT JOHN PICKELL, 1836-1837

Edited by FRANK L. WHITE, JR.

DURING THE SUMMER OF 1837, virtually all military operations against the Seminoles ceased. For several months after General Thomas S. Jesup's agreement with the Indians in March, only sporadic fighting had occurred in Florida.¹ The Army was employed in encouraging the Indians to assemble for emigration to the West as provided by the truce and in exploring the country. At the same time, however, additional troops were arriving to resume hostilities, if this should become necessary. The Seminoles, on the other hand, used this period to delay their embarkation and at the same time to continue their attacks upon white settlements. The resumption of the war, consequently, was inevitable.²

By fall, most of the Indians had neither surrendered nor had they come out of their hiding places in hammocks and deep recesses. General Jesup therefore attempted to break the stalement through his seizure and subsequent imprisonment of Osceola and other chiefs. Still the remaining Indians would not yield.³

As his next step, he resorted to the use of persuasion. For that purpose and with War Department concurrence, John Ross, an influential Cherokee chief, had come to Florida with a delegation of four sub-chiefs to meet with the Seminoles and encourage them to emigrate.⁴ The Cherokees made little progress in their negotiations, largely because several of the Seminole holdouts refused to come in.

General Jesup, feeling that the Seminoles were insincere in their professions of peace and friendship, seized Micanopy and his delegation. He then sent them to St. Augustine as prisoners where they joined the ones who had been previously seized.⁵

1. John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Process, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), 177-178 contains a copy of the agreement which was signed at Camp Dade.

2. Mark F. Boyd, "Asi-Yaholo or Osceola," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (January-April, 1955), 293-294.

3. Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), 349.

4. Sprague, *op. cit.*, 191.

5. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 302.

Negotiations immediately ceased, the Cherokee delegation returned embittered to Washington and the Army prepared to resume the war by waging a winter campaign which was to culminate on December 25, 1837, in the Battle of Lake Okechobee.⁶

All of these events are related by Lieutenant John Pickell, the adjutant of the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, who provides a firsthand account of the events leading up to the battle. Two journals kept by him tell of the military events in Florida during 1836 and 1837. These also detail his participation in the exploration of the St. Johns River in which his organization participated.⁷

The first and shorter of the two journals covers the period between July 16 and August 1, 1836.⁸ This account contains little of significance except Pickell's arrival in Florida from Fort Hamilton, New York, and his participation in a scouting expedition near Jacksonville. He failed to make any entries after August 1 although he remained in Florida until fall, when he was ordered to Fort McHenry, Maryland.⁹ He did not return to Florida until November of the following year.

Pickell's second, the longer and more important of the journals covers the period between November 8 and December 16, 1837. He had been ordered to return to Florida in early November, so he arrived at the time the Fourth Artillery was preparing to proceed up the St. Johns River to establish a depot for use as a base for future operations.¹⁰ Although his regiment failed in this assignment, Colonel Bankhead's command continued to explore

6. James F. Sunderman, editor, *Journey into Wilderness* by Jacob R. Motte (Gainesville, 1953), 170.
7. John Pickell graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1822 at which time he was commissioned brevet second lieutenant in the Fourth Artillery. He was promoted to First Lieutenant in 1831 and served as regimental adjutant from October 15, 1836, until August 5, 1838, when he resigned from the army. He subsequently served as Colonel of the 13th New York Infantry between 1861 and 1862. He died in 1865. In 1844, he wrote to The Adjutant General claiming bounty land for his discovery of saline springs in Florida in 1837. AGO Letters Received, Records of the Adjutant General, National Archives.
8. Pickell's journals are located in the Library of Congress.
9. Roger Jones, The Adjutant General, to Commanding Officer, Garey's Ferry, October 8, 1836. AGO Letters Sent, Records of the Adjutant General, National Archives.
10. *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (November 2, 1837), 287.

the river to its supposed source in the Everglades.¹¹

Pickell devotes much space in his journal to the flora and fauna he noted during his exploration of the region. He also relates quite proudly his leadership of the survey of the lake which bears his name. "In consideration of having discovered the head of the St. John's River," he wrote, "Col. Bankhead did me the honor of naming the lake at its source Lake Pickell and accordingly wrote it upon the map." After making this and other discoveries, the command returned to Fort Mellon.

With the return to Fort Mellon, the army settled down to await the results of the Cherokee mission. Pickell uttered the hope that the delegation might be successful and "prevail upon the hostile chiefs to come in, and yield without further bloodshed." He also entertained high hopes for John Ross' success and anxiously awaited his return after he and his chiefs had made their initial contact with the Indians who were still holding out in the swamps. "I am inclined to the opinion that the last rifle has been fired," he commented. When the Cherokees returned to the fort, their mission an apparent failure, Pickell felt that the Seminoles were insincere. "The Indians played a deep *ruse de guerre* by the deception they practiced upon the delegation and the army," he noted. He felt that the delay had enabled the Indians to "move farther south and to a country still more inaccessible to the army," an opinion which was voiced by General Jesup as well.¹²

Pickell's journals assume importance because of his eyewitness commentaries upon contemporary events in Florida. While the negotiations were being carried on, for example, Wild Cat, who had been confined in St. Augustine with the chiefs who had been seized in September, made good his escape.¹³ This, noted Pickell, would "have an unfavorable effect upon the termination

11. "If we cannot subdue the Indians we can explore the country," says a correspondent of the *New York Star*. "If the government continues the war for two or three years longer, the whole of East Florida will be discovered, and its navigable waters improved, and perhaps the everglades drained. Two hundred men are now exploring that part of Florida. This is a crumb of comfort and we accept it with thankfulness." *Ibid.*, VI (January 18, 1838), 44.
12. Thomas S. Jesup to J. R. Poinsett, July 6, 1838, cited in Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 192: "I lost fifteen most important days by their negotiations—a delay, the consequences of which no subsequent effort could retrieve; for in the mean time, the Seminoles had dispersed."
13. Sunderman, *op. cit.*, 166.

of the war." As subsequent events proved, Wild Cat reached the camp of the Indians who were resisting surrender and inflamed them against the whites. Pickell also felt that the current negotiations with the Seminoles were of little value. "Parleying with the Indians gives them only hopes that cannot be fulfilled."

Pickell's opinions generally reflected the views of the Army. He felt that both the chiefs Micanopy and Coahadjo were sincere in their professions of peace and desires to emigrate, but that the other chiefs were not. He regretted the inability of the Cherokees to mediate the difficulties successfully, while at the same time he condemned Seminole deception.¹⁴ Sadly, he watched the army prepare for another campaign. "Yesterday we felt as if it was a time of peace. Today it is a time of war." He closed his journal as the army prepared to move out in pursuit of the hostiles and as the Cherokee delegation departed humiliated and angry on their way first to Black Creek and then to Washington. He firmly believed that General Jesup had used every means at his disposal in this unsuccessful attempt to end the war. The resumption of hostilities meant the dragging out of hostilities for five more years.¹⁵

NOTES OF THE SEMINOLE EXPEDITION

Saturday, July 16th 1836. Left Fort Hamilton, N. Y. in the Steam Boat William Gibbons for Charleston.¹⁶ Capt. Childs¹⁷ and his company with Lt. Roswell Lee¹⁸ on board bound to Garey's Ferry on Black Creek, E.F.¹⁹ Arrived at Charleston, S. C. on Tuesday evening. On the following day left for Garey's Ferry via Savannah & St. Mary's.

Sunday 24th. At 2 o'clock P.M. reached Jacksonville where we learned the particulars of the attack of the Indians upon Col. Hollins,²⁰ a week ago on his plantation about 10 miles above Jacksonville. The Col. was wounded in the head by an Indian firing through the window of the house. We were also informed at St. Mary's that the Indians had attacked the party of Invalids

14. *Ibid.*, 170.

15. Jesup to Jones, Jan. 4, 1838, cited in Sprague, *op. cit.*, 203.

16. Fort Hamilton was located at The Narrows in New York Harbor.

17. Captain Thomas Childs, 3rd Artillery.

18. Lieut. Roswell Lee, 3rd Artillery.

19. Garey's Ferry had been established as an army depot in 1836 at Black Creek.

20. Colonel Hollins is further unidentified.

under an escort of about 50 troops on their way to Micanopy.²¹ The body of Indians consisted of about 300. They were repulsed in their first attack. In a second attack which they made they succeeded in capturing one Baggage waggon & Capt. Ashby of the Dragoons²² & Dr. Weightman²³ are reported to [be] wounded. We continued on our way 2 miles beyond the mouth of Black Creek in order to deceive the Indians as to our destination. We anchored at sunset and will in the morning return and go up the creek to the ferry. The bulwarks of the S. Boat John Stovey are boarded up, to secure and protect us our way up the creek against the fires of the Indians that are in its neighborhood. The weather since I left New York has generally been pleasant. From Savannah to St. Mary's the inside passage was taken and the trip was delightful. There is much alarm in Jacksonville and the Inhabitants are leaving it under the apprehension of an attack from the Indians. While at St. Mary's called to pay my respects to Genl. Clinch.²⁴

Monday 25th. Reached Fort Heileman Garey's Ferry at 8 o'clock A.M.²⁵

Tuesday 26th. In camp. No news.

Wednesday 27th. Do.

Thursday 28th, Lt. Herbert returning with the man that bought the horses from St. Augustine landed at the mouth of Black Creek at Ridgely's Mills and was attacked by a party of almost 50 Indians.²⁶ A battle ensued that continued 1 hour and 20 min. It is not known how many of the Indians were killed. 5 of our men were wounded. After they returned to the S. Boat the Indians fired several rounds upon it. Wounded 2 men & more than 19 Shot Ball holes in it.

Friday 29th. At 5 o'clock P.M. the S[team] B[oa]t Essayons returned & gave us the first intelligence of the Battle. Capt.

21. Probably the present-day town of the same name located a short distance south of Gainesville.

22. Brevet Capt. James Ashby, 2nd Dragoons.

23. Assistant Surgeon Richard Weightman.

24. Brig. Gen. Duncan L. Clinch who had his plantation near Fort Drane.

25. Fort Heileman was located at Garey's Ferry.

26. Brevet 1st Lieut. Alfred Herbert, 1st Artillery.

Childs with his company and ten men of Capt. Galt's company.²⁷ I volunteered my services to accompany the Scout. We landed at the mouth of Black Creek after dark. As we anchored about 250 yards from the shore we discovered 8 or 10 Indians moving about the fires. The mill & other buildings having been set on fire the day before. We took our position on the boat in extended order. At daylight we commenced our scout. We thoroughly charged the hammock on the right of our bivouac. Then marched to Travers' place on the St. Johns where we were joined by the Black Creek horsemen & the balance of "C" Company mounted. Then we seperated [sic] & continued the scout & returned at 3 o'clock. P.M. to the S. Boat and embarked. Just before we weighed anchor the St. Augustine Horsemen under Capt. Dummit reached the point of land at the mills (or ruins).²⁸

I was directed by Capt. Childs to report to them what we had done. I found with the command Lt. Irwin²⁹ and Lt. Herbert. We returned to Fort Heileman at 6 o'clock P.M. much fatigued and after a severe scout of 22 hours.

Saturday 30th. No news.

Sunday 31st. A fire was seen in the direction of Horse Hole branch & it was also reported in the direction of Marquis Fougere's place. A party of about 15 men was immediately made up. I volunteered my services to accompany the detachment. At 4 o'clock P.M. 2 men returned from the place and reported that the firing we heard was shooting birds. The scout of course did not start. At 10 o'clock P.M. a party of Col. Warren's mounted men arrived and reported that Col. Warren would arrive to-night.³⁰

Monday August 1st 1836. Col Warren arrived early this morning with 18 or 20 mounted men. Capt. Childs' company is ordered to proceed in company with the mounted men, 40, to Micanopy. A Howitzer is to go with the train, and having been detailed to go with it.

[End of the first journal]

27. Capt. Patrick Galt, 4th Artillery.

28. Captain Dummit is further unidentified.

29. 1st Lieut. James Irwin, 1st Artillery.

30. Probably Colonel John Warren who commanded the Fourth Regiment of Florida Volunteers.

1837. Fort Heileman, E.F.

Wednesday, Nov. 8th. Arrived at Black Creek from Baltimore, which I left on the 31st ult.

Sunday 12th. Commenced my duties in the Field as adjutant. Lt. Col. Bankhead commanding Fort Heileman.³¹ The weather since my arrival has been very pleasant. This evening 2 young Seminole warriors were brought to camp having been captured by a party of Florida militia about 25 miles S. The effective force of the command at this post according to the Field Dispatch made out today is [left blank in the original journal].³² The Dragoons 2nd Regiment under the command of Col. Twiggs commenced embarking today.³³ Two & a half companies for Volusia.³⁴ The remaining companies will embark for the same destination as fast as the S. Boat Conveyance up the St. Johns can be afforded.³⁵

Monday 13th. This afternoon two more companies of Dragoons (2nd Regiment) embarked on board the Steam Boat Cincinnati for Fort Mellon.³⁶ The mail of today brought me no letters. The weather continues pleasant.

A party of Florida mounted men returned from Rice Creek & reported that they chased 8 Indians for some time & that they escaped by entering into a dense hammock.³⁷ Camp Heileman E.F. near Fort Heileman.

Tuesday Novr. 14th. Col. Twiggs left his encampment on the north side of Black Creek with the Dragoons excepting part of one company for Volusia.³⁸

Wednesday 15th. The preparations for moving continue.

31. Lieut. Colonel James Bankhead, 2nd Artillery.

32. On November 30, there was a total of 455 officers and 8411 men including volunteers, militia, Indian allies and regular troops in Florida. Sunderman, *op. cit.*, 289.

33. Colonel David E. Twiggs, 2nd Dragoons.

34. Volusia was situated several miles south of Lake George. Fort Call was located there.

35. During the Florida War, steamboats carried personnel and supplies up and down the St. Johns River.

36. Fort Mellon was located on the south shore of Lake Monroe at the site of present day Sanford.

37. Rice Creek is further unidentified.

38. "Colonel Twiggs had been previously detached to Volusia with instructions to examine the country between the St. John's and the Ocklawaha." Sprague, *op. cit.*, 191.

Thursday, 16th. The last company of the 2nd Regiment Dragoons having left, orders were issued to the troops under the command of Col. Bankhead to embark. The general was back at 3 o'clock P.M. and the command was marched to Garey's Ferry for embarkation. Col. Bankhead & Adj. with 34 of the mounted men under Lt. Allen,³⁹ and Companies "F" of the 2nd Arty & "D" 4th Arty. The officers, Lt. Col. Bankhead commanding, Lt. Pickell adjt., 1st Lts. Ross⁴⁰ & Whitely.⁴¹ 2nd Lts. Phelps [Phelps]⁴² Pratt,⁴³ Martin,⁴⁴ Allen, Thomas⁴⁵ & Dr. Maffitt.⁴⁶ Comp. "F" 2nd Arty 57 non coms & privates. Co. D 4th Arty 50 do.⁴⁷

After the S. Boat Santee were the remaining half of the mounted men of Capt. Ringgold's comp.⁴⁸ now under the command of Lt. Allen and 2 companies of the 3rd Arty, under Lt. Col. Gates⁴⁹ upon the Steam Boat Forister. 3 comps. of the 3rd Arty.

The weather pleasant and by 6 o'clock Friday morning Nov. 17th we reached Volusia where we stopped for about an hour and visited the pickets. The post [is] under the command of Bvt. Maj. Gardner 4th Arty, with 2 companies.⁵⁰ The scenery along the banks of the St. Johns is thus far very monotonous. Before we entered Lake George the growth covered with Palmetto and Live Oaks. The pickets at Volusia is located upon a bank of shells [sic] and the country back to the hammock nearly one mile is composed of the same as also that on the opposite side along the bank. Volusia is situated upon the S.E. Side of Lake George & Lake Monroe occasionally contracts and expands from 100 yards

39. Probably 1st Lieut. Augustus P. Allen, 3rd Artillery.

40. 1st Lieut. Edward C. Ross, 4th Artillery.

41. 1st Lieut. Robert H. Whitely, 2nd Artillery.

42. 1st Lieut. John W. Phelps, 4th Artillery.

43. 2nd Lieut. Henry C. Pratt, 2nd Artillery.

44. 2nd Lieut. William T. Martin, 4th Artillery.

45. 2nd Lieut. George C. Thomas, 4th Artillery.

46. Asst. Surgeon William Maffitt.

47. "The 3rd and 4th Regiments of Artillery, under Colonel Bankhead, including Ringgold's Mounted Artillery, left Garey's Ferry and proceeded up the St. Johns, determined to establish a post about 40 or 50 miles above Lake Monroe, near a lake recently discovered, and supposed to be in the vicinity of the point where the main body of Indians are said to be concentrated." *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (December 7, 1837), 365.

48. Bvt. Captain Samuel Ringgold, 3rd Artillery.

49. Lieut. Col. William Gates, 3rd Artillery.

50. Bvt. Major John L. Gardner, 4th Artillery.

to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in width. We entered into Lake Monroe at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 4 o'clock P.M. and arrived off Fort Mellon at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 o'clock P.M. From the mouth of Lake Monroe to Ft. Mellon that was distinctly seen the direction is very little N of E distant about 4 miles. Being too late to land Col. Bankhead, Dr. Maffitt & myself went on shore, Lt. Col. Harney of the 2nd Dragoons comdg, to ascertain the best position for the encampment.⁵¹ We passed the Steam Boat about 12 miles from Ft. Mellon. Col. Harney informed us that [two] days since he went out about 2 miles from the Fort and discovered signs of two or three Indians. No Indians have been seen. The Fort occupied the ground which was a dense hammock when the Indians made their attack on the pickets in which Capt. Mellon was killed about two months ago.⁵² The ground is high and composed of hillocks of the same kind of shells as at Volusia. The situation is pleasant, facing upon Lake Monroe, a beautiful sheet of water.

Remarks about 30 miles of Volusia. Passed the entrance of a stream into the St. John's called the Silver Spring which is remarkable for the clear and groundlike color of the water. The line between the dark and green waters of the St. Johns & Silver Spring is beautifully striking to the view.

Birds, wild Turkeys, Ducks, several varieties of Cranes, Water Turkeys, Marsh hens and Alligators were seen in considerable numbers & afforded amusement to shoot them and particularly the Alligators. Lake Monroe is about 30 miles from Volusia. The Palmetto Grass and natural meadows hedged with evergreens presented beautiful objects of scenery. Our passage from Volusia to Ft. Mellon was very serpentine & several times in very short distances almost turned every point of the compass. In the afternoon we had several little showers of rain. We remained on Board of the S. Boat until morning.

Saturday 18th. Landed the troops, and encamped a Little distance from the bank of Lake Monroe in a beautiful & gentle slope. Busy in arranging the encampment.

Sunday 19th. The S. Boat Charleston with Gen'l Eustis arrived.⁵³

51. Lieut. Col. William S. Harney, 2nd Dragoons.

52. Fort Mellon was originally named Camp Monroe. Its name was changed in honor of Captain Charles Mellon, 2nd Artillery, who was killed in the attack on Camp Monroe of February 8, 1837.

Several showers of rain. An order for camp, 4th Regt. Arty; and Companies B, F, & H of the 3rd Arty under the command of Lt. Col. Bankhead to proceed by sunrise tomorrow in the Steamboats Santee & McLean to the highest accessible point of Lake Harney to establish a post on its west bank. The expedition is supplied with one six pounder & 100 rounds of ammunition and the whole command with 100 musket ball & Buck Shot cartridges each & 15 signal muskets. The officers of the Command-Lt. Col. Bankhead, Lt. Pickell, Adjutant, Dr. Maffitt, 1st Lieuts. Davidson,⁵⁴ & Ross, 2nd Lts. Tompkins,⁵⁵ Mock⁵⁶ Phelps, Martin, & Taylor.⁵⁷

Monday 20th. Struck our tents at sunrise and left Fort Mellon at $1\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock A.M. At the head of Lake Monroe we had considerable difficulty getting over the bar at the mouth-having only 4 ft. water on the Santee drawing loaded a few inches more. At 4 o'clock we passed over the bar and the S. Boat McLean passed over immediately after. We reached by dusk about 5 miles from the bar, in all say 8 miles from Fort Mellon. It rained in showers until we anchored for the night. The country bordering upon the river thus far is savannahs with occasionally a grove of Palmettoes. Our course has been southeasterly, the river meandering. The S. Boat McLean lays along side. Nothing has [been] received that requires to be particularly noted. Before I left Ft. Mellon I wrote to my brother informing him of our intended expedition.

Tuesday 21st. At $1\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 o'clock A. M. arrived at our position about $1\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the Western shore of the Lake and immediately after landed, the S. Boat anchored, had two boats manned with 20 men with arms in each boat and went on shore, in company with Col. Bankhead, Lieuts. Davidson, Ross, Tompkins, and Dr. Maffitt to examine the ground for the establish-

53. General Abram Eustis "having organized the regular troops, by assigning the recruits to companies, and having caused Volusia and Fort Mellon to be occupied, and proper garrisons of mounted men and foot to be placed at the several posts on the frontier to Fort King, proceeded from Garey's Ferry, on the 17th of November, to Fort Mellon. "Sprague, *op. cit.*, 190-191.

54. 1st Lieut. William B. Davidson, 3rd Artillery.

55. 2nd Lieut. Christopher C. Tompkins, 3rd Artillery.

56. 1st Lieut. William Mock, 3rd Artillery.

57. 2nd Lieut. George Taylor, 3rd Artillery.

ment of a military post. Upon landing we found that the high land along the shore was a narrow belt of white sand covered with palmettoes and a few live oaks interspersed. Beyond was wet, marshy land, extending along parallel to the coast for about 7 miles and broken at one place by a very wet cypress swamp which was found impracticable to pass. No position could be found upon this bank suitable to the object in view. It was unapproachable on the South in consequence of the wet strip of land about 500 yards wide. Enough of palmetto for the picketing but no good for fuel [and] could not be approached by the Steam Boats nearer than 50 yds. with 4 ft. water and no drinking and cooking. In the afternoon Lts. Davidson, Tompkins, & myself again landed to make a more critical examination, and were confirmed in the opinion in which we all concurred that it was impracticable to make a location upon this part of the shore. We discovered two small streams running very saline falling into the lake about 3 miles apart. The remains of several Indians lodges, but which did not appear to have been occupied for some time past, pieces of cloth and soldiers['] uniforms were found at the lodges and several hominy pounders used by the Indians. South of the ridge of sand we discovered a trail which ran nearly parallel to the shore and was no doubt at one time much used. The Indian track seemed to be but a day old going east. The ground had every indication of having been much trodden by horses and cattle probably a week or ten days since. Wolf & deer tracks, at several places near the lake. An excellent canoe was discovered[,] a flat, and several planks along the shore. The men took possession of the canoe and brought it to the S. Boat.

Several beautiful flowers grew upon the ridge. The coryopsis particularly was very abundant and exceedingly fragrant. The birds seen were several kinds of plovers, quail, ducks, white & blue cranes, Brant, black birds, and some small birds. I obtained on the shore a specimen of the [illegible] and several specimens of shells the inside of which had a fine pearly appearance. The bushes & grass along the shore showed that the water had been lately about 4 ft. higher than at present. The greatest length of the lake about 9 miles N. & S. The streams are literally filled with fish, trout, and sun fish. Large catfish were caught today

by some of the men from the S. Boats. The view to the East is one of interminable savannahs, covered with a luxurious growth of grass. I returned to the S. Boat after sunset much fatigued with the examination we had made. During the day we had several showers of rain some heavy. The sunset was the most perfectly glowing I have ever seen.

Wednesday 22nd. At daylight this morning I went with the Captains of the S. Boat Santee and McLean to sound the bar at the head of Lake Harney with the view of going up river with the McLean as far as practicable. The country on the western shore not being at all suitable for a military post, Col. Bankhead was induced from the favorable appearance of the character of the country higher up the river to examine the ground bordering upon it and to ascertain whether a more favorable position could be obtained for the proposed depot. Upon a careful sounding we found 3 ft. 8 inches over the bar, a sufficient depth for the McLean if lightened by removing the surplus wood, etc. to the Santee. We weighed anchor at 9 o'clock A.M. and passed over the bar without difficulty, and were again under weigh up the river at $\frac{1}{4}$ after 10 o'clock P.M. After proceeding 7 or 8 miles we grounded on 3 ft. 6 inches. Anticipating much delay in putting off which could only be affected by taking out the wood and other loading I proposed to Col. Bankhead to dispatch the yawl boat with a few hands, etc. under my direction to proceed up the river to examine it. At about 4 o'clock I started in the Boat with Capt. Curry of the McLean his mate and two hands.⁵⁸ At a short distance from the S. Boat we entered a Lake $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, and within the next 3 miles two other lakes were united by the straits of the river 3 or 400 yards long. After leaving the last lake we ascended the river about one mile from there. The river from the lake last noted is contracted to a width of 7 or 9 yards. The shore of the water from 3 to 7 ft. in depth and the banks covered with a high serge. At the termination of this reach, it opened into a beautiful lake nearly circular and of about 1 mile in diameter. This lake is evidently the head waters of the St. John's River and which terminated in the midst of the everglades, so celebrated as the terra incog. and which never before had been so far penetrated "by the white man" and

⁵⁸. Captain Curry is further unidentified.

perhaps never by the "red man." ⁵⁹ The head of the river is in a southeasterly direction from the head of Lake Harney and distant from 15 to 16 miles. The appearance of the everglades is interesting and spreading out E. and West from the head of the river 15 or 20 miles, dotted with three or four small groups of palmettoes. Towards the South the river is interminable.

The everglades are extensive savannahs, covered with high grass and checkered over with branches and ponds. Upon the summit the ground is very level and the grass grows to the height of 10 to 12 feet. That bordering the head of the Lake is a species of red serge and differs from the growth farther down the river. Water fowl were very plenty and never before were started from their green retreats by the noise of the boatman's paddle. The most numerous of the fowl kind was the curlew, which were of the white and brown species. Ducks, water hens, [and other fowl] were also numerous. After having critically coursed and examined the bank of the Lake we commenced our return at dark and reached the S. Boat at 9 o'clock P.M. In consequence of the lateness the Bell of the S. Boat was rung to advise us of its position, which we heard then about 3 miles from it. On our return, I had of course much to relate of the exploration. I was careful in sketching the part of the river above the S. Boat to the head of the River and took minute notes, adding my notes and sketches to those of Lieut. Davidson who accompanied the party. We were enabled after my return to make a correct map of the river and everglades from Lake Harney to the head of the river-and which we presented to Col. Bankhead. We remained in the river until next morning.

59. *The Army and Navy Chronicle* characterized the Everglades as an area in which "the climate [is] most delightful; but, from want of actual observation, [it] could not speak so confidently of the soil, although, from the appearance of the surrounding vegetation, a portion of it, at least, must be rich. Whenever the aborigines shall be forced from their fastnesses, as eventually they must be, the enterprising spirit of our countrymen will very soon discover the sections best adapted to cultivation, and the now barren or unproductive everglades will be made to blossom like a garden. It is the general impression that these everglades are uninhabitable during the summer months, by reason of their being overflowed by the abundant rains of the season; but if it should prove that these inundations are caused or increased by obstructions to the natural courses of the rivers, as outlets to the numerous lakes, American industry will remove these obstructions." *Army and Navy Chronicle*, VI (January 11, 1838), 28.

Thursday 23rd. At sunrise we were on our return to the Lake and which we reached the anchorage over the bar at about 9 o'clock A.M. and by 12 N. we were under weigh to the outlet of the Lake towing the Santee. At 1 P.M. the McLean was dispatched with a communication from Col. Bankhead to Genl. Eustis at Fort Mellon giving an account of our expedition and the result of the examination of the ground at the head of the Lake and to the head of the river, and recommending that another position be fixed upon as more favorable for a Depot. We dropped down from the mouth of the Lake $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile and fastened the Boat to the Shore at $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour before sunset. Here the men had an opportunity of cooking on the Shore and remained on shore until nearly 8 P.M. At 9 P.M. two signal rockets were fired off. Towards the S.E. smoke was discovered at several places. The fires were beyond the woods bordering the lake, apparently 10 miles from us. Last night and this morning uncomfortably cold. In consideration of having discovered the head of the St. John's River, Col. Bankhead did me the honor of naming the lake at its source Lake Pickell and accordingly wrote it upon the map. I forgot to say that the St. John's River is supplied by the rain that falls upon the level ground at the summit in the everglades which contains numerous natural resources. From the appearance of the grass the water has recently been 18 inches deep upon the general surface of the ground.

Friday 24th. This morning despatches were recd. from Genl. Eustis and Col. Bankhead directed the S. Boats to run up to the head of the Lake for the purpose of sending two barges up the river with the Negro guide Ben⁶⁰ to the upper crossing said to be 25 miles from the Lake. [Lieut.] Ross and myself had each charge of a Barge accompanied by Lieut. Tompkins and 30 men. We left the Bar at $\frac{1}{4}$ after 4 o'clock. P.M. and by 8 o'clock. We were in Lake P. and were obliged to return about one mile to get into another channel. We ran our boats to shore and at 9 o'clock. put up two Signal rockets as agreed upon when we arrived at our destination, but which we understood to be given when we stopped for the night. It was answered by the S. Boat on

60. Ben was a slave of Micanopy, Foreman, *op. cit.*, 344.

the Lake by one rocket. The night was very cold and of course our sleep was not very refreshing.

Saturday 25th. At daylight we were again under way and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 o'clock A.M. reached the main crossing about 25 or 27 miles above the lake. At a point 7 miles below we landed and visited a small Indian habitation on a Shell Hillock which we found under cultivation. Pumpkins and cabbages were growing upon it. No evidence of Indians having been on it for the last 10 or 12 days. This hillock was on the W. side and 4 or 500 yards from the landing. At the upper crossing we also landed, and wading through a pond 200 yds. wide and 3 or four feet deep we reached a palmetto grove and several Indian lodges. Here we found quite an extensive cultivation of Sweet Potatoes, peppers, pumpkins, etc. The Indians had just left it, as the fire was burning and the potato vines seemed to have been just dug up. I brought from it a branch of an orange tree. At noon we left on our return to the Lake and which we reached at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 4 P.M. having been about on the expedition 24 hours. Water fowl abounded and seemed to have increased as we ascended. The character of the country is savannah with occasional groves of palmettoes. Returning to the lake we met the S. Boat about 4 miles up. In consequence of our signal rockets having indicated to Col. B. that we had arrived at our destination at 9 o'clock last night, and not returning in the morning, Col. B. and those below were apprehensive that we had met with serious difficulty, and therefore they moved up the river.

Sunday 26th. At day light we left the head of the Lake for the outlet where we arrived by 7 o'clock A.M. Col. Bankhead directed me to proceed in the S. Boat McLean to Fort Mellon with dispatches for Genl. Eustis. We started at 8 A.M. and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 A.M. arrived at Fort Mellon. On my arrival I ascertained that a family of Indians had come in the day before and gave favorable accounts of the intentions of the Indians to come in after a talk was held between the several chiefs and warriors. It is said that Micanopy had directed that there should be a meeting at Powells creek about 60 miles from Fort Mellon. I am inclined to the opinion that the last rifle has been fired and this opinion is strengthened by the fact on coming down the river from the upper crossing there was afforded hundreds of oppor-

tunities from the notion of the country to have shot upon us undiscovered & of which they did not avail themselves. This I ascribe to their intention not to fire another rifle. So much for a digression.

Having rec'd my orders from Genl. Eustis I started on my return to Col. Bankhead's command at the outlet of Lake Harney, Genl. Eustis directed that we should return as soon as possible to Ft. Mellon, and more than probable a floating depot will be made at the head of Lake H. and Col. B.'s. command be directed to move up the St. John's to its highest point. Left the wharf at Ft. M. at $1/2$ after 7 P.M. The officers were all anxiously awaiting my return to hear what would be the destination of our command. All are in favor of the expedition up the St. John's River, and which could then be explored to its head.

Monday 27th. At 10 min. of 10 o'clk. A.M. we got underway for Ft. Mellon.⁶¹ I omitted to state in my yesterday's notes that the Cherokee delegation had arrived at Fort Mellon.⁶² Genl. Jessup [Jesup] with Col. Twiggs command of the 2nd Regt. of Dragons, and Major Gardner with 2 companies of the 4th Artillery from Volusia arrived also at about noon yesterday. On my

61. "We learn that Lt. Col. Bankhead, despatched by Gen. Eustis to establish a military post on the border of Lake Harney, not finding a suitable site there, ascended the river to its source, about 16 miles above the lake and ascertained that the river takes its rise in the Everglades, which presented to the eye an interminable extent of marsh interspersed with small lakes or ponds. From the appearance of the grass on the margins, it is supposed that the whole surface of this part of the Everglades, is at times under water. An eligible position, on this part of the river, has been selected as a military post by Colonel Bankhead," *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (December 14, 1837), 381-382.
62. The Cherokee delegation proceeded from their Nation to Augusta, Ga., and from there to Charleston, S. C. The *Charleston Courier* characterized the "talk" as containing "sentiments highly honourable to the influential Cherokee who penned it, showing that he understands the peculiar situation in which the aborigines of the country are placed, and properly estimates the good feelings entertained by the Government towards them." Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 352, *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (November 23, 1837), 331. From Charleston, the delegation proceeded to St. Augustine where they interviewed the Seminoles confined there. "The delegation had an interview with the Chiefs in the fort on Saturday," commented the *St. Augustine Herald*. "We understand that this interview was strictly confined to professions of friendship between themselves. We further learn that these Chiefs were delighted at the interview, and are sanguine as to the favorable result of their undertaking." *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (November 30, 1837), 346.

way down the weather was very pleasant & the atmosphere clear and the water and land checkered over with groves of palmetto presented a fine view. On my return in the evening the sunset was particularly glowing, and rich. We found much difficulty in getting the Santee over the bar and shallows of the river and did not reach the mouth of the river at the head of Lake Monroe until nearly 2 o'clock P.M. Finding it impossible to get the S. B. over the bar Col. Bankhead and myself went on board the Mc-Lean that had already crossed and proceeded in her to Fort Mellon and where we arrived at 3 o'clock P.M. After the two companies on board had landed she returned to the Santee with several lighters to take off what was necessary to reduce her draught of water to cross the bar.

Tuesday 28th. The Santee did not succeed in coming over the bar until about noon today. The arrangements with the delegation of the Cherokee chiefs having been made for their departure, they left the Camp at 2 o'clk. P.M. to meet the Seminole Chiefs in council at Powell Creek said to be 50 miles distant in a S. Westerly direction. After going through the ceremony of shaking hands they mounted their horses and rode slowly through the camp. The delegation 5 in number headed by the celebrated Seminole Chief Co-a-hadjo, attired in the rich costume of his nation, presented an imposing spectacle and left us with our best wishes for their success in their errand of peace.⁶³ God grant they may succeed and prevail upon the hostile chiefs to come in, and yield without further bloodshed to the necessity which they cannot by any means obviate. The opinion of the officers is that the delegation will be successful. It is expected to return by

63. "Today we have received five Cherokee chiefs, who have come in to negotiate with the Seminoles," wrote Col. Gates from Ft. Mellon. "They had a conference with Oseloa and others, and three selected, have gone out to invite Sam Jones and others to a talk. Coahadjo is here, and declares his sincere belief that they will come in to a talk, and that all will be peace again. They are all looked for in two or three days. We have so often been deceived by their negotiations, that I have very little confidence in their good faith. The principal chief of the Cherokees has sent in his pipe, and Coadadjo is quite certain the Seminole chiefs will respect it. He seems agitated at the idea of our troops removing soon, and hopes the cavalry will not meet any of his people before some come in. For one, I am prepared to pass the winter in pursuit of them, through mud and water." *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (December 21, 1837), 394.

Saturday next. That day so important to our future operations, is awaited with the most patient anxiety.

Wednesday 29th. At 10 o'clock. A.M. Col. Bankhead's command is ordered on an excursion of 3 or 4 miles for the sake of recreation. As the command was forming on the grand parade we had a shower of rain and several showers while on the march. We proceeded about 3 miles and we returned to camp by 1 o'clock P.M. An order was issued for a general court martial to convene at this post tomorrow. Genl. Eustis President and Lt. Davidson Judge Advocate. Wrote to [illegible] by the Santee which leaves tomorrow. The wolves for the last two nights have made much noise around our encampment. Their barking to those who have not heard them before in an Indian country would take it, to be the terrible yelling of the savages. Such it seemed to me at first, but being now accustomed to their noise it is easily distinguished from the yell of the Indians.⁶⁴

Thursday 30th. At 11 o'clock A.M. a detachment of recruits 120 or 130 arrived from the New York rendezvous under Lieuts. Allen⁶⁵ & Lincoln.⁶⁶ Several days ago an Indian runner was sent out at the request of Osceola who is a captive in St. Augustine, to bring in his family.⁶⁷ Their arrival is expected for the last two days, but did not arrive until 4 o'clock. this afternoon. They came with a white flag, hoisted upon a staff or pole 8 feet high and presented altogether a pitiable sight. The bearer of the flag was a fine looking young warrior and the head of the train, which was composed of about 50 souls including the two wives of Osceola and his two children & sister 3 warriors and the remainder negro men, women, and children. The negro part of the train was a wretched picture of squalid misery. I have just received (8 o'clock. P.M.) an order to have 12 privates & 2 non-commissioned officers detailed to guard them to St. Augustine

64. "On the 29th ult. Col. Bankhead, with hisETAOIN-sTCia32. as, Mellon, having returned there a day or two previous from his expedition up the St. John's, without being able to establish a fort or depot either on or above Lake Harney, as he could not find a suitable place. He ascended the river 14 miles above Lake Harney." *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (December 14, 1837), 382.

65. Probably 2nd Lieut. Robert Allen, 2nd Artillery.

66. 2nd Lieut. George Lincoln, 4th Infantry.

67. Osceola had been taken prisoner on October 20, Boyd, *op. cit.*, 296-297.

and they will leave in the S. Boat at reveille tomorrow morning. They say, to avoid meeting with the Indians who are hostile they were obliged to leave the trail. They have been on their way a number of days and were much fatigued when they arrived. They brought two miserable looking Indian ponies with them. From the voraciousness of their appetites when they were supplied with food, they seemed to have been nearly starved. They inform us, that Sam Jones,⁶⁸ or A-bi-a-ca, is about 30 miles from us, with several hundred warriors and is determined not to surrender, but give us battle in the open pine woods in which he has his present position. They did not see the Cherokee delegation, but came upon its trail after it passed them. They appeared much surprised at the number of troops we have here. They expected to see but a few soldiers. They also state that they saw us when we were up the river in the S. Boat, but too much fatigued to get to us, in time, and which they were anxious to do.

Friday, December 1st. By the order last evening the Indians and negroes, that surrendered themselves yesterday were to have left for St. Augustine immediately after reveille, did not leave until 9 o'clk. A.M. in the Steam Boat for Picolata where they would be furnished with waggons to carry them to St. Augustine. The Indians were very reluctant to leave; they did not relish the idea of going on board of the "fire Boat" and even Osceola's family manifested rather an indisposition to go to St. Augustine. We hear nothing more from the Indians today. The two negroes that were kept as guides were further interrogated and they repeated in substance what they had said yesterday. To the question "What number of Indian warriors Sam Jones or A:bi:a:ca had with him" Negro Sampson⁶⁹ replied that A:bi:a:ca had them all collected that is the service tribes, and they amounted to 1900. This is doubtful as it exceeded the number as it is stated by others.

This is the first day of winter and I cannot but reflect upon the contrast of the weather in this sunny climate, and that of the north. The air is soft and delightful. The woods are green,

68. Sam Jones or Arpeika or Abiaca, was "then about seventy-eight years of age, [and] occupied the country near the mouth of the Kissimmee river and the eastern border of Lake Okeechobee." Sprague, *op. cit.*, 270.

69. Sampson was probably another of the slaves held by the Seminoles.

and the ground covered with all varieties of beautiful and fragrant flowers. At the north, I presume winter has set in with the frosts and snows that belong to its latitudes. The woods have long since been stripped of its foliage and the earth covered with its deep mantle of snow. Here no fires are required, for the air is as mild and pleasant as in the balmy month of May. At the north, the domestic hearth blazes with a cheerful fire, and the fire-side is made still more pleasant by social intercourse by which hour after hour is beguiled with the time of retirement. Here the bed is the ground, with one solitary blanket to intercept the heavy dew which falls like a drizzling shower during the night. Tomorrow we will look for the return of the Cherokee delegation. If they will not have succeeded, on Monday next we strike our tents and march to meet the enemy.

Saturday Decr. 2nd. The Steam Boat Cincinnati arrived this afternoon from Black Creek and brought the unfortunate intelligence of the escape of 20 Indians from their confinement in the Fort in St. Augustine, among which were Wild Cat, or Co-a-coo-chiee one of the most inveterate and hostile of the chiefs and Philip's son.⁷⁰ They made their escape on Wednesday night, through the embrasures of the casements in which they were confined and lowered themselves from the outside 14 to 16 ft. to the ground. This will we apprehend have an unfavourable effect upon the termination of the war and particularly if they have been able to reach A-bi-a-ca's camp, before the Cherokee delegation will have concluded its "talk" with the hostile chiefs assembled in council at Powell's Creek. If the council was held as early as expected when the delegates left our camp on Tuesday last and which is supposed to have been concluded yesterday,

70. Coacoochee "made his way south, and succeeded in reaching the camp of Arpeika or Sam Jones, who was on his way with his people to Fort Mellon to meet General Jesup, along with the other chiefs of the nation. The representations of Coacoochee, who had been greatly exasperated by his imprisonment, and the treatment received by him, . . . at once aroused the suspicions and indignation of that wary and hostile old chief; who not only immediately relinquished all idea of surrendering or communicating further with the commanding general, but succeeded in preventing all the Indians who were out, from coming in or listening to any proposal for peace. But for this untoward event, the war would certainly have terminated at this juncture, instead of being renewed and prolonged, as it was afterwards, through several eventful and disastrous years." Sprague, *op. cit.*, 219-220.

they have not had time to reach it, as they must necessarily have travelled slowly in consequence of their long confinement and cautiously to escape apprehension, as no doubt they were immediately pursued upon learning that they had made their escape on Thursday morning.

Sunday Decr. 3rd. The Steam Boat McLean arrived at 10 o'clock. A.M. from Black Creek. About 5 o'clock. P.M. information reached Camp that the Cherokee delegation with about 20 warriors & chiefs were within 5 miles on the way to our encampment, Micanopy at their head.⁷¹ I received orders to have the assembly sounded and the soldiers were immediately paraded under arms on the company parades. Soon after sunset the delegation appeared accompanied by Micanopy, Little Cloud⁷² and about 20 warriors with a white flag. They were escorted to the commanding Generals tent after the chiefs had dismounted and shook hands. After a few questions were answered they retired to the tent that was pitched for them, and were informed that tomorrow morning a "talk" would be held with them. The delegation met them 50 miles distant and were received kindly. Another party of the hostiles is expected in tomorrow morning. A-bi-a-ca, or Sam Jones not being well enough to ride the distance, he sent his nephew as his representative and who came with the party, with the information that if Genl. Jessup [Jesup] would treat him well and send one of the Cherokees to him with that pledge he would come in with all his warriors amounting to about 400. Co-a-hadjo also accompanied the return of the delegation. The command under Co. Bankhead up the river was seen by the Indian and had an intention to make an attack upon us while we were either in Boats up the river or while we had landed from the S. Boat at the head of Lake Harney. If they had attacked us while exploring above the head of the Lake, the advantages they possessed would have enabled them to do us very serious injury. It was reported in camp today that the reports of cannon were heard in a S.W. direction. The tent the Indians occupy is 25 or 30

71. The escape of Coacoochee came too late to prevent Micanopy from coming into Fort Mellon. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 300. Micanopy was the titular head of the Seminole nation.

72. Little Cloud or Taholoochee, "was remarkable for his bold achievements as a hunter and warrior, and for his bitter animosity to the whites." Sprague, *op. cit.*, 97.

yds. from mine. At 10 o'clk. P.M. I looked at them around their fires. It was a novel sight. They appeared to be cheerful or occasionally they laughed outright at joking with each other.

Monday 4th. At 9 o'clk. 10 more warriors came in, and at 1 o'clk. P.M. 3 more and at 4 o'clk. P.M. 3 more warriors arrived in camp making altogether 16 warriors that came in today. The last three, say they are from Econlike-Hatchee Creek which empties into the St. Johns river about 2 miles above Lake Harney. This day has been one of considerable anxiety, as the officers were generally of opinion that the army ought to have moved towards A-bi-a-ca. My opinion is that early this morning one of the Cherokee delegation ought to have been sent out to Abiaca, informing him that if he would surrender unconditionally, he and his warriors would be well treated, and that if they were so disposed they could meet us on the march or on his own ground. That we did not wish to destroy them, but only to abide by the provisions of the treaty and surrender themselves and emigrate. Parleying with the Indians gives them only hopes that cannot be fulfilled, and if they fired one solitary rifle or made resistance they would be dealt with as enemies in arms against us. Promptness in this respect, in my opinion, would have had the effect we all most earnestly desire: An unconditional surrender and consequently a termination of hostilities. The commanding General has no doubt acted at this important crisis upon the most mature deliberation, and after weighing in his mind the consequences that might result from the several modes that presented themselves to his mind from all the lights with which he has been furnished. I must confess, that in my belief in the sincerity of the Indian chiefs who have come in with the exception of Micanopy and Co-a-hadjo is a little impaired by their apparent indifference and manner have, I hope I am mistaken. It is reported that a Cherokee will leave tonight for a-bi-a-ca's camp to carry the "talk" to him. If Abiaca is sincere, he will come in or meet us on our march and deliver up his army. He is considered the most important chief after Osceola, and his inveteracy to the whites is said even to exceed that of the captive chief in St. Augustine.

It was reported that a "talk" would be held this even, but nothing has been done. We are laying upon our oars and quietly

looking ahead to the shore which unless some movement is made, we can never reach,-the termination of the difficulties with the Seminoles.

Tuesday 5th. This morning the S. Boat Santee arrived and at about 4 o'clock. P.M. the S. B. Camden. At noon the "talk" was held with the chief and warriors, in the area in front of Genl. Jessup's tent. Micanopy, Cloud, Tuskegee & others took their seats on benches.⁷³ Micanopy was seated in the middle of his council chiefs. Cloud & Co-a-hadjo on his left and Tuskegee & one other on his right. The replies to the interrogation of the commanding Genl. were made by Micanopy, who occasionally consulted his chiefs before a question was answered. The "talk" did not seem to me to be entirely sincere on the part of the chiefs, although the questions were generally answered without much hesitation. The questions were propounded by Genl. Jessup and in much detail. Micanopy pledged himself that if Indian runners were allowed to go out to Abiaca, Jumper and the other chiefs that they would come in with their warriors and surrender their arms. As a guarantee for the fulfillment of this promise the commanding General required that the women and children of the Indians that were nearest the camp should at once be brought in and also, the women & children of the captives in St. Augustine. The several chiefs selected the runners and they left our camp at 5 o'clock. P.M. on horseback with the necessary supply of provisions for the time allowed to them to return. The runner to Abiaca is directed to get back in 7 days. The runner to Jumper in 10 days, and another to return in 10 days. I rode out a few miles this afternoon, in company with several officers and met a young warrior on his way to camp. He said that there was another near him, but who was afraid to come in. The one we met was a nephew of Co-a-hadjo. Upon telling him that Micanopy & other chiefs were in camp and that they would be treated well, he went back for his companion and both then proceeded to Camp. Tomoka John and one of our interpreters (negro) were

73. The *Army and Navy Chronicle* commented that the negotiations held promise of the speedy termination of hostilities. "Such an event will be hailed with general joy throughout the country, as not only giving tranquility to one of the fairest portions of our country, but as restoring the army to its wonted regularity and its appropriate stations." *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (December 21, 1837), 392.

also met and they informed us that 4 Indians, 2 of the Tallahassee tribe were about 5 miles out, but they could not be prevailed upon to come with them to camp, and would allow them only to approach near enough to talk with them. An order has just been issued for a court martial. Col. Bankhead President for the trial of Lieut. Howe of the 2nd Regt. Dragoons.⁷⁴ Weather continues pleasant.

Wednesday 6th. Genl. Jessup & Staff left at 10 o'clock for Black Creek to organize the Troops there, from Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee for service. Several Indians came in to camp this morning.

Thursday 7th. Steam Boat James Adams left for Black Creek and Charleston. This day has had few incidents to make it distinguished. The day was cloudy and an occasional drizzling of rain. An Indian came in this morning and this evening as Dr. Maffitt and myself were riding along the trail a few miles from Camp we met a family of Co-a-hadjo's people-men-women & three children coming to camp. They were the most miserable and starved looking creatures that have yet presented themselves. They arrived in camp and after getting something to eat for them, they were allowed to go out to their wigwam under the promise of returning in the morning.

Friday 8th. The Indian family returned to camp. The Steamer Camden left at 10 o'clock. A.M. with Lieut. Lincoln and his company (64) of recruits. The S. Boat Cincinnati arrived at 3 o'clock. P.M. from Black Creek, brought nothing-that is, no letters.

Saturday 9th. The S. Boat Cincinnati left at noon for Black Creek. Five Indians came in this morning. Two of these were taken down to Lake George with Genl. Jessup a few days ago where they said a small party of Indians resided & that they could prevail upon them to come to camp. They returned with 3 of them. They state that upwards of 40 Indians will be in tomorrow, they camp at a swamp about 15 miles distant tonight. The thermometer at 12 M. stood at 94° above zero-sun exposure. At 2 o'clock. P.M. in the shade at 82° above zero-and having laid a short time on the ground, it rose to 104°.

74. 1st Lieut. Marshall S. Howe, 2nd Dragoons.

Sunday 10th. The Steam Boats McLean & Santee arrived today, brought no letters, both having left Black Creek on the evening before the arrival of the mail. The wolves made a tremendous howling last night.

A party of Indians including 7 warriors-the rest women & children arrived in camp at 10 o'clk. P.M. At 4 o'clk. P.M., Col. Bankhead, Major Lomax ⁷⁵ and myself rode out about 3 miles and came to an Indian camp where we found 2 warriors and 8 or 10 women & children. They will be in our camp tomorrow. Provisions have been sent out to them. Upwards of 40 sticks were sent in yesterday, which indicates the number of Indians on their way & within one day's march of camp.

Monday 11. No arrivals of Indians today. Bush-Bankhead one of the Cherokee delegation not coming in yesterday in a favorable circumstance, as it was understood if Abiaca did not consent to come to the camp with his warriors, he was to have returned yesterday. ⁷⁶ [sic] The fine looking young warrior, a nephew of King Philip, who asked permission on the day of the council to go out for the cattle that belonged to him, and for which Genl. Jessup agreed to pay a just price, if they were believed in camp, has not yet returned as he had stated he would. ⁷⁷ He will probably return with Abiaca.

The Steam Boats Forester & Santee arrived this afternoon from Black Creek. Genl. Jessup and staff returned in the Santee. Recd. a letter from Genl. Weightman. ⁷⁸

This day has been cool and a fire in the morning & evening quite comfortable. Gen. Hernandez' command on the opposite side of the Lake and announced its arrival there by firing three times. ⁷⁹ Yesterday the band of music belonging to the 2nd Regt. Dragoons arrived from Garey's Ferry & for the last two nights we have been favored with their fine music. Rode out with several officers to the Indian encampments two or three miles distant. No new arrivals of Indians at any of them.

75. Brevet Major Mann P. Lomax, 3rd Artillery.

76. Pickell probably is in error here. The delegate's name was Jesse Bushy-head.

77. Further unidentified.

78. Further unidentified.

79. Brig. General Joseph Hernandez commanded the forces east of the St. Johns River.

Tuesday 12th. Bushy Head,⁸⁰ one of the Cherokee delegation and one of Cloud's Indians came at dusk this evening. Bushy-head was not as successful as we had wished. Abiaca does not appear to be disposed to surrender. Jumper says he will come in, but is lame and cannot walk fast. Genl. Jessup will send a horse to him. After Bushy-head's return to camp a "talk" was held in front of Genl. Jessup's tent, at which Micanopy, Cloud and several of the sub-chiefs attended. The General gave the Chiefs to understand that no more time can be lost and that Co-a-coo-chee, Tus-ke-nug-gee, Miceo and others must be surrendered at once, and that he would not listen to terms of peace unless they brought it. The return of Bushy-head produced a considerable excitement in camp. We had been expecting him since morning. His return would bring us intelligence of an important character and which would determine the character of our operations if the Indians would come in with him, no more blood would be shed. If they refused and persisted in their hostilities they would be met as enemies in war and be dealt with accordingly.

Bushy-head and Mr. Fields, two of the delegation are determined if the hostiles can be prevailed upon to yield, to leave no efforts untried. They will leave tonight and expect to be with Abiaca by 11 o'clock tomorrow morning. Bushy-head said the last words he spoke to Abiaca when he found he was not willing to yield to his persuasions was—"well, Abiaca, the consequences will be upon your head. The blood that will be shed you will be answerable for, if you will not regard my advice, farewell."

Wednesday 13th. Last night we had several hard showers of rain, and it continued raining until 10 o'clock A.M. after which it cleared off, and the weather continued very pleasant. At 5 o'clock P.M. it was reported that 2 of the Indians were missing. A party was sent after them. One of them was a ferocious looking half negro and the other a nephew of Abiaca. Three warriors and 7 or 8 women & children came in this afternoon.

The Steam Boat Forester left early this morning for Black Creek.

80. Such missions "were dangerous, for the Seminole chiefs and warriors had decreed the penalty of death for Indians consenting to emigrate and for white or Indian emissaries seeking to confer with them on the subject." Foreman, *op. cit.*, 353.

An order was issued yesterday placing Genl. Hernandez' Command under Genl. Eustis, and dividing the whole military force in Florida into two divisions-under Generals Armistead and Eustis.⁸¹

Thursday 14th. At 7 or 8 o'clk. this morning Bushy head and Mr. Fields returned and brought unfavorable intelligence. The Indian that came in with Bushy head on Thursday evening accompanied them back towards Abiaca's camp, and when within a mile or two of it told them that they need go no farther, that he was authorized by Abiaca to tell a lie to the white people and that Abiaca had left his camp and did not intend to come in, but was ready to give them battle whenever they came to his country. As soon as the Indian had made this statement and they found he had practiced deception, they left him without proceeding further and returned to our camp with this unexpected intelligence. Immediately after the Indians, women & children & negroes amounting to 72 souls were collected. The guard was doubled and arrangements made for sending them to St. Augustine. This party including Micanopy and Coahadjo numbered about 30 warriors or fighting men. 24 rifles were taken from them and secured. They embarked on board Steam Boat Santee at 2 o'clk. P.M. with a guard of 18 men, 2 non-commissioned officers under the command of Lieut. Jones of the 3rd Arty.⁸² An order issued for 4 companies of the 3rd Arty. and 2 companies of the 2nd Regt. Dragoons under the command of Major Lomax, to take up the line of march at sunrise and open a waggon road along the trail round the head of Lake Jessup and to the head of Lake Harney. The rest of the army will follow in all probability on Saturday morning. A report reached camp this morning that several Indians were seen a short distance outside the line of Sentinels. Yesterday we felt as if it was a time of peace. Today it is truly a time of war. By the Steam Boat Santee left. [sic] Since the departure of the Indians, the camp is comparatively quiet. And were we not preparing for the march which occupies our time, pretty constantly to day we might say that the camp is also less interesting. There was even until this

81. Bvt. Brig. Gen. W. K. Armistead, who in 1840 assumed the command of the army in Florida.

82. 2nd Lieut. Robert T. Jones, 3rd Artillery.

day some novelty in the character, manners and customs of the Indian which amused and interested. The groups around their fires, women cooking sofka. The men making moccasins and the boys shooting through the reed at small oranges and numerous other novelties of the "red man," that almost constantly attracted attention. Even the dress of the chiefs and warriors with their wampum, leggins and frock fancifully decorated and ornamented and their party colored turbans crowned with feathers and silver bands with their dignified step and gesture and their occasionally good humor'd frivolities were all so many sources of interest to us, that now, it has left a blank, which would still be more observed, were it not for the excitement attendant upon the preparation for that march. It is said that "Cloud" was much affected when he got on board the Steam Boat, that he actually shed tears, but as he had a villainous look, my opinion is that the tears were more on account of the impossibility of making his escape than anything else. We are all of the opinion in as far as I have been able to know the opinion of the officers that Micanopy was in all he promised sincere. The noble looking chief Co-a-hadjo was probably equally sincere in all his professions of peace and friendship.

There are a number of incidents connected with an encampment that renders it interesting, especially upon such ground as we now occupy. Our encampment is on a gentle slope and about 300 or 400 yds. from the lake. In front is the Dragoon encampment and on the right and left open pine woods interspersed with a few live oaks and palmettoes on the flanks. At night groups of officers collect around fine blazing fires and talk over perhaps the occurrences of the day and discuss "matters and things in general," socially. The nature of the conversations is given according to circumstances-as the conversation is to pass time the most pleasantly, the subject changes perhaps a hundred times in the course of an evening. This time is agreeably and pleasantly passed until it is time to retire to our tents for rest.

How often do I think of my friends and of "home" where all the comforts and conveniences of life are richly enjoyed. The life of the soldier in the abstract is one of toil, care, anxiety and excitement: his fare coarse and simple,-but with all he is con-

tent and is sustained only by the hope that his discomforts, inconveniences, privations, and hardships will have an end, and that he will at the termination of his service return to his friends, with the satisfaction that he has faithfully performed his duties in the course in which his country has called him.

Friday, 15th. The command under Major Lomax left at 7 o'clk. this morning. The weather pleasant the sky unclouded and a fine bracing breeze from the north. A very favorable day to begin the march.

This is certainly the most uninteresting day we have since we encamped here. The Indians gone, no Steam Boat arrived. The weather as usual, no incidents, no circumstances that are worthy of being recorded. It is only remarkable, because nothing has occur'd of sufficient interest to make a remark of in the journal. We are anxiously expecting a Steam Boat from Black Creek, which will bring us the Monday's mail.

Saturday, Dec. 16th. The Steam Boat Camden left at 9 o'clk. A.M. with the Cherokee delegation for Black Creek. The negotiations between the hostile Indians and the government has been entirely unsuccessful. The Indians played a deep *ruse de guerre* by the deception they practiced upon the delegation and upon the army. The delay it has caused, they have availed themselves of, no doubt either to move farther south and to a country still more inaccessible to the Army, or otherwise strengthened themselves, while we were quietly awaiting the fulfillment of their promises & pledges at de day that was designated at the "talk." Every disposition has been manifested on the part of the Commanding General to promote the object of the Delegation and to induce the Indians to surrender, without further resistance and which would result unavoidably to the serious injury of Indians as a people & as a nation. This we are all seriously desirous to avoid and had hopes the Cherokee delegation who have no doubt very honestly and sincerely used every exertion to prevail upon A-bi-aca or Sam Jones the most important and influential chief of the hostiles to yield to their wishes and prevent the farther affusion of blood, and perhaps their extermination as a people. The consequences of their continued resistance has been represented to them. They are aware off what will follow. The commanding

general distinctly informed de runners when they went out, that if one drop of blood was shed by any one of them, the captives would be executed & that it would most assuredly be called into effect.

Of the origin of the war, it does not enter into the character of this. Daily notes, to inquire, but in justice to the commanding General it is due to state that every indulgence every persuasion every means consistent with the policy of the government has been regarded and used to terminate, without the alternative of arms, this protracted war by the mediation of the Cherokee delegation to which the War Department has given much importance by its sanction and acceptance. We are now on the eve of another campaign. Maj. Dearborn⁸³ with 2 companies of the 2nd Infantry embarked on board of 2 Barges and 1 Lighter for the head of Lake Harney with provisions. He will proceed to the position occupied by Col. Bankhead's command on the 23rd ult. where the army will repair to, should it become necessary to supply it with provisions from that quarter. An order is issued for Col. Bankhead's command consisting of detachments of the 3rd & 4th Artillery and Capt. Washington's Company to take up the line of march at sunrise tomorrow morning and join the advance part of the Brigade⁸⁴ - the command to take 4 days provisions. The field report of today that will march is 682 officers and soldiers-24 soldiers will be left on account of sickness.⁸⁵

83. Brevet Major Greenleaf Dearborn, 2nd infantry.

84. Captain John M. Washington, 4th Artillery.

85. The Cherokee delegation arrived in Washington in January. "They had penetrated the interior of Florida, and succeeded in obtaining a conference with the hostiles on friendly terms, and in delivering a talk prepared in [Washington] by John Ross, with the approbation of the Secretary of War." *Army and Navy Chronicle*, VI (January 18, 1838), 41. The report of the Cherokee delegation has been edited by Grant Foreman, "Report of the Cherokee Deputies in Florida," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (1931), 423-438.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Florida Handbook, 1959-60. Compiled by Allen Morris. (Tallahassee, Peninsular Publishing Company, 1959. xvi, 486 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. \$4.00.)

Published biennially since 1947, this *handbook* has grown in content and usefulness as a reference book and in interest to the general reader. The core of the volume has always been governmental Florida and related topics which account for nearly half of the book. A complete guide to the various departments, boards, and commissions that make up state government and administration takes up nearly one hundred pages. Closely related are the 16-page State Constitution, with its 33 pages of amendments, and the very necessary 11-page special index to the Constitution. "People in the Florida News," is a section devoted to thumbnail sketches of nearly 300 persons, mostly those currently in legislative, judicial, executive, and administrative posts in the state. Also in this category are statistics of voting in Democratic Primary and general elections for governor, United States Senator, President of the United States, and for various elective officers in the state. Sections entitled "Productive Florida" and "Florida's Names" each occupy about 40 pages; and there is among many other shorter items, a brief section on "Education and Culture." The section on place names and their origin is an eloquent commentary on what has not yet been done in this field. Admittedly not complete, it should serve as a challenge to someone to continue the compilation of what is known and to work to complete the research into the origin of place names in which so much history lies buried.

But the feature of greatest interest to students of the State's history is "Florida in the War, 1861-1865," by Dorothy Dodd, State Archivist-Librarian, which appropriately occupies the first 90 pages in the 1959-60 issue of the *Handbook*. The only general history of the War Between the States is W. W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, published in 1913, and long since out-of-print. This article is both more and less than the larger work. If it is less complete as to details of politics and military history, it is at the same time more accurate in inter-

[172]

pretation and full of human interest which comes from the intimate knowledge Dr. Dodd has of the State's history and the people who have made it. It is illustrated with reproductions of some three dozens of old drawings and photographs and a few original charts. The documentation provides an excellent bibliography for any further study of the subject. The article deserves a better fate than to be buried in a handbook, but Mr. Morris should certainly be congratulated for securing such a feature to adorn his reference volume.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

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The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854. By Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. *University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences*, No. 1. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1959. 73 pp. \$2.00 Paper.)

In the decade 1845-1854, the Whig and Democratic parties gave Florida its only real taste of a two-party system, and mirrored, in miniature, the political division of the United States. Mr. Doherty's monograph is a much needed inquiry into the history and composition of the short-lived Whig complex.

As was true of the party throughout the United States, the Florida Whigs were a heterogeneous group. Dominated by the landed interests, the lawyer-planter-speculator class drew its primary strength from middle Florida. Prior to the Panic of 1837, the Whigs, then known as the "Nucleus," had controlled the Territorial Legislative Council and continued to control the Governorship during most of the pre-statehood period. Conservative in office, the Whigs encouraged the promotion of credit facilities, especially the chartering of banks whose bonds were safeguarded by the "faith," that is, public credit, of the territory. It was this solicitude for the banking interests, plus the growing interest in statehood, that allowed the Democrats, posing as champions of the people, to seize control first of the Legislative Council and finally the entirety of the newly-formed state government.

From 1837 to 1845 the power of the Whigs in Florida underwent a serious decline, a decline which can be accounted

for by their lack of party organization, internal dissension in their ranks, and the absence of dynamic leadership. The Conservative group was never able to match the tightly knit party organization which was the hallmark of the Democrats, but rather continued to use a system of multiple conventions which greatly cut down on the efficiency of the whole. The passage of time, however, rectified the other weaknesses of the party. The split between the Federal, pro-bank wing and the anti-bank, States' rights Whigs was healed as the banking issue faded from the local scene. And the leadership void was filled by the appearance of Edward C. Cabell, "the most skilled practical politician among the Florida Whigs."

In 1845, Cabell carried on a vigorous campaign for Florida's seat in the House of Representatives vacated by the legislative election of David L. Yulee to the Senate. Although defeated in this, his first attempt, Cabell was elected the following year and served in the House until the breakup of the Whigs in 1852.

By 1847, the Whigs had won control of both houses of the state legislature, but their biggest success came in the election of 1848. Riding the crest of Whig popularity, which on the national scene would sweep General Zachary Taylor into the presidency, the Florida group captured the governorship, the single seat in the House of Representatives, as well as retaining control of the state legislature. Two years later the Whigs were just as successful in a bitter campaign in which they defended the Compromise of 1850 while the Democrats attacked it as a betrayal of the South.

After 1850, as the pro-slavery and anti-slavery extremists ate away the middle ground, the power of the Whigs, both in the state and in the nation, suffered sadly. Little by little the States' rights wing of the party was absorbed into the more radical Democratic group, while the pro-Unionist wing moved into the camp of the Constitutional Union party. Disaster overtook the party in 1852 when Cabell was defeated for his House seat and the governorship was surrendered to the Democrats. Once again, in 1854, the Whigs went down to defeat, the last election in which they were to run a full slate in the state. Florida's all too short experiment in a two party system was at an end.

It should be pointed out that this little book is important not only in that it is an excellent examination of a critical period in Florida history, but also, in that it is the first of a series of publi-

cations in the field of the social sciences projected by the University of Florida. The recognition by that university of the value of such studies will certainly be a great incentive for liberal scholarship and research in the state.

VAUGHAN CAMP, JR.

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True Tales of the Florida West Coast, By Jack Beater. (Workshop House, Fort Myers, 1959. 125 pp. Illustrations. \$1.00 Paper.)

This very interesting and extremely entertaining book is divided into four parts. Part One includes ten authentic tales based on the lives and times of some famous Gulfcoast pioneers, including Thomas Edison, Henry Ford, Peter Knight, Bill Collier and others. Part Two relates the lives, deeds, and misdeeds of six eighteenth century pirates who once held sway on Florida's West Coast islands, including a biography of Gasparilla who has now become Tampa's patron rogue. Part Three tells seven true tales of buried treasures and treasure hunting; and Part Four contains eleven stories of business, opportunities, romance, murder, and humor up and down the coast.

Mr. Beater is an excellent writer and his stories of early and recent history along the West Coast are of some value to the historian and are of greater value to the general reader who wants a good yarn. This short book is certainly full of exciting stories concerning heroes and personalities of West Florida. I cannot quarrel with the author over certain points for in a foreword he admits the fact that certain liberties have been taken in names and locations. The book should be included in any library or bookshelf devoted to Florida History for it contains interesting anecdotes not found in other books relating to the area.

Before any reader is taken in completely by the Jose Gaspar account it might be wise to check the movements of the *Enterprise* during 1821 and attempt to prove that the ship came within two hundred miles of Gasparilla Island during that and any other year.

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Sorrell, Gilbert Moxley. *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer*, Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. *Monographs, Sources, and Reprints in Southern History* (Jackson, Tenn., 1958. McCowat-Mercer Press, 1958. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$5.00.)

This is another volume in the series of contemporary Confederate accounts of the Civil War reprinted under the general editorship of Professor Bell Irvin Wiley. It is one of the most important of the Southern Civil War sources, and in this writer's opinion one of the most readable of the volumes in this series of reprints. Furthermore, it makes this all-important document readily available to the Civil War specialist for the first time: the earlier editions were small and most of the copies have passed into private collections.

The *Recollections* of Brigadier General Sorrel begin with the events immediately preceding Sumter, but do not enlarge upon military affairs until the author receives a volunteer commission as an aid to General Longstreet just in time to participate in the fighting at the first Battle of Bull Run. From this time on Sorrel was in the midst of nearly all the important engagements of the Army of Northern Virginia for the remainder of the War. His only long absences from duty with it came when his organization was sent to Eastern Tennessee to cooperate with General Bragg, and later, in 1865, when he was severely wounded just before the end of the struggle and was compelled to miss the final scene at Appomattox.

During all these campaigns, General Sorrel was an important staff officer or a field commander. As such he was not only associated with the ranking commanders in the Confederate Army, but usually participated in the planning as well as the execution of the events he describes. He frequently understood the causes for failure or success—why individuals performed or failed to perform the assignments given to them. Further, he was often in a position to evaluate the effectiveness of many of the Federal Commanders. Directly or indirectly, he had an intimate acquaintance with many of the leaders of both sides whose names crowd the pages of our Civil War history.

The shortcomings of the work detract little from the book's value. The chief one is the fact that the account was not written

until some 35-40 years after the events had taken place. Another is the lack of continuity-for which the author makes his own apologies. It sometimes makes one wonder what will come in the next paragraph, but again does not detract from the historical value of the account. These characteristics probably stem from the fact that Sorrel died shortly after completing his *Recollections*. It is likely that he intended to "polish it up" before submitting it for publication. This is further supported by the fact that the first edition was not printed until 1905, or about four years after the author's death.

Compensation for these minor defects is to be found in the accuracy of Sorrel's contributions. He had a keen sense of history as he had served for a long time as an official of the Georgia Historical Society. He treated his experiences with a remarkable objectivity. He used a free and easy style which made his experiences both readable and sincere; and he maintained a well-balanced approach in his evaluations of his contemporaries. His sense of humor persisted. He was loyal to his state and cause, modest, honest, and sincere in his presentations. He avoided the mistake made by so many others-that of blood-curdling, wild-eyed accounts of fighting-sometimes magnified greatly by the intervening years. Rather, he portrayed many neglected incidents that occurred between the major battles and captured the real atmosphere of the period.

The *Recollections* also point up the growing disparity in the material resources available to the North and South as the war dragged on. The winter of 1862-63 showed the vast superiority of the Federals in this respect for the first time in such items as coffee, shoes, fresh meat and bacon. During Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania Sorrel was more than impressed by the fact that the ". . . drain of war had not here shown itself. . . .", and that good roads and rich crops were in direct contrast to conditions in the South. Later, he commented upon the worn-out condition of the railroads, and the crazy kinds of trains assembled to transport Longstreet's Army to the East Tennessee campaign. During the spring of 1864, he had to spend three days and nights to complete the journey from Richmond to Savannah, Georgia. By mid-spring of 1864 Confederate currency had depreciated to the point where he and other officers circulated a pe-

tition asking that the government give them the same rations as the enlisted men. Their pay was not sufficient to purchase food or the essentials of clothing. About the same time he complained that the army was no longer able to keep its ranks filled by enlistments. A few days after Appomattox he contrasted the limitless materiel of the Federal Armies in Richmond with the poor makeshift equipment of his troops.

Professor Wiley has not only included the introduction written for the earlier editions, but has added an excellent introduction of his own. The appendixes of the earlier editions have been supplemented by the addition of several letters and the obituary of General Sorrel. Many good-quality photographs have been included, some of which are not to be found easily in other publications. The present editor has also added a very good index, adequate for all normal requirements.

The publishers have followed their earlier policy of keeping the price of the book within reason, without sacrificing either the quality of the materials or workmanship. The present writer hopes sincerely that when they have completed their presently projected series, they will continue to publish other important and hard-to-find documents of the Civil War.

T. R. PARKER

University of Miami

Hurricane. By Marjory Stoneman Douglas. (New York and Toronto, Rinehart & Co., 1958. viii, 393 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

In the process of writing this book Mrs. Douglas evidently spent a great deal of time and effort consulting Weather Bureau records and personnel, collecting first hand, eye-witness accounts, and examining the very considerable literature of the subject. And the subject of hurricanes is inherently an interesting one, especially to inhabitants of the Atlantic seaboard, although the author makes it clear that hurricanes are by no means confined to coastal areas.

A history of hurricanes and their effects on the colonization and settlement of the New World constitutes the major portion

of the book. After an opening chapter on the nature of cyclonic storms, the author devotes some 200 pages to the history of hurricanes down to 1900. Seventy-five pages are then given to twentieth century hurricanes, featuring the Galveston disaster, "Hurricanes over Florida," and "Hurricanes North." As most readers will find this section of the greatest interest, it deserves perhaps a fuller treatment. The book concludes with a chapter on "What's To Be Done?"

Mrs. Douglas makes a very good case for the importance of bad weather in shaping the course of the history of America. But to this reader at least the recital of an apparently endless succession of disasters grows wearisome. As cyclonic storms follow a more or less regular pattern of rise, terror, destruction, and aftermath, this is perhaps inevitable; but the fervency with which the author treats all this violence and carnage is in the long run somewhat exhausting.

There are occasional verbal infelicities ("Captain Parker's house with his wife and ten children, roofless, was swept south by the northeast wind into the welter of sea"), but at her best Mrs. Douglas writes vigorous and colorful prose. At times, the author is guilty of historical naivete, as when she remarks: "The United States won the Civil War, but its merchant shipping has not yet recovered from the beating it took from the *Alabama*." In the main, however, she marshals her historical material well.

Hurricane is likely to appeal more to the lay reader than to the historian or to the student of meteorological science, and the author perhaps intended that it should. The book contains a dozen or so photographs of hurricane damage, three charts of hurricane courses, and an extensive bibliography.

CLARKE OLNEY

University of Georgia

NEWS AND NOTES

Business and History

The landing of Jean Ribault and his band of French Huguenot followers at the mouth of the St. Johns River on May 1, 1562 is commemorated in the decor of the dining room of the new Sears, Roebuck and Company store in Jacksonville. A magnificent oil painting on canvas covers an 8 by 33 foot wall of the room and depicts an adaptation and extension of Jacque Le Moyne's famous painting of the scene at the pillar which Ribault erected near the present site of Mayport. As there are no known likenesses of Ribault, he is pictured here as conceived by the artist, Lee Adams of Jacksonville. Souvenir menus carry a copy of the mural and a short history of the landing. A replica of the pillar stands at the entrance to the dining room.

"Seventy-five years ago a little village was founded when a railroad line was completed. And 75 years ago a pioneer newspaper publisher [Captain F. W. Merrin] from Mississippi brought his printing equipment by steamer, rail and horse and wagon to the little town that showed promise of growth and progress. And so this year Plant City and *The Plant City Courier* observe the anniversary of their founding."

This quotation is taken from the February 27 edition of *The Plant City Courier*. Two years in preparation, the edition is filled with historical articles and old photographs. Clay C. Codrington is editor and publisher of the paper.

Mark 75 is the title of a series of special magazine sections which are being published by the *St. Petersburg Times* to mark its 75th birthday. The first volume appeared in July. This is probably the most ambitious anniversary publication ever attempted by a Florida newspaper. The editors have described the project in these words: "These five issues tell one basic story; the story of a geographical unit, its progress through 75 years and

[180]

its anticipated progress through the next 75. Interwoven with the threads of this story is the narrative of the newspaper that began here when this Suncoast was no more than a group of small fishing villages along primitive shores." Nelson Poynter is editor and publisher of the *St. Petersburg Times*.

On August 21 a ceremony in Clearwater commemorated the centennial of the establishment of the city's first post office. David Turner, the first postmaster, was represented by his grandson, Joe Turner, and his great grandsons, Mike and Mark Turner. A plaque was placed on the site of the original post office building at the foot of West Turner Street, overlooking Clearwater Bay.

A new mapping service which the State Road Department is providing the Photographic Archives of Florida State University's library is a continuing photographic history of the development of the state.

The photographs, which are used for technical purposes by the Road Department, have become particularly important during the building of four-lane state roads, the new multi-lane Interstate Highways, and bridges. Among the first photographs sent to the library are a number showing construction of a new bridge on the Miami Reach end of the MacArthur Causeway over Biscayne Bay. These aerial pictures of the highly developed area are particularly significant because the library already has pictures taken in the same area 30 years ago.

The plan to preserve the photographs is under the direction of Joe Grotegut, Road Board Chairman and N. Orwin Rush, Director of Libraries at the University.

Florida's Quadricentennial Celebrations

The 1959 legislature provided for the creation of city and county quadricentennial commissions by the passage of Senate Bill No. 634. Local groups desiring to establish commissions should secure copies of the law from the Secretary of State in

order to set up the mechanics necessary to participate in the statewide program.

Confederate Round Table

An informal organization, to be known as the Confederate Round Table, for the discussion of all phases of the history of the Confederacy has been formed in Dade City. Colonel William M. Robinson, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, retired, addressed the first session of the group. The meeting honored Colonel D. B. McKay whose "Pioneer Page" in the *Tampa Tribune* was helpful in the formation of the organization. E. M. Covington, in whose home the first meeting was held, said that the group hopes to attract others in central Florida interested in Confederate history and hold meetings throughout the area.

News of Local Historical Societies

The Apalachicola Historical Society, organized March 3, 1959, elected Ben Tucker as its first president. Officers elected to serve with him were Mrs. J. H. Hodges, first vice president; Miss Emily Porter, second vice president; Mrs. Edna Murdock, secretary; Miss Julia Grace Harrison, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Dwight Marshall, treasurer and Mrs. C. T. Drennen, program chairman. The Society plans to restore a home, dating from 1838, for use as a depository of historical items relating to the area.

Hale G. Smith, professor of anthropology and archaeology, Florida State University, spoke before the July meeting of the St. Augustine Historical Society on "Oldest House Archaeology." Dr. Smith is in charge of excavating the Society's property on Charlotte Street and is supervising the preparation of exhibits for the Tovar House Museum.

In another phase of the Society's summer research program, Charles W. Arnade, University of Florida, is combing Spanish documents in the Stetson collection for information on food production in St. Augustine during the first Spanish period.

The St. Johns County Historical Commission has selected the following marker sites: the capture of Osceola; the massacre of the French at Matanzas Inlet; the old coquina quarries; Picolata and the home of Frederick Delius at Solano Grove.

The St. Augustine Restoration Program

The St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission was established by the 1959 legislature for the purpose of planning a restoration program for the city. An appropriation of \$150,000 was provided. Members of the commission, appointed by Governor LeRoy Collins, are Mrs. Nelson Poynter of St. Petersburg, William B. Sims of Orlando, Leonard Usina of Miami, and Herbert E. Wolfe and William B. Rolleston of St. Augustine.

Junior Historical Contest, 1959

The following essays have been judged winners among the papers submitted in the 1959 contests. First prize: *People's Judge* by Susan Yancy, Leon High School, Tallahassee; second prize: *From Cypress Swamp to City* by Bonnie Higgins, Fort Lauderdale High School, Fort Lauderdale; third prize: *Island Fortress* by Alan Gadney, Clearwater High School, Clearwater and honorable mention: *The Methodist Church in Florida* by Richard Gwinn, Miami Edison Senior High School, Miami.

The Society expresses its appreciation to the committee of judges who read the one hundred papers submitted. Gilbert P. Richardson served as chairman with the following members: Robert K. Akerman, A. F. Fugitt and Darrell Roberts.

ENTRIES IN THE JUNIOR HISTORICAL CONTEST

- HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF MANATEE COUNTY by Ruth Hartin, Manatee High School, Bradenton
- HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COUNTY by Carthell Everett, Washington County High School, Chipley
- CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA FLOOD CONTROL PROJECT by Beverly Forman, Fort Lauderdale High School, Fort Lauderdale
- FRANK STRANAHAN, by Judy Philpott, Fort Lauderdale High School, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.
- FLORIDA'S ROLE IN THE CIVIL WAR, by Donna Marshall, Fort Lauderdale High School, Fort Lauderdale
- THE SEMINOLE INDIANS IN THE HISTORY OF FLORIDA by Alene Williams, Dunbar High School, Fort Myers
- THE SEMINOLE INDIANS, by Carolyn Nelson, Howey Academy, Howey-in-the-Hills
- CHURCHES, By Ginger George, Howey Academy, Howey-in-the Hills
- A FORTENBERRY, by Kathy Fortenberry, Howey Academy, Howey-in-the-Hills
- OSCEOLA AND THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR, by Julia Louise Towson, Alfred I duPont High School
- THE JACKSONVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, by Sandra Anderson, Andrew Jackson High School; WILD WINDS OF FLORIDA, by Thomas Barket, Andrew Jackson High School; AN OLD OAK SPEAKS, by Karen Giffie, Andrew Jackson High School; SQUARE 39, by Alvin Edgar Holmes, Andrew Jackson High School; JACKSONVILLE'S CITY HALL, by Nancy Kelley, Andrew Jackson High School; FLORIDA'S BLACK GOLD, by Gaylen Lee, Andrew Jackson High School; JACKSONVILLE'S FIRST RADIO STATION WDAL, by Howard Power, Andrew Jackson High School; HISTORY OF THE LOLA M. CULVER SCHOOL 1895-1959, by Margaret Ann Zorn, Andrew Jackson High School
- THE PAGEANT AT ST. JOHN'S BLUFF, by Linda Burbridge, Bartram School; THE REPUBLIC OF EAST FLORIDA, by Gigi Golden, Bartram School; ZEPHANIAH KINGSLEY AND HAITI, by Brigitte Groehl, Bartram School; CHIMPANZEE COLONY IN FLORIDA, by Christina R. Schiller, Bartram School; FLORIDA DURING RECONSTRUCTION, by Sibyl McRae, Bartram School; FROM SAND MINE TO GOLD MINE, by Linda Rumpel, Bartram School; KING EDWARD FINDS A HOME IN FLORIDA, by Jeannette Swisher, Bartram School; SUNSHINE-A COMMODITY, by Olive Wilson, Bartram School
- THE STORY OF KARL TANZLER VON COSEL, by Jackie Williams, Key West High School, Key West; CHURCHES, by Jacqueline Pla, Douglass School, Key West; KEY WEST AS A TOURIST CENTER, by Helen Johnson, Douglass, H.S., Key West

EPISODES IN THE PIONEERING OF MANATEE COUNTY, by Phil Krug, Manatee High School, Bradenton

THE RISING TIDE-STATEHOOD AND SECESSION, by Sharon Roberts, South Dade High School, Miami; THE HISTORY OF MIAMI BEACH FLORIDA, by Valerie Foster, Assumption Academy, Miami; FLORIDA'S FLAGLER, by Eleanor Jellachich, Academy of the Assumption, Miami; OSCEOLA, by Gay Ann Brautigam, Academy of the Assumption, Miami; HENRY FLAGLER-FATHER OF FLORIDA, by Dan Radcliffe, Miami; FLORIDA STATE FARMERS MARKETS, by Joan Lobaugh, Miami Edison Senior High School, Miami; ELEVEN YEARS OF NIGHTMARE, by Douglas W. Quick, Miami Edison Senior High School, Miami; THE CATTLE INDUSTRY IN FLORIDA, by Lansing B. Price, Miami Edison Senior High School, Miami; EARLY DAYS IN MIAMI, by Donna Romfh, Miami Edison Sr. High School, Miami; DEMONS FROM THE DOLDRUMS: THE NATURE AND HISTORY OF FLORIDA HURRICANES, by Jim Stokesberry, Miami Edison Sr. High School, Miami; INDUSTRIAL FLORIDA, by Ronald M. Taylor, Miami Edison Sr. High School; THE EARLY FLORIDA INDIANS, by Phyllis Teschke, Miami Edison Sr. High School, Miami; FLORIDA POLITICS DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA, by Susan Whelchel, Miami Edison Senior High School, Miami; MIAMI INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, by Penny Lynn Sitzer, North Miami High School, North Miami; THE SPANISH MONASTERY, by Mollie Fitzgerald, Assumption Academy, Miami

HISTORY OF BAGDAD, by Marian Sullivan, Milton High School, Milton

EARLY HISTORY OF MOUNT DORA, by Ann Whittington, Mount Dora High School, Mount Dora

WELLINGTON WILLSON CUMMER, by Dana Roe, Ponte Vedra Beach High School, Ponte Vedra Beach

The following entries are from St. Pauls School, St. Petersburg: GREENERY IN THE SUNSHINE STATE, by Kathryn Alkire; THE PRE-DISCOVERY AND EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF FLORIDA, by Jane Bachnik; LIFE IN THE EVERGLADES, by Alexander Sprunt, Jr.; COLONIZATION OF FLORIDA FROM 1589-1698, by Susanna Bergeron; PERIOD OF COLONIZATION 1698-1756, by Maria Blanco; FLORIDA THROUGH THE AGES, by Patrice Boyle; FLORIDA—THE LAST FRONTIER, by Brian Burke; THE FOUNDING OF FLORIDA, by Charles Burke; WEBB'S CITY, by Priscilla Catalano; FLORIDA, A BIRD LOVER'S PARADISE, by Veronica Dombroski; FLORIDA'S TERRITORIAL PERIOD 1819-1860, by Mary Anne Feeney; FLORIDA RIVERS, by Paul Ferguson; OSCEOLA, by Aldena Flynn; DE LEON—THE DISCOVERY OF LA FLORIDA, by Barbara Gillies; A LOOK AT FLORIDA'S SIGHTS, by Senja Jaspers; THE EVERGLADES, by Barbara Grant; UTOPIA—THROUGH FLORIDA'S WATERWAYS, by John Kiernan; THE FLORIDA INDIANS, by Margaret Link; THE ST. JOHN RIVER, by Helen Mansmann; FLORIDIAN CITIES, by Michael Mehill; FLORIDA UNDER FIVE FLAGS, by Katherine Morrissey; THE POTENTIAL ENJOYMENT OF FLORIDA STATE PARKS, by Ann Mortimore; "DOC WEBB," by William Neron; ST. PETERSBURG, by Patricia O'Brien; THE STATE FLAG OF FLORIDA, by Veronica Rehberg; DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA, by Gerald Rote; THE UNCONQUERED SEMINOLE, by Jonalee Sharbel; THE ABORIGINALS OF FLORIDA, by Patricia Shirley; A PLACE IN THE SUN, by Bernadette Stein-

kirchner; SOUTH FLORIDA'S AMAZING EVERGLADES, by Carol Vance; THE STATE SONG, BIRD, AND SEAL OF FLORIDA, by Rosemary Walsh; FLORIDA'S FIGHTING SEMINOLES, by David Watts; FLORIDA BY THE SEA, by Stephen Weller

BENJAMIN CHAIRES, by Carolyn Floyd, Leon High School, Tallahassee; RICHARD KEITH CALL, by Duane Eubanks, Leon High School, Tallahassee

ON STAGE: TAMPA, by Elaine Allen, Chamberlain High School, Tampa; THE FLOWERING OF TAMPA, by Dorothy Michener, Chamberlain High School, Tampa

The following entries are from Sacred Heart Academy, Tampa, Florida:

HISTORY OF FLORIDA AND TAMPA, by Sarah Jane Bullard; FATHER LUIS CANCER, by Mary Anne Lorek; HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY COURTHOUSE, by Patricia Nuccio; TAMPA BAY HOTEL, by Joyce Pinney; THE SEMINOLE INDIANS OF FLORIDA, by Mary Leach Schappert

NEW MEMBERS OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

LIFE

Nominated by

Shores, Dr. Venila Lovina, Tallahassee

FELLOW

Gallagher, Vincent L., Coconut Grove Miss Margaret Chapman
 Goza, William M., Clearwater
 Jones, Milton D., Clearwater
 Larson, Erland M., St. Petersburg Mrs. J. T. Hancock
 Mead, Miss Elena K., Vero Beach A. B. Michaels
 Miller, N. E., Jr., Winter Haven

ANNUAL

Apperson, Miss Frances, Gainesville
 Bartoo, Herbert R., Harrison Valley, Pennsylvania
 Bartram School Library, Jacksonville
 Binnicker, R. J., Tampa J. Ryan Beiser
 Blassingame, Wyatt, Anna Maria
 Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Browne, Mrs. Willis A., West Palm Beach Mrs. Clyde W. Fisher
 Butt, A. J., Pensacola Mrs. Katie B. Houston
 Chambers, Mrs. C. L., Sarasota Mrs. W. M. Bostwick, Jr.
 Childs, James F., Lake Wales
 Chipola Jr. College Library, Marianna
 Cole, Mrs. S. P., Orange City
 Crosby, Mrs. James E., Jacksonville Geo. R. Coslow
 Cushman, J. D., Jr., Tallahassee Miss Louise Richardson
 Davenport, Mrs. L. B., Delray Beach..... Mrs. D. M. Humphreys
 Daytona Beach Jr. College Library, Daytona Beach
 Dean, Roland L., Winter Park.....Mrs. W. Gordon Dean
 Dewitt, B. L., Orlando.....Geo. J. Albright
 Dow, Mrs. Kenneth W., St. Augustine Grover Criswell
 Dow, Kenneth W., St. Augustine..... Grover Criswell
 Duran, Dr. V. A., Republican Dominicana..... David A. Forshay
 Ensley High School Library, Pensacola
 Escambia High School Library, Pensacola
 Flynn, Stephen J., Coral Gables.....Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson
 Fouts, A. G., Lakeland.....Edward Keenan
 Gammon, W. Lamar, Panama City.....Miss Dena Snodgrass
 Gearheart, Ernest G. Jr., Miami
 Green, Alfrmed A., Daytona BeachP. E. Bowen
 Hale, James M., Atlanta, Georgia
 Harding, Col. Read B., Arcadia..... Dr. G. H. McSwain
 Harrell, D. E., DeLand
 Hayes, Mrs. Wilton, Pensacola
 Hutton, Phil M., Winter Haven
 Ireland, Andrew P., Jacksonville..... R. R. Bowen
 Jacksonville University Library, Jacksonville
 Jeffords, D. J., Jacksonville..... Mrs. Doris C. Wiles

Keller, Robert T., Jacksonville	
Kelso, Dr. Kip G., Sebastian	
Kerns, C. B., Lake Wales	W. C. Pedersen
Krentzman, Ben, Clearwater	
Lake Worth Public Library, Lake Worth	
Leavengood, Victor, Ocala	R. W. Patrick
Leon County Public Library, Tallahassee	
Lohman, H. D., Fernandina Beach	Julien C. Yonge
Love, J. I., Tallahassee	Thomas A. Yon
Lyter, Frederick O., West Hartford, Conn	Frank P. Temple
Maddox, Zola M., Port St. Joe	
Maitland Public Library, Maitland	
Manatee Jr. College Library, Bradenton	
Marshall, Mrs. Dwight, Apalachicola	
Maryland, University of, Library, College Park, Md.	
Mears, James E., Hollywood	R. W. Patrick
Memorial County Library, Brooksville	
Miami Beach Public Library, Miami Beach	
Miller, Harry E., Winter Haven	W. C. Pedersen
Millican, Mrs. John, Palatka	
Milner, J. S., Pensacola	
Mowell, Donald H., Tallahassee	Allan C. Jackson
New Smyrna Beach Public Library, New Smyrna Beach	
Norman, Mrs. Harold S., Lake Wales	
O'Neal, Judge Maston, Bainbridge, Georgia	
Patterson, Miss Annette, Lake Wales	W. C. Pedersen
Pensacola Jr. College Library, Pensacola	
Philadelphia Free Public Library, Philadelphia, Pa.	
Pleasant Grove School Library, Pensacola	
Pooser, Miss Frances E., Arcadia	R. B. Harding
Porter, Mrs. Ned S., Port St. Joe	M. F. Boyd
Potter, Robert E., Gainesville	R. W. Patrick
Rainwater, Miss Cleo, Tallahassee	R. L. Goulding
Roberts, Dr. Derrell C., Lakeland	G. P. Richardson
Roeder, Edward, Fort Lauderdale	
Rogers, Lawrence, Kissimmee	Miss Dena Snodgrass
Rutledge, Mrs. Varian P., Lakeland	G. P. Richardson
Sample, Dr. Adrian M., Fort Pierce	W. R. Hellier
Sanders, Will, Inverness	Mrs. J. R. DuBois
Sarasota Public Library, Sarasota	
Sarra, LaMar, Jacksonville	J. Velma Keen
Saunders, Mr. & Mrs. R., Miami	Mrs. M. H. Latour
Scott, Russell F., Lillian, Alabama	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Sessions, Douglas L., Stuart	
Shappee, Dr. Nathan D., Miami	
Shave, Mrs. Margaret S., Daytona Beach	Julien C. Yonge
Smith, Charles B., Port St. Joe	
Smith, Mrs. Cyril C., West Palm Beach	
Smith, Mrs. J. Harvey, Palmetto	
Smith, Mr. & Mrs. L. H., Washington, D. C.	
Springfield Brank Library, Jacksonville	
Stewart Miss Catherine L., Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
St. Lucie County Public Library, Fort Pierce	

NEWS AND NOTES

189

- Sunrise Jr. High School Library, Fort Lauderdale
 Sunset Elementary School, Miami Mrs. M. H. Latour
 Taylor, Glenn W., Holly Hill Robert T. Keller
 Texas Technological College Library, Lubbock, Texas
 U. S. Naval Air Station, Pensacola
 Van Couenhoven, H. W., St. Augustine J. Carver Harris
 Vinson, John, Toledo, Ohio
 Vosburgh, William R., Lutz
 Wager, Ralph E., Panama City R. W. Patrick
 Washington Jr. College Library, Pensacola
 Washington Jr. High School Library, Pensacola
 Watson, William D., Bradenton
 Welch, Gardiner C., Gainesville
 Wellhoner, F. E., Jacksonville Robert E. Jones
 Wiles, Mrs. Doris C., St. Augustine John W. Griffin
 William R. Boone High School Library, Orlando
 Zickrick, Miss Theo, Ormond Beach

STUDENT

- Adams, J. R., Jr., Daytona Beach Merlin G. Cox
 Barnes, Mary E., Daytona Beach Merlin G. Cox
 Carbonell, Donald R., Gainesville
 Frost, Shirley S., Daytona Beach Merlin G. Cox
 Mullin, Mrs. Roberta W., Daytona Beach Merlin G. Cox

Annual Business Meeting
March 7, 1959

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held on Saturday morning, March 7, with Mr. Manucy presiding. He read a telegram from Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., President of Florida Southern College, that acknowledged and expressed appreciation of the message of congratulations sent to him by the Officers and directors of the Society.

President Manucy thanked the Committee on Local Arrangements for their work which made the meeting one of the best ever held by the Society. After the minutes and treasurer's reports were read and accepted, chairmen of committees made their reports. R. W. Patrick stated that the Index to the *Quarterly* was available at ten dollars for paper bound copies and twelve for cloth bound copies. The *Index* and the forthcoming Pensacola Quadricentennial issue of the *Quarterly* were the work of Julien C. Yonge. A few page proof copies of the *Quarterly* were on display.

The Junior Historical Contest essays were received too late to enable the judges to report on the entries. The meeting authorized the President to accept the report when received and authorized the Editor to print the winners and the list of entries in the contest.

Howell Schaffer of the State Park Service reported that Kathryn A. Hanna had made a survey of historical markers in the state and that her work would be printed. It was suggested, but not brought to a vote, that the State Seal should be placed on all authentic historical markers. Justin Havee told of the recent work of the Historical Association of Southern Florida in erecting markers. Mr. Manucy commended those responsible for the interesting markers in and around Pensacola.

Gilbert L. Lycan presented the following resolutions which were approved:

The Florida Historical Society in view of its interest in the writing of Florida history: (1) Commends the interest in Florida history exhibited by Southern Bell Telephone Company in its publication *Southern Telephone News*, December 1958, and the U. S. Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida, for its booklet *From Pirates to Pilots, A Pictorial History of Pensacola*; (2) Congratulates our distinguished Past President Mark F. Boyd for the publication by the Smithsonian

Institution of his *Historic Sites in and Around the Jim Woodruff Reservoir Area, Florida-Georgia*; (3) Acknowledges the debt of Floridians to the St. Augustine Historical Society for research grants which make possible the historical and archaeological studies in the Spanish Colonial period in the St. Augustine area; (4) Offers a vote of thanks to Dorothy Dodd for her *Florida The Land of Romance* and to Nathan Mayo and the Florida Department of Agriculture for its publication and distribution.

The Florida Historical Society, in view of the importance of the quadricentennial celebrations, wishes to offer every encouragement and assistance to the commissions charged with the proper observance of these events.

For their contributions to the success of the 1959 annual meeting the Florida Historical Society extends appreciation to the following: (1) The management of the San Carlos Hotel for the accommodations and hospitality; (2) to Dr. Benjamin F. Rogers and the other members of the Program Committee for the excellent papers arranged for and to the Hon. Robert A. Gray and other participants for the carefully prepared papers they presented; (3) to the *Pensacola News* and *Pensacola Journal* for their coverage of our meeting; (4) to the Pensacola Chamber of Commerce, the Municipal Advertising Board and Fiesta Five Flags for their interest and encouragement.

Finally, the Society's deepest appreciation and gratitude are extended to Admiral C. P. Mason, President of the Pensacola Historical Society, Mr. T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, and to every committee and member of the Pensacola Historical Society for their untiring efforts which have made this a memorable meeting.

As Chairman of the Nominations Committee, Dena Snodgrass presented the following nominees: President, Albert C. Manucy; first vice president, Gilbert L. Lycan; second vice president, Lucius Ruder; recording secretary, Frank B. Sessa; directors, Joe Weed, Jr., Russell Pancoast, James Knott, Albert DeVane, and J. Stewart Milner.

At the request of the President, Miss Snodgrass presided and called for nominations from the floor. Justin Havee moved that the report of the Nominations Committee be accepted and that the executive secretary be authorized to cast the ballot for the nominees. J. Ryan Beisler seconded the motion and it was approved. There was no additional business and the 1959 annual meeting was closed.

REPORT OF TREASURER
April 1, 1958 - Feb. 28, 1959

Balance April 1, 1958	\$ 6,983.71
Location of balance:	
Florida National Bank	
at Gainesville	\$2,135.17
First Federal Savings	
& Loan Assoc.	2,848.54
Columbia Gas Bonds	2,000.00
Receipts:	
Annual memberships	\$2,660.00
Fellow memberships	510.00
Libraries	574.12
Contributing-Institutional	75.00
Student membership	2.00
Gift-	1,000.00
Index orders	562.00
Index contributions	25.00
Quarterlies	142.75
Interest	210.50
Reprints	89.83
Microfilm	44.00
Gift - anonymous	25.00
Essay contest, 1958, 1959	93.75
Anonymous	5.87
Total receipts	\$ 6,019.82
Total receipts and balance	\$13,003.53
Disbursements:	
Printing of Quarterly (April, July, Oct.)	\$2,841.70
Printing of INDEX	2,155.68
Printing, other	161.76
Binding of Quarterlies	117.00
Microfilm	70.34
Essay contest, 1958	52.50
Programs, Tampa meeting	64.76
Photographic Service	22.50
Pub. Amer. Assoc. for State & Local History ...	11.25
Copyright	12.00
Miscellaneous	234.07
(Inc. supplies, tax, non-par exc., postage)	
Total disbursements	\$5,743.56
	\$7,259.97
Balance February 28, 1959	
Location of balance:	
Florida National Bank	
at Gainesville	\$2,200.93
First Federal Savings	
& Loan Assoc.	3,059.04
Columbia Gas bonds	2,000.00
Total balance	\$7,259.97

THE BUDGET

Estimated income:

Membership dues:	
Annual	\$4,000.00
Libraries	600.00
Fellow	550.00
Contributing-Institutional	300.00
Student	12.00
Interest	210.50
Index	250.00
	<hr/>
Total estimated income	\$5,922.50

Estimated expenses:

Florida Historical Quarterly (Pensacola issue)...	\$3,500.00
Florida Historical Quarterly (July, Oct., Jan.)...	3,000.00
Printing, other	250.00
Essay contest	52.50
Copyright	16.00
General expenses	400.00
(postage, P. O. rent, supplies, tax, etc.)	
	<hr/>
Total estimated expenses	\$7,218.50

MEMBERSHIPS IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

April 1, 1958, 982 members and library subscriptions

Total memberships February 28, 1959

15 Life
6 Contributing-Institutional
55 Fellow
757 Annual
121 Libraries

954 Total

Losses: April 1, 1958 - Feb. 28, 1959

5 deaths
25 resignations
80 dropped for non-payment of dues

110 Total

Gains: April 1, 1958 - Feb. 28, 1959

2 Fellow
30 Libraries
1 Contributing
60 Annual
4 renewals

97 Total

CONTRIBUTORS

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