

# Florida Historical Quarterly

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Volume 38  
Number 4 *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol 38,  
Issue 4

Article 1

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1959

## Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 38, Issue 4

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### Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1959) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 38, Issue 4," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 38: No. 4, Article 1.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol38/iss4/1>

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH-SPANISH RIVALRY IN LA FLORIDA

by J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

FOR MANY YEARS after its discovery *la Florida* was a vague geographical concept. Discovered by Ponce de Leon in 1513, it was first considered an island, though later recognized to be a diminutive tail wagging an immense dog. During much of the sixteenth century it embraced a large part of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and stretched mysteriously inland an infinite way. Ponce de Leon was followed by numerous other conquistadors such as Vazquez de Ayllon, Panfilio de Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, and Tristan de Luna y Arrellano, but they garnered little gold or silver and endured many privations, shipwrecks, and attacks by hostile Indians. Thus it was not unnatural that the main stream of Spanish conquest and colonization flowed to Mexico and Peru rather than to unrewarding Florida.

England also during the early years had shown interest in the New World and in the vague region soon to be called Florida. John Cabot in his second voyage of 1498 coasted as far south as the Chesapeake Bay, possibly even to the Florida peninsula. Spanish officials protested to Henry VII that the "new-found-land" discovered by this "Genoese like Columbus" was in the realms of the Spanish monarch.<sup>1</sup> But because of hazy geographical conceptions, because of contradictions at this time between the Papal Bulls of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494,<sup>2</sup>

1. Pedro de Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella, London, July 25, 1498, in *Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Vienna, Brussels, Simancas, and Elsewhere* (London, 1862-1954), I, 176-177.
2. By a series of Bulls in 1493 the Pope divided all the unknown heathen lands between Spain and Portugal. The next year Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Tordesillas extending the line of demarkation two hundred and seventy leagues westward, and it was expected that the terms of this treaty shortly would be confirmed by another Papal Bull. The expected Bull was not forthcoming until 1506, and until then for non-Iberian countries there was some confusion as to which, if any, demarkation line was valid. An excellent discussion of the Papal Bulls is in H. Vander Linden "Alexander VI and the Demarkation of the Maritime Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494," *American Historical Review*, XXII (October, 1916), 20.

and because of the reluctance of the Catholic Henry to pay attention to temporal papal decrees, Spanish remonstrances proved futile. This being the case, the Spanish monarchs ordered Alonso de Ojeda to follow up his recent Caribbean discoveries and to continue northward toward the region where the English had been.<sup>3</sup> Cabot's discoveries, plotted by the efficient Spanish cartographer Juan de la Cosa on his famous world map of 1500, not only in themselves were disturbing, but also Ojeda in his first voyage to the Indies had surprised an unknown English vessel in the "vicinity of Coquibacoa."<sup>4</sup> Among other things the Spanish mariner was instructed to sail northward and to plant the arms of Castile along the coast, thereby forestalling any English advance in this region.<sup>5</sup> Hostile natives in the West Indies and disputes among his subordinates prevented Ojeda from carrying out this portion of his instructions.

Apparently, however, it made little difference, because for the next half century after the Cabot voyages, England played a relatively passive role in the New World. Some Bristol mariners followed Cabot's wake to the "new-found-land," usually to fish but sometimes to search for the northwest passage. Others enjoyed a profitable, legitimate trade with the Indies, regulated by the mercantilistic Casa de Contratacion or House of Trade at Seville. However shortly after Henry VIII broke with Rome and divorced Catherine of Aragon, Charles V began to discriminate against English merchants. The shift from legitimate trader to free-booter soon followed.<sup>6</sup>

After Henry's death, England's relations with Spain fluctuated, influenced to a large degree by the status of de Protestant reformation sweeping England. Relations worsened under the

3. Reales cedula en que se contiene el asiento hecho con Alonso de Hojeda, Granada, June 8, 1501 in Joaquin Pacheco, Francisco de Cardenas, Luis Torres de Mendoza, *et al.*, editors, *Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las posesiones espanolas en America y Oceania, sacados, en su mayor parte, del Real Archivo de Indias* (Madrid, 1864-1884), XXXVIII, 470.

4. Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Los viajes de John Hawkins a America, 1562-1595* (Seville, 1947), 13. Coquibacoa is the region around the Gulf of Venezuela.

5. Reales cedula . . . con Hojeda, June 8, 1501, *op. cit.*, 470.

6. Gordon Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake, A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (London, 1954), xiii-xiv.

ultra-Protestant Edward VI; next there was a *volte-face* when Catholic Mary, wife of Philip II, assumed the throne; then there was a compromise when the youthful Elizabeth began her memorable reign. Aply counseled by her advisors, William Cecil and Francis Walsingham, she followed a moderate course, neither neglecting English interests nor unnecessarily offending Spain, at least at the beginning. She could easily have become the champion of struggling Protestants throughout Europe; instead she merely gave some of them undercover aid. In the Indies she progressively followed a more aggressive course. Respectable English traders—"corsairs," as the Spaniards would have them—appeared in ever-increasing numbers: the day of Hawkins and Drake was dawning. In making their voyages to the Indies, English seamen usually had the tacit approval, if not financial support, of the Queen. But should they be captured by the Spaniards, they could expect Elizabeth to disavow their voyages and to do little in saving them from the Inquisition and the galleys.

An early example of increased English activity in the Indies and Elizabeth's disingenuous policy can be traced in the remarkable career of Thomas Stucley. Born in England, possibly an illegitimate son of Henry VIII, Stucley during his lifetime served England, France, Spain, and the Pope, betraying each in turn except the latter. By 1562 his career had included fleeing England to France, betraying France and returning to England, being placed in the Tower for debt and treason in England, and privateering occasionally when funds were low.<sup>7</sup> Now once again his fortune was depleted, and he was alert for some scheme to replenish his barren coffers.

Providentially, just at this time the French Huguenot adventurer, Jean Ribaut, was returning to Europe from recently erected Charlesfort at Port Royal Sound on the South Carolina coast. He rendered glowing accounts of the fertility and affluence of *la Florida*, described the excellent harbor at Port Royal, and did not fail to point out its nearness to the Spanish Indies and to the return route of the annual Spanish plate fleet. The Protestant-Catholic struggle had rendered France almost prostrate, and it seemed wiser upon returning for Ribaut to land in England where there was more chance that Protestant Elizabeth would aid him

7. The best account of Stucley is in Richard Simpson, editor, *The School of Shakespeare* (London, 1878), I, 1-156.

than his former mentor, Admiral Coligny, leader of the hard pressed Huguenots.

Stucley probably had been at Le Havre in 1562 while Ribaut was preparing his expedition, and the Florida enterprise was followed with acute interest. As soon as Ribaut landed in England, Stucley hurriedly made contact both with him and with the Queen, and a plan soon was formulated to supply Charlesfort the next year. It would be a joint venture: Stucley to supply two ships; Ribaut, one; the Queen, one; and one to be chartered.<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth offered to pay, and apparently Ribaut accepted, a handsome subsidy to turn Charlesfort over to England. Later reflection upon what he had done possibly was too much for the nationalistic Frenchman, since he and three of his pilots attempted to flee to France. They were apprehended, however. The impulsive Ribaut was imprisoned, and his three pilots were placed in chains aboard Stucley's ships.<sup>9</sup> The expedition would continue, but without the services of Ribaut.

Elizabeth had subsidized Ribaut and furnished supplies out of royal stores with occupation of Florida as the main objective. Settling Florida was merely a sideline to privateering as far as Stucley was concerned, though quite naturally either course was detrimental to Spanish interests. Always alert for a better bargain, the intriguing Stucley kept the Spanish ambassador in London informed of the whole project, expressing devotion to Philip II and intimating that the whole fleet might be turned over to Spain for a price.<sup>10</sup> Stucley maintained he was boring holes in his ships and making them take water, thereby delaying the enterprise until he could get a reply from Philip.<sup>11</sup> Spanish officials, however, considered it better to rely on force than on Stucley's word to insure Florida's safety. The Spanish ambassador did complain to Elizabeth, but he was put off by protestations that this voyage was in no way prejudicial to Spanish interests.

Amid popular acclaim and poetical plaudits, Stucley's fleet sailed from England in 1563:

8. Bishop Quadra to Philip II, London, May 1, 1563, Martin Fernandez Navarrete, Miguel Salva, Pedro Sainz de Baranda, *et al.*, *Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de Espana* (Madrid, 1842-1895), LXXXVII, 512-513.

9. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1563, 531.

10. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1563, 524-525.

11. *Ibid.*, Guzman de Silva to Philip II, Oct. 22, 1565, LXXXIX, 216-217.

Now Stucley, hoist thy sail,  
 Thy wished land to find,  
 And never doe regard vain talke,  
 For wurds they are but wind.<sup>12</sup>

But the vessels of "lusty Stucley" never reached Florida. Piracy in home waters had proved more alluring as French, Spanish, and Portuguese ships suffered alike. Elizabeth realized she had made a bad bargain and had wasted royal funds, and with reluctance she commissioned ships to overtake Stucley.<sup>13</sup> Eventually he was captured off Ireland, brought to trial in London, but, through the influence of powerful friends, not convicted. Thus Elizabeth's first colonization attempt in the New World was a fiasco. Embittered, Stucley returned to Ireland, became involved in Irish-Catholic plots, defected to Spain, and eventually died fighting for the Pope at the battle of Alcazar in North Africa.<sup>14</sup>

Ribaut's colony at Port Royal, his English account of Florida, and Stucley's activities, all revived interest in North America—interest that culminated in the Jamestown settlement. Charlesfort had failed, but in 1564 another French colony was established by Rene de Laudonniere on the St. Johns River. There are indications that had he not gotten there first, John Hawkins—now making his second grand slave trading sweep of the Indies—would have built an English fort himself. The Spanish ambassador in London even reported that Hawkins had founded such a colony.<sup>15</sup> Although this was not true, Hawkins, employing a Frenchman who had been at Charlesfort in 1562 as pilot, had sought out the new French fort on the St. Johns River. Here the English visitors found the colony disorganized, almost devoid of provisions, and threatened with mutiny. Despite Hawkins's readily supplying bread and wine, and despite the outward cordiality between Hawkins and Laudonniere, there was mutual distrust. Ostensibly because of the colony's critical state, Hawkins offered to take all the survivors back to France. The French leader thanked him profusely but was concerned lest this be a

12. J. Payne Collier, *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies of the Utmost Rarity* (London, 1840), 77.

13. Guzman de Silva to Philip II, London, Dec. 1, 1564, Navarrete, *et al.*, *Documentos ineditos, Espana*, LXXXIX, 63-64; Challoner to Cecil, Dec. 24, 1564, *Cal. State Papers, For., Elizabeth*, VII, 272.

14. Simpson, *School of Shakespere*, I, 39 ff.

15. Guzman to Philip II, London, Aug. 27, 1565, Navarrete, *et al.*, *Documentos ineditos, Espana*, LXXXIX, 178.

ruse to get the Frenchmen out of Florida merely to make room for Anglo-Saxons. Instead it was ultimately agreed that the hard pressed colonists would purchase a ship and provisions from Hawkins, and then shortly after he had gone, they too would follow. Laudonniere paid for these purchases with his artillery rather than with his secreted chest of silver, unsuccessfully trying not to impress Hawkins with Florida's desirability.<sup>16</sup> After the English ships had sailed, but before the French colonists were ready to depart, Ribaut arrived with a fleet and supplies from France. Though the massacre of most of these Frenchmen by the audacious Spanish captain, Pedro Menendez de Aviles, has been narrated countless times, it is interesting to note that because of the many rumors caused by Stucley's preparations in 1563 and because Hawkins actually had been at Fort Caroline in 1565, Menendez was uncertain whether he would have to deal with Frenchmen, Englishmen, or both until he actually landed in Florida.<sup>17</sup>

When Hawkins returned to England he reported to the Queen that he had examined much of *la Florida* and that it was an exceptionally promising region.<sup>18</sup> Although there were no silver mines as in Mexico and Peru, significant quantities of precious metals and pearls had washed and no doubt would continue to wash upon Florida's gently sloping beaches from the wrecks of Spanish galleons. Aside from this, the enterprising trader pointed out to the Queen how easy it would be to cultivate grapes and maize, how quickly cattle would multiply, and how the Queen herself should exploit this fertile region—a region larger than any single Christian nation could maintain.<sup>19</sup> Two years later, in 1567, Hawkins once again was in *la Florida*, though not leading an expedition such as Stucley's, and this time the visit was

16. "Laudonniere's Historie of Florida," in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1598-1600), IX (1903 edition), 77-81.

17. Declaracion de lo que vino de la Florida, Cadiz, July 6, 1565, AGI 2-51/22, Stetson Col., University of Florida Library; *ibid.*, Royal Decree, July 30, 1565, AGI 44-4-4/14.

18. Hawkins to Elizabeth, Padstow, Sept. 20, 1565, in *Report on the Pepys Manuscripts, Historical Manuscripts Commission* (London, 1911), 66.

19. John Sparke, *Voyage Made by the Worshipful M. John Hawkins . . . 1564*, in Clements R. Markham, editor, *The Hawkins' Voyages during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I* (London, 1878), 56-63.

not even of his own choosing. He had been surprised and defeated at San Juan de Ulloa; his remaining ships and survivors, crippled and without provisions, landed somewhere on the Gulf Coast. About one hundred, or half of those remaining, decided to take their chances ashore rather than risk the torments at sea in disabled vessels and without food. Although many of them were ultimately captured and sent to Mexico City, one, David Ingram, made a journey rivaled only by the Spanish wanderer, Cabeza de Vaca. An eleven month, two-thousand mile overland trip took Ingram from the Gulf to Newfoundland where he was picked up by a French fishing vessel. Unfortunately the narrative of his experiences is inaccurate, much of it a product of his imagination.<sup>20</sup>

Stucley and Hawkins were but precursors of increased English activity in the Indies. Within a decade English corsairs had included St. Augustine at least twice on their pillaging itinerary and at the same time continued to prey on Spanish vessels and cities in the Caribbean. All types of rumors circulated in Europe -many of them true- about New World enterprises by the English. There was speculation of their finding the northwest passage, or of their making a settlement in North America or perhaps in South America. For awhile Spain even considered Ingram and his companions the nucleus of a colony in *la Florida*.<sup>21</sup>

Ever since the Cabot voyages, England had been seeking the elusive northwest passage. In the 1570's, however, the tempo of the search quickened perceptibly, and a host of English ships soon were unsuccessfully probing the northern shores. Among the first was Martin Frobisher, who searched for this northwest passage in a series of voyages from 1576 to 1578. Though, as it turned out, he failed in extracting gold from the New World and in finding a passage, another immediately tried to succeed where he had failed. Humphrey Gilbert had been fascinated by North America since the days of Stucley and Hawkins. He envisioned founding a colony on the Atlantic Coast to serve many ends: it

20. David Ingram, *The Land Travels of Davyd Ingram and Others in the Years 1568-9 from the Rio de Minas in the Gulph of Mexico to Cape Breton in Acadia*, in C.J.P. Weston, editor, *Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina* (London, 1856), 5-24.

21. Guerau de Spes to Philip II, London, Feb. 14, 1569, Navarrete, *et al.*, *Documentos ineditos, Espana*, XC, 185.



could be used as a base to raid the West Indies, to attack the Spanish Newfoundland fishing fleet, or to discover the northwest passage.<sup>22</sup> In 1578 Gilbert received a typical patent authorizing him to discover and occupy lands not possessed by a Christian prince. Little is known of the 1578 voyage-discreetly accompanied by Spanish Ambassador Bernadino de Mendoza's agent<sup>23</sup> -except that it failed.

Undaunted, Gilbert outfitted another expedition. Persecuted Catholics, assured of liberty of conscience and other concessions, were enlisted as colonists. Mendoza used his influence to prevent their going, asserting that this was against the wishes of the Pope and Philip, that if they went, only Ribaut's fate awaited, and that by leaving England they would drain "the small remnant of good blood [from] this sick body." The majority heeded the ambassador's words; a few "reckless and useless ones" did not.<sup>24</sup>

Optimistically Gilbert began his westward voyage - "for where the attempt on vertue dooth depend, no doubt but God will blesse it in the ende"<sup>25</sup> -and initially Mendoza thought the English objective was lower Florida where first a fort would be erected, later to be reinforced by ten thousand men from the Queen.<sup>26</sup> Soon he discovered the true design of going to Norumbega (southern Canada and New England). In the summer of 1583 Gilbert arrived at St. Johns Harbor, Newfoundland. Mounting a hill overlooking the harbor dotted with English, Portuguese, and Spanish vessels, he took possession for the Queen "by digging of a Turffe and receiving the same with an Hassell wand."<sup>27</sup> Shortly after this his main supply ship with most of her crew was lost, and it was decided to abandon the expedition. But all of the remaining vessels did not reach England safely. Gilbert, himself, was last seen calmly reading aboard the diminutive ten-ton *Squirrel*.

22. Humphrey Gilbert, "A Discourse How Hir Majestie May Annoy the Ring of Spayne," Nov. 6, 1577, in David B. Quinn, editor, *The Voyages and Colonizing Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (London, 1940), I, 172-174.

23. Mendoza to Gabriel de Zayas, Aug. 14, 1578, Navarrete, *et al.*, *Documentos ineditos, Espana*, XCI, 271.

24. *Ibid.*, Mendoza to Philip II, London, July 11, 1582, XCII, 396-397.

25. "George Peckham's True Report," Nov. 12, 1583, in Quinn, *Gilbert*, II, 437.

26. Mendoza to Philip II, London, Apr. 26, 1582, Navarrete, *et al.*, *Documentos ineditos, Espana*, XCII, 358.

27. "Peckham's Report," *op. cit.*, 445.

When Gilbert's ships were outfitting in Plymouth they were by no means the only ones disquieting to Mendoza. During this period others were taking on supplies for voyages to the Caribbean, to Brazil (now under Spanish control), and even to Spanish possessions in the Pacific. At the same time as the Gilbert voyages, Francis Drake was sailing through the Straits of Magellan, robbing heavily laden Spanish vessels along the Pacific Coast, and laying claim to "Nova Albion" in California.

Mendoza incessantly fumed over Drake's plunderings, and now, what was worse, there was new cause for alarm. Humphrey Gilbert's half brother, the talented, egotistical, many-sided Walter Raleigh, had been identified closely with both the 1578 and the ill-fated 1583 Newfoundland expeditions, and at once he began to take over where his half brother left off. Raleigh's settlement in that part of *la Florida* soon to be known as Virginia was part of the overall anti-Spanish policy.

Relations with Spain had been worsening steadily. She considered England the center of Protestantism and was well aware of the aid dispatched to the revolting Dutch and Huguenots. The early and mid 1580's were critical years. Drake, one of the survivors of Hawkins's disastrous defeat at San Juan de Ulloa, as has been seen, was wreaking his vengeance on the Indies. In effect there was a full-scale war in the New World which was soon to spread to the Old. Philip delayed openly declaring war, hoping that domestic intrigue would place Catholic Mary Stuart on the English throne. In 1587 Elizabeth executed Mary; 1588 was the year of the Armada.

Members of the extreme anti-Spanish faction in England, such as Raleigh, Walsingham, Richard Hakluyt, and Drake, considered that an English settlement on the mid-Atlantic coast would play an important role in reducing Spain's power in the Indies. Was it not true that Mexican and Peruvian silver underwrote many of Philip's ambitious European projects? Raleigh's colony, at least in the beginning, would be little more than a fortified port, allowing English corsairs to prey more easily on the plate fleet, providing them a year round base in the New World, and reimbursing the backers with rich Spanish prizes. This would be only one of several blows aimed at Spain's empire in the Indies. In conjunction with this colony the tempo of Eng-

lish attacks on Spanish shipping in Peru, New Spain, and Newfoundland would be increased.<sup>28</sup>

In 1584 the Queen gave Raleigh his patent—generally similar to Gilbert's. At once he dispatched Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow to make a preliminary reconnaissance, and soon they returned with favorable news of the North Carolina banks and sounds. Preparations in England in 1585 boded ill for the Spanish Indies. Not only was Raleigh outfitting Richard Grenville to occupy Roanoke Island, but also Drake with a Royal Commission was preparing for his voyage to the West Indies.

Grenville, with his fleet of seven vessels, escorted the one hundred odd settlers to Roanoke. He took the traditional route to the Indies—that used by Columbus—south to the Canaries, due west under the constant trade winds, and then up the North American coast via the Gulf Stream. While in the West Indies, they stopped at Santa Domingo and Puerto Rico, replenishing their water casks and securing horses and cattle. Spanish officials here became justifiably suspicious of English designs on *la Florida*.<sup>29</sup> After reaching Roanoke Grenville left Ralph Lane in charge, then returned to England for supplies, capturing a rich Spanish vessel laden with ginger and sugar en route.<sup>30</sup>

Accounts of the first year at Roanoke are meagre, but one thing is certain: summer was fast approaching and Grenville had not returned with the much-needed provisions. Though he was on his way, another fleet, that of Drake, dropped anchor at Roanoke first. Drake was returning from his devastating West Indian voyage. He probably had set out with the mission of capturing the plate fleet; in this he had failed. Therefore he assuaged his disappointment by sacking and demanding ransom for the strategic ports of Cartagena and Santo Domingo.

28. Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse on Western Planting," in Edmund Goldsmid, editor, *The Voyages of the English Nation to America before the Year 1600, from Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages* (Edinburgh, 1889-1890), II, 199-201; David B. Quinn, editor, *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* (London, 1955), I, 32.

29. Licentiate Aliaga to Crown, Santo Domingo, Nov. 30, 1585, in Irene A. Wright, editor, *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594, Documents from the Archives of the Indies at Seville Illustrating English Voyages to the Caribbean, the Spanish Main, Florida, and Virginia* (London, 1951), 16.

30. Grenville to Walsyngham, Plymouth, Oct. 29, 1585, *Cal. State Papers, Dom., Eliz.*, II, 281.

After threatening Havana, he entered the Bahama Channel, and in May his twenty-nine ships appeared menacingly off St. Augustine. At once artillery was put ashore to batter the crude wooden fort. The Spanish force here was outnumbered many times, and the fort's garrison, "through the thoughtfulness of our General," fled to the woods.<sup>31</sup> Surrender or death were the other alternatives.

St. Augustine suffered proportionally more than the other cities ravaged by Drake. The English found about two hundred and fifty houses in the town, "but we left not one of them standing."<sup>32</sup> Next the fort and a caravel in the harbor were put to the torch. Only the small vessels, miscellaneous hardware, and other supplies possibly needed by the Roanoke colony were saved.<sup>33</sup> After finishing their work, Drake's men departed for the Spanish fort at Santa Elena (Port Royal) contemplating a repetition of St. Augustine's fate. Fortunately for this second Florida garrison, the English admiral refused to risk navigating the treacherous channel without a pilot, and, according to Spanish reports, could not even find it.<sup>34</sup> Whatever the reason, Santa Elena was by-passed, and the fleet finally dropped anchor off Roanoke Island. It is probable that Drake ravaged St. Augustine so completely-only fortune saved Santa Elena from the same treatment-in order to better insure the security of Raleigh's colony. In any case this was the opinion of the Spaniards.<sup>35</sup>

Lane and his compatriots were overjoyed at the arrival of the English fleet. Quickly arrangements were made whereby a vessel and sorely needed supplies would be furnished by Drake. Among these we must assume were included the hardware and small craft from St. Augustine and the two hundred and fifty Negro slaves

31. Alonzo Santos Saez to Crown, St. Augustine, July 11, 1586, Brooks Col., L.C.

32. *Discourse and Description of the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Mr. Captain Frobisher Set Forward the 14th Day of September, 1585*, in Julian S. Corbett, editor, *Papers Relating to the Navy during the Spanish War, 1585-1587* (London, 1898), 25.

33. Gabriel de Luxon and Diego Fernandez de Quinones to Crown, (Havana, July 1, 1586, Wright, *English Voyages, 1583-1594*, 185.

34. *Ibid.*, Juan de Posada to Crown, St. Augustine, Sept., 2, 1586, 205; Quinones to Crown, Havana, Sept. 1586, in Irene A. Wright, editor, *Historia documentada de San Cristobal de la Habana en el siglo XVI, basada en los documentos originales existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, Havana, 1927, II, 65.

35. [?] to King, Seville, Sept. 3, 1586, AGI, 42-1-8/3, Stetson Col.: *ibid.*, Consulta de consejo, Spain, Nov. 8, 1590, AGI 140-7-35

captured at Santo Domingo and Cartagena. A sudden severe storm wrecked Lane's ship and supplies, while Drake's vessels barely weathered gale winds and a heavy sea in the poor haven off Roanoke. Rather than risk remaining with only limited provisions, Lane and his followers decided to return with Drake. Shortly after the fleet reached England, the indefatigable Hakluyt eagerly sought out and examined two of the Spanish prisoners captured at St. Augustine and later published their favorable accounts of *la Florida*.<sup>36</sup> As it turned out Lane should have remained at Roanoke, because shortly after leaving, Grenville arrived only to find the colony deserted. Nevertheless one fact now was obvious: there was no harbor at Roanoke which would serve as a suitable base from which to raid the Spanish Indies.

Undaunted by this setback, Raleigh immediately outfitted another expedition. Since the harbor at Roanoke had proved unsatisfactory, the new colony was instructed to settle on the more promising Chesapeake. Because of the failure to finance his first colony from Spanish prizes, Raleigh now placed more emphasis on colonization and exploitation. This second colony, headed by John White, was back in Virginia by the summer of 1587, though again at Roanoke instead of on the Chesapeake as had been planned. The subsequent history of the lost colony is well known. White himself returned to England for supplies. The Spanish Armada delayed his return for three years, and when he did return, there was no sign of the colonists.

Spain had received many general indications of Raleigh's designs. The vessels bound for Roanoke had passed through the West Indies, and the Spanish ambassador had supplied additional information from London. While Drake was sacking St. Augustine, several of his Negro prisoners escaped, disclosing to the Spaniards that they were to be used as laborers in the new English colony.<sup>37</sup> There was no dearth of signs that there was an English settlement in *la Florida*. But where was it? What was its strength? These were questions asked by Florida governors for the next fifteen years and never answered definitely until Jamestown was founded.

36. "Relation of Pedro Morales and Nicholas Burgoignon," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, IX, 112-115.

37. Quinones to Crown, Havana, Sept. 1586, AGI, 54-2-4, Connor Col., L. C.

At first after Drake's attack, Menendez Marques, now Governor at St. Augustine, had more than he could do just to provide for his destitute garrison. "We are all left with the clothes we stood in, and in the open country with a little munition. We are without food of any sort except six hogsheads of flour which will last twenty days."<sup>38</sup> Marques had had no choice when he fled before Drake's onslaught. But to provide for a more effective defense in the future he consolidated the garrison of Santa Elena with that at St. Augustine.<sup>39</sup> Experience had shown, with disastrous results, that they were too far apart to be mutually supporting. Actually at this time officials in Spain were even considering abandoning Florida or perhaps maintaining a single fort near the Keys to pick up shipwrecked seamen.

As soon as Marques recovered sufficiently from Drake's raid, he set out in a frigate and two smaller vessels to determine the location of the supposed English colony. Coasting as far north as the Bahia de Santa Maria (Chesapeake) in 1587, he detected no signs of Raleigh's settlement. Yet this is not surprising. Roanoke Island, securely nestled behind the Carolina banks, had as one of its assets its inaccessibility, as had the Jamestown peninsula two decades later. A storm came up while he was at the Bahia de Santa Maria, preventing Marques from entering, and, after losing one of his vessels, the Spanish Governor was driven back to the Bahamas.<sup>40</sup>

Though Marques did not find the English colony, Spanish officials still were convinced there was one. English corsairs were in the Indies in 1588. Would they be permitted to leave England at such a critical time? Highly improbable—instead they must be using a New World base. Also there were fresh reports that Englishmen had made a settlement somewhere near Newfoundland.<sup>41</sup> Was this a follow-up to their capture of the entire Spanish fishing fleet in 1585?<sup>42</sup>

38. Marques to President of House of Trade, St. Augustine, June 17, 1586, Wright, *English Voyages, 1583-1594*, 164.

39. Marques to Crown, St. Augustine, Dec. 12, 1586, Brooks Col., L.C.

40. Marques to [?], Havana, June 22, 1587, Wright, *English Voyages, 1583-1594*, 232-233.

41. Marques to Crown, Florida, July 17, 1588, AGI, 54-5-9, Lowery Col., L.C.

42. In 1585 in retaliation for the arrest of English citizens and the impounding of English goods in Spain, a large portion of the Spanish Newfoundland fishing fleet was captured by Bernard Drake. *Cal. State Papers, For., Eliz., XIX*, 573.

To answer these questions, Vicente Gonzalez and thirty men set out from St. Augustine. They too coasted up to the Bahia de Santa Maria, sailed within the capes, and made an extensive reconnaissance, but there was no sign of English habitation. On their way back a heavy wind came up and forced them to seek shelter off the North Carolina coast. Thus it was only accidental that they stumbled upon signs of Raleigh's abandoned colony—a shipyard, barrels, debris, etc. Now for the first time there was definite proof of an attempted English settlement.<sup>43</sup>

Through information supplied by Gonzalez, by an English seaman who had been with Grenville and later was wrecked in the West Indies, and by a Spanish mariner who had been captured by Grenville and later escaped, the Spaniards were gradually able to piece together the story of the Roanoke failure.<sup>44</sup> Definitely there was no settlement here. But whether Raleigh's colony was at a new location or whether England had founded other settlements, Marques was unable to answer with any degree of certainty.

The Anglo-Spanish War did not end with the Armada but continued relentlessly until 1604. English corsairs were active in the West Indies, and there were clashes with Spanish ships in Newfoundland. Spain never knew if any of these English vessels bound for the New World might not be planning to reinforce an existing colony or to settle a new one. When returning to seek news of Roanoke in 1590, John White was forced to use a ship whose main interest was privateering rather than concern over Raleigh's colony. Spain did not know this and was disturbed over the prospect of reinforcements for an existing English colony.<sup>45</sup> The next year Christopher Newport commanded a fleet which preyed on Spanish shipping in the West Indies. Before returning home he stopped at Florida to obtain water and food and to seize any unsuspecting Spanish vessel.<sup>46</sup> In fact somewhat later the Spaniards surprised another English vessel at Santa

43. Luis Geronimo de Ore, *Relation of the Martyrs of Florida* (Madrid, 1617?), in Quinn, *Roanoke Voyage Documents*, II, 802-816.

44. Vasques y Obros to Juan de Ybarra, Havana, July 22, 1588, AGI, 54-1-34, Sp. transcripts, L.C.; *ibid.*, Consejo del Rey to Ybarra, Mar. 31, 1589.

45. Diego de la Ribera to Crown, Havana, Aug. 24, 1590, Wright, *English Voyages, 1583-1594*, 258.

46. Voyage of Christopher Newport, 1591, in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, X, 189-190.

Elena while taking on water.<sup>47</sup> These and other hostile ships off the Florida coast kept the undermanned garrison at St. Augustine in a constant state of alarm.

Testimony of an Irish soldier here in 1600 and other indications convinced the new Governor, Gonzalo Mendez de Canco, that Englishmen had taken root in Jacan (Virginia). While exhorting the nearby Indians to find out if this were true, Canco pleaded for one thousand men to wipe out the settlement, after which he would establish a fort.<sup>48</sup> For the next six years the Spanish Crown considered this project. They also considered another-complete abandonmem of Florida. Philip III was almost bankrupt, and Florida was a drain on his purse. It appeared quite possible that additional funds and troops would be required just to pacify the Indians. Thus Canco would not have his dreams fulfilled, but neither was Florida abandoned. The effective work of Franciscan missionaries among the Indians was steadily improving the Spanish position. And well it might. For fifteen years Spain had been in doubt as to whether England had a colony in Jacan. The Virginia Company's settlement at Jamestown was no secret and ended all speculation.

47. Thomas Edmonds to Ambassador Cornwallis, June 22, 1606, British Museum, Additional MSS, Cotton Vespasian, IX.

48. Canco to Philip III, St. Augustine, Feb. 28, 1600, in Katherine Reding, "Letter of Gonzalo Menendez de Canco," *Ga. Hist. Quar.* (Sept., 1924), VIII, 215-228.



## THE 1789 SAINT AUGUSTINE CELEBRATION

by HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

ONE OF THE MOST elaborate celebrations of Saint Augustine's colonial history occurred in December, 1789, when the civilian and military populations joined in honoring Charles IV's ascension to the Spanish throne. Parades, theatricals, religious services and *soirees* with dancing till dawn were features of the three day festival beginning the afternoon of December 2.<sup>1</sup>

The celebration was planned by Governor Vicente Manuel de Zepedes who had come to Saint Augustine in June, 1784, to re-establish Spanish rule in East Florida following a twenty year interval of British occupation. In the seesaw of eighteenth-century warfare, England secured East and West Florida by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, but returned both provinces to Spain at the close of the American Revolution as one of the provisions of the treaty signed in 1783. Zepedes viewed the ceremonies in December, 1789, as a climax to his term of governorship. He expected his successor, appointed in March, 1789, to arrive within a few months, permitting him to return to Havana, his home for most of the years since his regiment left Spain in 1740.

Aside from his own characteristically Spanish love of colorful ceremonies, Zepedes had several reasons for making the formal coronation of Charles IV a memorable event in East Florida's history. Of course, he was eager to impress the new king and his officials in Madrid with the loyalty of a remote province occupying a strategic coastal position at one end of the lengthy Spanish-American frontier. The home administration, faced with a situation of increasing tension throughout the year, needed reassurance. The basic principle of monarchy had been successfully challenged by the thirteen British colonies in the recent American Revolution. Since then, liberty rather than loyalty had become the patriotic appeal of increasing numbers of Frenchmen, threatening the Bourbon ruler of France and alarming the Bourbon

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1. The celebration is described in a seven page document written by the notary Domingo Rodriguez de Leon, Saint Augustine, Dec. 9, 1789. East Florida Papers, Box 43 D1, Library of Congress. Draft of covering letter to colonial secretary Antonio de Valdez is dated Dec. 12, 1789. Draft of a similar letter to the king is in Box 44.

ruler of Spain. In July, 1789, a Parisian mob stormed the Bastille and soon held the royal family as virtual prisoners in the Tuileries Palace. Signs of similar restiveness in the Spanish Indies reached Madrid, impelling the ministry to warn all colonial governors to watch carefully for revolutionary symptoms.

The Spanish monarchy was confronted with further hostility in the international sphere. In 1789, the American states adopted a new constitution strengthening their position as an independent nation. Anti-monarchic Americans spoke boldly of seizing the Floridas and Louisiana as a prelude to the conquest of Mexico and the Spanish Caribbean islands.<sup>2</sup> In June, 1789, the Spanish representative to the American states left New York after four years of futile effort to negotiate a treaty concerning navigation of the Mississippi River and the northern border for West Florida. Aware of all these factors, Governor Zespedes was determined that the new Spanish monarch should be impressed by the demonstrations of affection and loyalty in Saint Augustine, a provincial capital only fifty miles from American territory.

The coronation of Charles IV also provided an opportunity for Governor Zespedes to infuse the local residents with enthusiasm for the Spanish crown. Only five of the two hundred families in the civilian population were native Spaniards. At the beginning of Zespedes' governorship, a dozen families who had left Saint Augustine in 1763 returned, along with a few Cuban families. The five Canary Island families transferred from Pensacola at government expense in 1785 were generally considered a public burden. Half of the community were Minorcan, Greek and Italian-survivors of a British colonial expedition reaching Florida in 1768 when Minorca was a British possession. Since the Treaty of Paris in 1783 returned Minorca as well as the Floridas to Spain, Zespedes accepted the Minorcans as natural subjects of the Spanish crown. Still, he felt they needed an incentive to rekindle their patriotism, particularly since the Balaeric Islands shared the Catalan spirit of independence.

Governor Zespedes also hoped that the coronation celebration would help to draw the twenty British families of Saint Augustine into the Spanish cultural pattern. The former British sub-

2. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "Zespedes and the Southern Conspiracies," in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (July, 1959), 15-28.

jects were an economically influential population group, the owners of most of the three hundred slaves in the vicinity. A few had established plantations in Florida prior to the American Revolution and had decided to remain under Spanish protection rather than emigrate to some unfamiliar area. The six or eight large establishments along the St. Johns River accounted for about three quarters of the four hundred slaves living in the outlying area of East Florida. The so-called British were diverse in religion and origin, including people born in the American colonies as well as France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, England and Ireland. The departing English left behind a few free Negroes and Mulattoes, some of them former soldiers. The governor counted on a dramatic display of Spanish medieval pageantry and attendant excitement to arouse in the former British subjects some warmth toward a distant monarch for whom they had a traditional animosity.

Zespedes was confident he could influence the foreign element residing in the Saint Augustine vicinity, but was frankly doubtful concerning the allegiance of the two hundred and fifty Anglo-Americans living along the St. Marys River and the coastal islands, remote from the provincial capital. The majority of these people were remnants of the ten thousand refugees from northern colonies who inundated East Florida during the latter years of the American revolution. In 1789, the Anglo-Americans had not yet taken a formal oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown. Regulations for establishing civil government in East Florida had never been completed, owing to frequent changes and the illness of higher officials in Cuba. Meanwhile, the inhabitants were waiting for the arrival of a surveyor and for definite word concerning the land grant policy and commercial regulations. Zespedes had managed affairs on a temporary basis for five years, because of delays in official procedure, a common problem in Spanish colonial administration. But by the time of the celebration for Charles IV, he was able to offer assurance that his successor would be authorized to establish the permanent government. This alone was cause for rejoicing.

Zespedes certainly hoped a rousing coronation festival would strengthen the tenuous attachment of the former British subjects to the Spanish regime. He could scarcely influence the element

of the population living along the St. Marys River, except for those visiting Saint Augustine for the great event. Active participation in the celebration was limited to the scant one thousand people comprising the civilian population of the capital: approximately 35 Spaniards, 25 Canary Islanders, 60 *Floridanos*, 460 predominantly Minorcan, 100 Anglo-Americans, and 300 Negroes and Mulattoes.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the curiously polyglot group (minorities included a Hindu servant and a family of Mexican Indians), the town had a definitely Spanish air. Civilian diversity was balanced by the presence of 460 uniformed Spanish soldiers of the garrison, and the families of officials on the governor's staff, the royal hospital and the treasury and supply department, totalling about 1800 people with government connections.

In physical appearance, the town resembled a village in Andalusia, except where British peaked roofs replaced the flat *azoteas* of traditional Spanish and Arabic architecture. A glance down any one of the town's three main streets brought into view a solid line of walls and garden fences bordering the street, with wooden balconies projecting above the narrow roadway. These streets, paralleling the river, continued south to the Saint Francis Barracks, a structure that had been a monastery prior to the British arrival in 1763. Three quarters of a mile north at the opposite end of the town, the skyline was dominated by the Castillo de San Marcos, symbol of Spain's three-century hold on the desolate Florida peninsula. Military officers stationed at the fortress and soldiers living in the barracks were principal figures in the local ceremonies honoring Charles IV.

Many months of planning preceded the celebration occurring on December 2, 3, and 4, 1789. The official letter announcing the death of Charles III and succession of his son was written in Madrid on December 24, 1788. An accompanying royal order decreed that the ascension of the new monarch should be celebrated with all customary ceremonies. The following February,

3. Population estimates are based on three sources: I. *Descripcion de la Florida Oriental*, St. Augustine, May 12, 1787, in the Stetson Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville; II. Census Returns for 1786 and 1793, Lockey Transcripts, P. K. Yonge Library; and III. Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in Spanish Florida, 1783-1822* (Washington, 1940), see p. 200 for statistics given visiting bishop in Sept., 1788.

this news was forwarded from Havana to Saint Augustine, where a six months period of mourning commenced on March 11. Funeral obsequies for Charles III took place nine successive days, beginning March 22.<sup>4</sup> In Madrid, the formal entry of Charles IV into the capital was scheduled for September 23, 1789. Originally, Governor Zespedes planned the celebration in Saint Augustine to coincide with festivities in Spain, but in October he had to postpone local ceremonies because official portraits and royal ensigns of the new monarchs had not arrived.<sup>5</sup> The ship from Cuba did not bring these necessary items until November 23, 1789.

In the meantime, Governor Zespedes made some preparations of his own. The mail packet bringing news of Charles III's death also brought word to the governor that his income would be materially increased, in response to his pleas to the colonial secretary. His official salary was not altered, but a royal order decreed that the 4,000 pesos annual payment would be exempt from a special tax deduction, and provided for the return of deductions made during the previous five years. The prospective refund from the Havana treasury amounted to over 6,000 pesos.<sup>6</sup> In a prosperous and grateful mood, Zespedes ordered a quantity of silver medals for distribution during the celebration honoring the new monarch.

The medals, weighing about a half peso, were cast according to his own design, probably in Mexico.<sup>7</sup> When he was selecting appropriate symbols for his commemorative medal, Governor Zespedes sincerely regretted that Saint Augustine had no munic-

4. Zespedes to Jose de Ezpeleta, Captain-General of Cuba, St. Augustine, April 8, 1789. Archivo General de las Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1395. Transcript in Lockey Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
5. Proclamation No. 6, St. Augustine, Oct. 2, 1789. East Florida Papers, Box 278 O 13, Library of Congress.
6. Royal Order, signed at San Lorenzo on Oct. 28, 1788. Also, List of annual salary deductions, St. Augustine, Jan. 21, 1788, Stetson Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. The deductions were approximately: 12 pesos contribution to fund for invalid soldiers, 11 pesos for widows and orphans fund, and 1192 pesos for the *media anata*, a tax levied on nobility for defense purposes, but from which military men were usually excused. The amount of the *media anata* was returned to Zespedes.
7. One of these coins is in the possession of Mr. Harley Freeman of Ormond Beach, who supplied photographs for the author. Medals commemorating special events were fairly common, but this is the only medal struck for Florida of which there is authentic proof.

pal coat of arms, although the city was one of the oldest in the Indies. One face of the coin naturally featured a profile of Charles IV with his name inscribed and the year 1789. On the reverse side, the center was occupied by a large floral representation of a jasmine blossom, selected as an emblem of Florida.<sup>8</sup> Above and below were a lion and a castle, the traditional emblems of Castile, the single Spanish kingdom to whom the overseas possessions belonged. Aragon and other divisions of the Spanish peninsula did not share in control of the colonies. The Spanish nation was loosely coordinated in the eighteenth century, still dominated by Castile, the region Zespedes was proud to claim as his native land. Following the custom of his contemporaries, he always referred to "The Spains," never using the noun in the singular.

Among his other responsibilities in conjunction with Saint Augustine's observation of Charles IV's ascent to the throne, Governor Zespedes had to choose officials to perform special ceremonial functions. He bestowed the principal honor, that of royal standard bearer, on his son, Lieutenant Vincent Domingo de Zespedes of the Havana regiment. Ordinarily this distinction would go to some important civil or municipal official, but Saint Augustine had only a military command without accompanying government bureaus, courts of justice or even a town council. Furthermore, he thought this was a fine opportunity to promote Vincent's career. Zespedes raised all four of his sons in the tradition of royal service. The two eldest served in regiments in Spain and Cuba. Vincent and his younger brother Antonio began their professional training in their father's regiment and accompanied him to Florida on assignment to the local garrison. Their two sisters soon married officers stationed in Saint Augustine. Vincent had proved his ability in 1787 as a member of the party accompanying the governor on a four hundred mile tour of the backlands along the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers. Now the governor

8. Jasmine, not a native Florida plant, is an interesting selection. According to Dr. Herbert S. Wolfe, Professor of Horticulture, University of Florida, Zespedes was probably referring either to the Poets Jasmine, sometimes called Spanish Jasmine (*Jasminum officinale* var. *grandiflorum*), or to the Azores Jasmine (*J. azoricum*) from the Canary Islands. Plants could have come directly from Spain, or have been brought by Canary Island colonists arriving in 1762. Both varieties are generally five petalled, scarcely resembling the stylized floral symbol with six petals shown on the coin.

assigned him a prominent role in the celebration, knowing that official reports would bring his name to the attention of superior officers.

The coronation ceremonies called for two additional honorary titles, the "*reyes de armas*," a term surviving from medieval times to signify the officials in charge of public ceremonies, whose actual function might be classified as parade marshals. These honors were granted to Colonel Bartolome de Morales and Captain Joseph de Saavedra of the Third Battalion of Cuba, a unit recently created for permanent assignment to the Saint Augustine garrison. The establishment of permanent or "*fijo*" units in the colonies to replace rotating Spanish regiments was one of the important military reforms of Charles III's reign.<sup>9</sup> Governor Zespedes appealed for the creation of a fixed regiment in East Florida soon after his arrival, citing the expense and loss of life incurred in transferring troops back and forth to Havana. He had substantiated his position by pointing out that during the first Spanish regime, the garrison personnel were not subject to rotation. He was pleased to welcome the Third Battalion of Cuba, whose members arrived in time to participate in the local festivities honoring Charles IV. On December 2, Colonel Morales, new commandant of the garrison, made his first public appearance in East Florida. From April to July, 1795, he temporarily served as governor of the province during the illness of Zespedes' successor, Juan Nepomuceno Quesada.<sup>10</sup>

Although their replacements were on hand, soldiers in the retiring Havana regiment remained in Saint Augustine to join in the celebration anticipated for so many weeks in the fall of 1789. As their contribution, they were rehearsing a play entitled "*Amigo, Amante y Leal*" (Loving and Loyal Friend), written one hundred and fifty years earlier by Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca, a leading representative of the Golden Age of Spanish drama. This play was first published in 1653 as part of a collection of contemporary comedies by various authors, although it was probably written about 1630.<sup>11</sup> Calderon's comedies were

9. Lyle N. McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain, 1764-1800* (Gainesville, 1957), pp. 2-4.

10. Caroline Brevard, *A History of Florida* (Deland, 1924), II, 248.

11. Harry Warren Hilborn, *A Chronology of the plays of D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca* (Toronto, 1938), pp. 13-15.

favorite theatrical entertainment in the Spanish colonies throughout the eighteenth century, and enjoyed a brief vogue for London and Philadelphia audiences in the 1760's. "*Amigo, Amante y Leal*" was sufficiently familiar so that Zespedes considered it unnecessary even to mention the author's name in writing his report of the festivities honoring Charles IV. Calderon's continuing popularity in the Caribbean area is attested by the fact that a collection of his comedies was published in Cuba in 1839.<sup>12</sup>

Comedies performed in the town square were a favorite form of recreation for Spanish soldiers, although this form of entertainment temporarily lost popularity in Saint Augustine after cloaked or costumed figures stabbed an Irish lieutenant one evening in November, 1785, following a play rehearsal. This unpleasantness was far enough in the past so that the entire community was looking forward to the farewell production of the Havana regiment whose ships were waiting in the harbor to sail for Cuba.

With his medals, royal ensign and portraits all on hand by the end of November, 1789, Governor Zespedes soon completed final arrangements for the celebration. The general pattern was well established by custom. This was the third royal regime inaugurated during his lifetime. Born in 1720 during the reign of Philip V, first of the Bourbon line in Spain, he had previously celebrated the assumption of the throne by Ferdinand VI in 1746, and the entrance of Charles III into Madrid in 1760. The three day festival in Saint Augustine on December 2, 3, and 4, 1789, was a small scale reproduction of events taking place in Madrid when Charles IV made his triumphal entry on September 23 of the same year. In Madrid, there were private balls, an exhibition of regional dances, and an open air production of a special play written by the renowned Spanish dramatist, Ramon de la Cruz. Twenty thousand visitors flocked to the capital to see royalty parade through streets lined with embroidered tapestries hung from upper balconies.

Florida's famous mild winter weather graced Saint Augustine on the afternoon of December 2, 1789, when the stage was set for local observance of Charles IV's ascent to the Spanish throne. Doorways and balconies throughout the town were brightened

12. Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catalogo bibliografico y biografico de teatro antiguo espanol, desde sus origines hasta mediados del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1860), pp. 52-54.



with hangings, flags, flowers and greenery, or whatever the inhabitants could contrive in the way of decoration. The first event took place in front of the government buildings, the combination of residences, offices, storerooms, stables and lesser buildings enclosed in a large block between the rear defense line of the town and the plaza. The governor's residence faced one end of the oblong "Plaza de Armas" extending three blocks east to the wharf on the Matanzas river. Wooden balconies of the residence were draped with yards of scarlet silks. Outside the residence, against the wall facing the plaza, stood a canopy of crimson damask with plain satin drapes at the side and white taffeta curtains across the front. The canopy rested on a small carpeted platform with steps descending toward the plaza. Within this throne-like enclosure rested the portraits of Charles IV and his Italian-born queen, Maria Louisa of Parma. The honor of standing guard beside the royal portraits was assigned to the grenadiers, elite corps of the Third Battalion of Cuba.

Stationed at the four corners of the plaza were pickets of infantrymen. A small artillery squad occupied the side of the plaza toward the river, near the buildings serving as guard house, butchering area and farmers' market. In the center of the plaza, carpenters had erected a large square platform, with thick rugs spread over the floor and the steps along one side. The balustrades on the other three sides were decorated with ornamental tapestries.

About the middle of the afternoon, top-ranking military officers, leading officials of the finance and supply division, and a few prominent citizens assembled before the governor's residence. All were on horseback. Promptly at four o'clock Governor Zespedes appeared, sword at his side, mounted on a horse with richly ornamented trappings. The governor was wearing the bright red uniform of the Havana regiment, decorated with the gold emblems signifying his rank as brigadier of the royal armies of Spain. Accompanied by the waiting escort, the governor first paraded around the tree-bordered *Plaza de Armas*, returning to the official buildings in time to greet Lieutenant Zespedes as he rode through the gates on a gaily caparisoned steed, accompanied by Colonel Morales and Captain Saavedra, the two officers acting as *reyes de armas* for this occasion. Now the escorting

band formed a double file as the procession marched down the center toward the local parish church, located in the upper floor of a building on the south side of the plaza. Leading the procession were the first and second adjutants of the military staff, followed by the governor and his son who was bearing the royal ensign, and behind them came the *reyes de armas*. At the doors of the church building, the entire group dismounted and accompanied the royal ensign into the body of the church where it was consecrated in a brief ceremony.

The religious service was in charge of the vicar and ecclesiastical judge, Father Thomas Hassett, an Irish priest trained in Salamanca, who had administered two Negro schools in Philadelphia during the American Revolution before coming to Saint Augustine in 1784. He was assisted by other priests in the community: assistant presbyter Father Miguel O'Reilly, Irish troop chaplain who was a veteran of service in the Caribbean islands; Father Francisco Traconis, Havana-born hospital chaplain and primary school teacher; and Father Pedro Camps, frail and dedicated Minorcan missionary who had accompanied his countrymen to the New Smyrna colony in 1768.

When the religious ceremony was over, the men in the procession again mounted their horses for the short ride from the church to the platform in the center of the plaza. By this time the crowd of onlookers had grown to sizable proportions. The governor and his son and the *reyes de armas* alighted by the steps leading up to the platform. The assembly was called to order by the sonorous intonation of the *reyes de armas* who announced: "Silence, hear, listen, attention!" At this moment, Lieutenant Zespedes raised the royal ensign and led the crowd in three cheers for "Castile!", while the portraits of the new monarchs were unveiled. Simultaneously the air was shaken by the discharge of the field pieces mounted at the end of the plaza, salutes from government and private ships in the harbor, the roll of drums by the infantrymen, pealing of church bells, and a triple salvo from the artillery in the Castillo de San Marcos. In the midst of this joyous din, Governor Zespedes flung into the crowd the silver medals commemorating the great occasion.

While the wave of excitement continued, the leading officials descended the steps from the platform, mounted their horses and

took their places for a grand parade around the town. The procession line lengthened with the addition of a contingent of dragoons and the four infantry pickets previously posted at the comers of the plaza. Marching in time to a band playing martial music, the parade headed down Saint George Street to the barracks located at the southern end of the residential district. Halting at the Saint Francis barracks, for a second time they shouted *vivas* for the new monarchs to the accompaniment of artillery fire. From this point, the parade turned toward the river, followed Marine Street back toward the plaza, then continued along San Carlos Street to the Castillo de San Marcos. On the grassy embankments outside, to the sound of cannon in the fortress, the acclamations of the king resounded for the third and final time. Again in motion, the procession passed beside the old line of fortification extending from the Castillo to the drawbridge and city gates, and returned along Hornabeque Street to the governor's residence. At the conclusion of the parade, the royal standard was placed between the royal portraits under the canopy outside the official buildings.

By this time, night was approaching and the general mood of merrymaking prevailed throughout the town. At dusk, bonfires were lighted in the plaza, their flames flickering through the border of orange trees; and candles appeared in the windows of the houses.<sup>13</sup> During the evening, specially talented clerks from the finance and supply department performed a dance around the bonfires, imitating the rhythmic Indian dances observed during Indian congresses held in the same plaza. The large platform in the center of the plaza became a theatrical stage in the evening, when the Havana regiment presented the opening night performance of "*Amigo, Amante y Leal.*"<sup>14</sup>

The title indicates the three-pronged problem facing the protagonist, Don Felix, caught in the midst of conflicting obligations to his closest friend, his lady love, and his overlord, the Prince of Parma. His initial bold action is to hand over his sweetheart

13. This "general illumination" was a common feature of Spanish festivities. For a description of a similar but more elaborate celebration, see Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (Ann Arbor, 1959), p. 16, recounting ceremonial entry into Mexico City as Viceroy made by Fray Garcia Guerra on June 19, 1611.

14. Modern readers can find the script in a new edition of Calderon's complete works: Pedro Calderon de la Barca, *Obras Completas*, Tomo II (Madrid, 1956).

to the unrestrainable desires of the reckless prince, solely in order to serve him with loyalty. The plot becomes almost insuperably entangled thereafter, requiring a few improbable twists to reach a solution. Emotional tension reaches a climax in the third act when Don Felix appears with a sword, begging his friend to kill him. Almost immediately his sweetheart, Aurora, comes on stage with dagger upraised, threatening suicide. In a swift denouement, the prince relinquishes his claims for Aurora, unwilling that Don Felix should suffer for his unreasonable indications of loyalty. Somehow Aurora survives her various encounters with her honor unblemished, and her mind undisillusioned by the wavering behavior of her principal admirer.

The moral was clearly apparent to the Saint Augustine audience in 1789; loyalty to a superior officer was more important than personal inclination toward any woman. "*Amigo, Amante y Leal*" proved to be an enjoyable play, with prettily embroidered phrases of the best baroque tradition in the lengthy speeches, as well as rapid interchanges of metrical dialogue. Interest was maintained with a liberal sprinkling of jokes, a servant-as usual -providing the comic relief. The production was such an outstanding success that repeat performances were scheduled for the two subsequent evenings.

Besides attending the productions staged in the plaza, the soldiers and townspeople were all gathering in private parties. The most outstanding social event of the evening was the open house at the governor's residence, where Lieutenant Zespedes acted as host to Saint Augustine's leading military officers, government officials and private families. Shortly after the parade's end, guests assembled for *refresco*, with Spain's famous wines served to the gentlemen, and punch, tea, coffee or chocolate for the ladies. Musicians arrived later to provide entertainment for listeners and dancers in a form of social entertainment called a *sarao*, a Portuguese term akin to the French *soiree*. Dancing customarily opened with a formal minuet, whose elegant steps were familiar to elite society throughout the continent and European colonies. But as the evening grew cooler and spirits gayer, the violin was replaced by the guitar and livelier *contredances* occupied the floor. Forming squares, lines or circles, couples glided and whirled and bowed in a swift succession of figures until

the approach of dawn. Late in the evening, an elaborate supper was served, probably featuring ham, cold turkey, olives, dates, figs, oranges and decorated cakes. The midnight buffet, called by the French word *ambigu*, was adopted by Spanish society in the later eighteenth century when so many French customs became fashionable among the upper classes.<sup>15</sup>

The spirit of revelry was even more animated in Saint Augustine's humbler residences, where guests followed the intricate regional dances of southern Spain, Minorca and the Canary Islands. But dance partners were not available for all the men in Saint Augustine, a town with a high military population temporarily increased by the lingering Havana regiment. All the wine shops were overflowing, as well as the convenient tavern opposite the gate to Saint Francis barracks. Boisterous groups of soldiers joined in singing popular songs, improvising a few solo lyrics, while their comrades played cards or dice in the background.

Only a brief period of repose was accorded the officialdom of Saint Augustine who managed to dance until dawn on the morning of December 3, 1789. At 9 o'clock in the morning, the governor and his coterie plus a representation of local residents were all present in the parish church for high mass chanted by Father Hasset. At the conclusion of the service, all joined in singing the "Te Deum," to give solemn thanks to God for the advent of a new and glorious reign. By afternoon, they were all ready for a siesta in preparation for a continuation of the festivities. The evenings of December 3 and 4, the plaza was again bright with the light of bonfires providing illumination for the second and third performances of "*Amigo, Amante y Leal*." Parties again took place in homes with candle-lit windows, and for two more nights there was wine and punch, supper and dancing till dawn at the governor's residence. Governor Zespedes, now in his seventieth year, was undoubtedly relieved to have his son assume the responsibilities of host for this social marathon.

The three day period of public rejoicing concluded on the evening of December 4, culminating with a triumphal float drawn through town by six horses. This magnificently decorated con-

15. Charles E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid, 1750-1800* (Berkeley, 1932). See pp. 268-273 for discussion of the terms *refresco*, *sarao*, and *ambigu*.

struction was the work of the local carpenters' guild, a group with a large representation from the Minorcan population. It was large enough to carry all guild members, who sported red cockades in their broad hats and carried flaming torches in their hands. At every street corner they paused to give cheers for the new rulers, with echoing cheers from the little groups of observers.

By the morning of December 5, participants in these festivities were relieved to lapse into a less eventful pattern of existence. The following week, Governor Zespedes finally got around to sending notarized reports of the celebration to the king and colonial secretary, enclosing with each letter three of the commemorative medals. It may be difficult to determine the permanent results of this tremendous celebration on the local community of Saint Augustine. Adherence to the Spanish monarchy brought them scant physical comfort or security. Before the American flag was raised over the Castillo de San Marcos on July 10, 1821, the people endured many months without salary or local subsidy. Meanwhile they combatted Indian raids, pirate incursions, and the more serious revolutions and invasions along the Georgia border. In spite of these many vicissitudes, the Spanish officers and their successors, as well as the diversified townspeople and their descendants, maintained their unwavering loyalty to the Spanish crown, so enthusiastically displayed in December of 1789.

## THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN FLORIDA DURING THE CIVIL WAR

by JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

AS THE CIVIL WAR approached, the Episcopal Church in Florida found herself for the first time since the opening of the territory in a position of stability. She had weathered the hardships and uncertainties of the territorial period; her older parishes had become self-supporting congregations, and were embarking on vigorous parochial and educational projects; and a new group of lively missions was springing up in towns like Fernandina, Ocala, and Palatka, and in agricultural villages like Waukeena and Milton. The Diocese of Florida, which had been bishopless for thirteen years after its organization in 1838, had enjoyed the episcopal ministrations of its own diocesan since 1851, and as a sign of financial stability, the diocesan enjoyed a stipend which was paid with a degree of regularity that would have seemed strange to him five years before.

The territory of the Diocese of Florida embraced the whole state and contained 14 congregations:

Trinity, Apalachicola	Christ Church, Pensacola
St. Peter's, Fernandina	St. Paul's, Quincy
St. John's, Jacksonville	Trinity, St. Augustine
St. Paul's, Key West	St. John's, Tallahassee
St. Luke's, Marianna	St. Philip's, Waukeena
Christ Church, Monticello	St. John's, Warrington
Grace Church, Ocala	Trinity, Bel-Air (a
St. Mark's, Palatka	summer chapel of St. John's,
	Tallahassee).

The year 1861 found twelve clergymen serving these congregations, seventy-six Sunday School teachers, and 680 pupils.<sup>2</sup> Much interest in secondary education was manifested throughout the diocese, and several of the larger parishes had parochial academies. Trinity Parish in St. Augustine not only operated a parish academy "for both sexes" that boasted thirty to forty

1. Diocese of Florida, *The Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention, 1861, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Florida* (Jacksonville: C. Drew, 1861), pp. 3-4. Cited hereafter as the *Diocesan Journal*.
2. Edgar Legare Pennington, "The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1763-1892," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VII (March, 1938), 45.

scholars, but it possessed a library of some two hundred volumes.<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Dr. John Jackson Scott, the energetic rector of Christ Church, Pensacola, had long been working with education in his parish. On the eve of the war, his academy numbered twenty students, had a newly purchased schoolhouse, and a private endowment of five hundred dollars.<sup>4</sup> Enrollment at the newly established St. John's School in Jacksonville in 1860 was thirty students, and the rector expected a large increase the coming fall. The curate at St. John's Church, Tallahassee, served as headmaster of the Tallahassee Female Academy during the pre-war years.<sup>5</sup>

The average parson served a congregation of some 75 to 100 communicants, an approximately equal number of non-members, and the Negro servants who were attached to each household. He usually served as principal of his parish academy if he had one. In the commercial towns like Jacksonville, Pensacola, or Key West, the salaries of the rectors varied from \$600 to \$900 per year. In the smaller plantation communities such as Marianna and Monticello, the cleric generally received around \$250. St. John's, Tallahassee, was the exception. In this center of the planter aristocracy the rector received a salary of \$2,000 per year and oft-times had a curate to assist him.<sup>6</sup>

The first bishop of the diocese was the Rt. Rev. Francis Huger Rutledge, a mild, scholarly, and devoted clergyman, who came from South Carolina to St. Augustine as a mission priest in 1840.<sup>7</sup> He was educated at Yale and General Theological Seminary in New York. He was ordained deacon in 1823, priest in 1825, and was consecrated Bishop of Florida in 1851 after a period of some six years as rector of St. John's in Tallahassee.<sup>8</sup> The duties of the bishop were many. In addition to his episcopal functions, Rutledge served as rector of St. John's Parish for most of his episcopate. Much of his time was taken up by travel. The *Journal* of 1853, for instance, records Bishop Rutledge baptizing, confirming, and preaching in Tallahassee, Quincy, Apalachicola, Jacksonville, Pensacola, and Warrington. In addition to

3. *Diocesan Journal*, 1860, pp. 19-20.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

5. *Ibid.*, 1853, p. 14.

6. *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 40.

7. *St. Augustine Examiner*, February 20, 1869.

8. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XIII, 501.



these visitations, the bishop made a trip to South Carolina and traveled by steamboat from Apalachicola to Columbus, Georgia.<sup>9</sup>

As the secession movement gathered momentum, the clergy and laity of the Diocese of Florida generally enthusiastically supported the disruption of the union. Bishop Rutledge remained quiet for a time, but he did not follow the example of his Rt. Rev. Brother, Bishop Otey of Tennessee, who branded the secession of South Carolina as a "criminal action,"<sup>10</sup> and pontifically ordered his clergy to "let their moderation be known to all men . . . to study to be quiet and to mind their own business."<sup>11</sup> Bishop Rutledge, speaking gravely as a successor of the apostles, could not "contemplate the dismemberment of the Union without the deepest regret,"<sup>12</sup> but when he spoke as a transplanted South Carolinian, he could contemplate secession with such unrestrained enthusiasm that he offered the state of Florida the sum of \$500 "whenever by ordinance she shall be declared an independent republic."<sup>13</sup> On another occasion, Bishop Rutledge informed Edmund Ruffin, the old Virginia fire-eater who had come to Tallahassee to see Florida secede, that "he [Rutledge] had himself already seceded with his native state, and in advance of Florida."<sup>14</sup> Ruffin stated in his diary that he was highly pleased with the venerable old prelate's "ardent and active patriotic sentiments."<sup>15</sup>

There were several reasons for the bishop's strong secession proclivities. He was a native of South Carolina and the descendant of a family that had rendered much service to that commonwealth. It was natural that he should want Florida to stand with his native state. Bishop Rutledge was also under the influence of his old friend and Yale contemporary, John Beard, the ardent

9. *Diocesan Journal*, 1853, pp. 8-14.

10. James W. Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Co., Inc., 1957), p. 21.

11. Joseph Blount Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), p. 12.

12. *Ibid.*

13. State of Florida, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida*, 1861 (Tallahassee: Office of the Floridian and Journal, 1861), p. 22.

14. Edmund Ruffin, "Edmund Ruffin's Account of the Florida Secession Convention, 1861," ed. Dorothy Dodd, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XII (October, 1933), 69.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

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Florida secessionist leader.<sup>16</sup> Then too, the bishop owned a number of house servants<sup>17</sup> and probably a large number of slaves from inherited holdings in South Carolina.

In order to bring the various dioceses of the South into some form of national ecclesiastical unity, a convention was assembled in Montgomery, Alabama, on July 3, 1861. Bishop Rutledge, John Beard, and George Fairbanks represented the Diocese of Florida,<sup>18</sup> but delegates from several southern dioceses could not attend. All important action was tabled until the adjourned convention could reassemble in Columbia, South Carolina. At that time the Church in the Confederate States "was formally organized, and the necessary changes were made in the liturgy and canons."<sup>19</sup> It was ironic that conditions of war prevented a diocesan meeting until December, 1863, so that the ratification came two years later and several months after the eventual Southern defeat was obvious.<sup>20</sup>

As the military forces of the State of Florida began to take possession of the various United States government installations, resistance was offered at only two places—Fort Taylor in Key West and Fort Pickens in Pensacola. It was in Pensacola that the first action took place.<sup>21</sup> Not long after General Bragg assumed command of the Confederate forces, the Rev. John Jackson Scott, rector of Christ Church, offered his services to the general and was appointed a Confederate chaplain.<sup>22</sup> In this position, Dr. Scott buried several casualties who "were killed in action . . . with the Yankees on the Island of Santa Rosa."<sup>23</sup> He was on active duty during the hostilities at Pensacola, but remained with his family and flock when Confederate forces evacuated Pensacola in favor of Mobile.<sup>24</sup> Scott was the only clergyman in the diocese who saw service in the Confederate Army.<sup>25</sup>

16. George R. Fairbanks, "Early Churchmen of Florida," *Historical Papers and Semi-Centennial Journal of the Church in Florida*, 1888 (Jacksonville: Church Publishing Co., 1889), pp. 8-9.

17. See Vestry records, St. John's Church, Tallahassee.

18. *Diocesan Journal*, 1867, p. 9.

19. Cheshire, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

20. *Diocesan Journal*, 1867, pp. 18-19.

21. Caroline Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida*, 2 vols. (DeLand, Florida: Florida Historical Society, 1925), II, 58-65.

22. *Diocesan Journal*, 1861, p. 15.

23. Parish Register, Christ Church, Pensacola, II, 172.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

25. Cheshire, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

In March, 1862, Confederate forces evacuated Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine, and the majority of the inhabitants of these towns took refuge in the inland communities.<sup>26</sup> The Episcopal congregations of middle Florida increased to an amazing extent. St. John's, Tallahassee, received forty-one new communicants who were "added by removal from other places." Christ Church, Monticello, increased by seventeen and reported building a new chapel at Aucilla, some miles away to accommodate the new families there. A large group of churchmen settled in towns which had no church buildings—thirty in Madison and twenty-seven in Lake City. These figures do not include servants or children who were not counted as communicants, but who none the less increased the inland congregations. Thus, while the activities of the Church practically ceased in the coastal towns, she doubled her activities in the interior to minister to her established flocks and the added influx of refugees.<sup>27</sup>

The Church suffered a long succession of disasters during the war. St. John's Church in Warrington, which was completed in 1860 and stood ready for consecration at the bishop's next visit, was the first ecclesiastical casualty of the war. The church stood in an exposed position in the line of fire between Fort Pickens and the Confederate fortifications at Warrington. The steeple was struck by a shell during the first bombardment of November 22, 1861, and caught fire. In a short time the fire entirely consumed the church and all its furnishings.<sup>28</sup> The loss of St. John's was a bitter blow to Dr. Scott who served Warrington as well as Pensacola: "In a brief space all our cruel enemy left us of this house we had built for the good of man and the glory of our God, was a heap of ashes."<sup>29</sup>

Dr. Scott stated that when the Confederate forces left Pensacola most of his congregation left with them "and were scattered abroad, most in south Alabama, where I visit and minister to them."<sup>30</sup> Only two Anglican families remained in the city, both of whom went over to the enemy. At first, Christ Church

26. Brevard, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-73.

27. *Diocesan Journal*, 1867, pp. 12-13.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

was used as a barracks for Federal soldiers, then a US. Army chaplain in priest's orders restored it and used it as a military chapel. During the occupation, the parochial academy and the rector's house were burned by the Federal forces, and the church organ and furnishings were destroyed. At the close of the war, Federal soldiers desecrated the church by exhuming the bodies of two former rectors, who were buried beneath the chancel floor, leaving them exposed in the church.<sup>31</sup>

Trinity Parish in St. Augustine was left without a clergyman in July of 1862, after the Federal forces had been in possession of the city for several months. A St. Augustine paper gives an account of the departure of the Rev. L. R. Staudenmayer. This priest could not be persuaded to substitute in the liturgy "the President of the United States" for the "the President of the Confederate States." For this reason, Staudenmayer was a marked man. Soldiers followed him by day and watched him by night. He was charged with plotting treason, partly because voices were heard upstairs in his study apparently engaged in heated conversation in several languages-German French, and English. (The secret of these conversations centered around a pet cat, with whom the rector played and at the same time exercised his linguistic accomplishments.) Finally, Staudenmayer's presence could be tolerated no longer, and he was forced to leave the city.<sup>32</sup> When the new Union commander took over his duties at St. Augustine, he "found the church doors thrown open, and animals walking in and out."<sup>33</sup>

St. John's Church, Jacksonville, went through the first and second Federal occupations unharmed, but when U. S. troops evacuated the city for the third time, the church was destroyed by fire in the hasty retreat. As the Federal forces were leaving, "some evilly disposed persons . . . without official sanction, set fire to a number of wooden buildings," sacked churches, stores, and private dwellings. A high wind spread the flames, and soon the whole town was consumed.<sup>34</sup> Official reports are scant about

31. Julia Yonge, *Christ Church Parish, Pensacola, Florida, 1827-1927* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 21-22.

32. L. Fitz-James Hindry, *Cenntennial Historical Sermon Covering the History of Trinity Parish, St. Augustine, Florida, 1821-1921* (St. Augustine: Record Company, Printers, n.d.), pp. 14-15.

33. *St. Augustine Examiner*, February 20, 1869.

34. Brevard, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

the evacuation, but a persistent rumor that the fire came about because of bad feeling between the two white Federal regiments stationed in Jacksonville has been handed down. One regiment was solidly Roman Catholic, while the other was strongly Protestant. For reasons unknown, hatred prevailed between the two to such an extent that vandals in the Protestant regiment put the torch to the Roman church. In retaliation, certain members of the "papist" regiment set fire to St. John's Church.<sup>35</sup>

The congregation of St. Luke's in Marianna completed its neo-gothic church at the beginning of the war and presented the building to Bishop Rutledge for consecration on his visitation in 1863. In the fall of 1864, a battle was fought at Marianna, and the recently consecrated church was burned to the ground by Union forces who captured the town.<sup>36</sup>

The prosperity of Apalachicola greatly declined during the war and with it the membership and resources of Trinity Church. There was no money available to keep the church in repair.<sup>37</sup> The same was true of Grace Church in Ocala. In Palatka, St. Mark's had deteriorated so much that the rotting belfry made the church unsafe for worship.<sup>38</sup> St. Paul's in Quincy became so financially embarrassed that the church building was sold to pay off the parish debt.<sup>39</sup> St. Paul's in Key West came out of the war in better condition than her sister parishes, for the church building was in excellent condition and debt free, but many of her communicants were scattered or had become indifferent to the Church. There had been no episcopal visitation to Key West since 1860.<sup>40</sup>

The calamities of war had fallen heavily on the diocese. At the beginning of the war, there were fourteen parishes and twelve clergy in the diocese, but at the first postwar convention only three churches were represented. Of these, only St. John's, Tallahassee, had its affairs sufficiently in order to give a parochial report. The diocese was over \$1500 behind in the bishop's salary.<sup>41</sup> Three churches were burned, one sold for debt, and

35. Thomas Frederick Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville* (Jacksonville: The Drew Company, 1911), pp. 183-184.

36. *Diocesan Journal*, 1867, p. 37.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-26.

most all of the others were in dire need of repair. The parochial academies of the diocese were disrupted or destroyed. The physical plant of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, of which the diocese was a part owner, was burned and its large endowment gone. In addition to this, there was an acute shortage of clergy to serve the withered congregations.

The Church in Florida was faced with a tremendous problem of reconstruction, but the burden of this task was not to fall on the shoulders of Bishop Rutledge. The strain of the war years had shattered his health and rendered him incapable of discharging his duties at a time when strong leadership was needed. Within a year, death took him, and the mantle of leadership fell on younger and stronger shoulders, John Freeman Young, second bishop of Florida,<sup>42</sup> faced the future with unbounded vigor and quiet optimism-qualities he much needed to direct a materially and spiritually shattered people.

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42. Pennington, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

## THE JOURNAL OF A. B. MEEK<sup>1</sup> AND THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR, 1836

edited by JOHN K. MAHON

ALEXANDER BEAUFORT MEEK was born in Columbia, South Carolina, March 17, 1814, the son of a methodist minister.<sup>2</sup> While he was still young his parents migrated to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, taking him with them. Although inclined to be indolent, learning came easily to the boy. Proof of this is that at a tender age he memorized the entire Old Testament.<sup>3</sup> At age nineteen he was graduated from the University of Alabama (1833), and at twenty-two was awarded a master's degree from the same school. Meanwhile, in 1835 he had begun the practice of law in Tuscaloosa.

Just at that moment in his bookish career hostilities flared up in Florida. As his journal reveals, he was so saturated with romanticism that but one honorable course lay open, to volunteer with his fellows of the same kidney, to advance upon Florida and there to subdue the horrid Seminoles. A Volunteer from Charleston, South Carolina, swept along in the same roseate current which engulfed Meek, expressed floridly the pride with which the southern boys enrolled themselves to rescue Florida:

1. The Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, owns diaries of Meek, but not the brief journal of his volunteer duty in the Second Seminole War, extracts from which are here printed for the first time. That journal somehow was split off from the others and ended up in the Manuscript Division of Duke University Library. A microfilm copy is owned by the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. The Duke University Library has kindly permitted publication in extenso. But although brief, the entire journal is not printed here, as parts have no historical interest at all. Omissions are indicated by a series of three or four periods. Interpolations by the editor are enclosed in brackets. Spelling and arrangement are reproduced as they appear in manuscript.
2. Biographical data came from: Margaret G. Figh, "Alexander Beaufort Meek, Pioneer Man of Letters," *Ala. His. Q.*, II (1940), 127-151; William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama* (Atlanta, 1872), 711-713; Albert B. Moore, *History of Alabama and Her People* (3 vols., Chicago, 1927), I, 329, 429; Thomas Mc. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Biography* (4 vols., Chicago, 1921), IV, 1183, 1184; Ben F. Riley, *Makers and Romance of Alabama History* (np., 1915?), 115-119.
3. Figh, *loc. cit.*, 128.

Never did Rome or Greece in days of yore-nor France nor England, in modern times-pour forth a nobler soldiery, than the Volunteers in the Army of Florida, during the campaign of 1836, from Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina. As the sandal tree sheds perfume on the axe that fells it, so would the vilest Seminole become ennobled by the slaying of the least one of these gallant sons of the South.<sup>4</sup>

It is certain that Meek would have heartily endorsed these lines. In any case, he found himself ensign [the lowest ranking commissioned officer as there were no second lieutenants] in the battalion of Volunteers from Tuscaloosa, commanded by Captain James G. Blount,<sup>5</sup> who proudly designated themselves the "State Guards."

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*Sunday February 21 1836* Left Tuscaloosa at 12 o'clock AM on board the Steam Boat *Courier* (Captain Cleaveland) with three companies of Volunteers, the "State Guards," . . . As we sailed out of port the banks of the Warrior<sup>6</sup> were lined with citizens-male and female-to the number of 2000 persons-presenting one of the most sublime, impressive and affecting scenes I ever saw. Immediately previous to embarking Judge B. F. Porter<sup>7</sup> delivered an eloquent and pathetic address to the volunteers, who were drawn up in line upon the wharf. The military under the command of Col [illegible] fired numerous salutes with musketry and cannon. . . . Seldom, if ever, have I experienced such feelings as crowded my breast. I received numerous testimonials of esteem and affection. [illegible] handed me one just as I was

4. Myer M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (Charleston, 1836), 135.

5. Unable to identify this man from printed histories and dictionaries of biography.

6. The Black Warrior River which still serves as a water artery to the interior of Alabama.

7. Benjamin Faneuil Porter, born in 1808 in Charleston, S. C.; migrated to Alabama where he practiced first medicine, then law. He was state legislator and judge, and a leader in advocating vital reforms. For example, in 1839 he led the movement which abolished imprisonment for debt. He was also responsible for setting up the penitentiary system in his State. Finally, he was the author of legislation to establish a public school system in Alabama. This victory came in 1854, and it was A. B. Meek who introduced Porter's bill in the House; Owen, *op. cit.*, IV, 1375, 1376; Moore, *op. cit.*, I, 329.



stepping on the boat, the Glove of Miss W. with the admonition from her to keep as a memento and never to dishonor it, which she knew I would not. As the steamboat moved off in grandeur and beauty the air rang with the shouts and plaudits of the citizens on shore, and the farewell huzzas of the volunteers.

At dark stopped at a woodpile about 60 miles below T. As the night was too dark for the boat to run, we lay too until morning and wooded. Much sport and hilarity took place among the men, who were so crowded on the boat as to be compelled to sleep upon the cabin floor-on deck, and upon the cotton bales below. Every means was resorted to to produce laughter and gayety—such as the barking of dogs . . . *February 23d* . . . we arrived in sight of Mobile, and beheld the whole city spread like a chess board before us, and the many masts rising like a forest of pine saplings in the harbor.

We sailed by the wharves which were crowded with citizens with banners flying and music playing and amidst the huzzas and salutations of the spectators . . . and in a little while marched thru the city to "Orange Grove" the place designated for our encampment. We were soon furnished with camps and furniture and in a little while struck tents, and exhibited all the appearances of the martial field. Moody<sup>8</sup> and myself went into Mobile to the Theater, and saw Hill the celebrated Yankee comedian. He is remarkably natural and correct. We became acquainted with several officers of Volunteers from N. Orleans, and after theatre went to the Shakespeare Coffee House. . . . While at supper we learned that several of the Gamblers who had been expelled from Tuscaloosa last summer were collected below with the intention of attacking us. After supper we went below, but found no one. We then went with the Louisiana officers to the Alabama Hotel and slept.

*Wednesday Feby 24th* Rose and went to camp before breakfast. Made some arrangements for tenting and came back to town with Sanford and Garrow.<sup>9</sup> Went to the Register Office

8. Washington Moody, born in 1806 in Virginia. Orphaned early, he received only a limited education, yet became an eminent lawyer in Tuscaloosa. He is not listed among the officers or men of the Tuscaloosa Volunteers; so his connection with the Seminole expedition is not clear. He died in Tuscaloosa in 1879; Owen, *op. cit.*, IV, 1220.

9. Unable to identify these two men from printed histories and dictionaries of biography.

and read papers. In the evening rode with Sanford in his buggy over the city. . . . Returned to camp and at night went into the Theatre. Saw Hill again.

[He continued to record excursions to town, to the theatre, and sleeping at the Alabama Hotel. Not much duty noted.]

*Sunday Feby 28, 1836* After visiting the encampment and going into an election, by ballott, for Colonel, Moody and myself went to town to church in the evening. <sup>10</sup> We stepped into the Presbyterian Church and heard Parson Lewis of the Episcopal Church preach for a few minutes; we then went to the Catholic chapel, and heard a sermon in French from a Creole Priest. The Chapel was crowded with Creoles, mullattoes, Indians and Sailors.

*Tuesday March 1, 1836* . . . At 5 oclock PM we marched aboard the S. B. Merchant but did not leave harbor. The men were permitted to visit the town and sleep where they pleased. . .

*Wednesday March 2 Terra Firma* faded . . . in the distance, and repeating Childe Harold's pathetic "farewell"-

Adieu-adieu my native shore fades oer the waters blue  
The night winds sigh, the breakers roar, and shrieks the wild  
sea mew.

. . . I turned from the white cliffs of Alabama-bade my native land Good night and turned my eyes and my mind to the broad waters before me-I had never been to sea before. The boundless and heaving waters before me were as novel, as they were sublime.

*Thursday March 3d* This morning when I rose found the boat at anchor in the bay of the Pensacola Navy Yard . . . The point . . . was one of the most beautiful I ever saw. On one side at a distance of about 2 miles lay the Navy Yard surrounded by 7 or 8 of the most elegant brick buildings all uniform in size and construction and presenting a beautiful front to the sea. To the

10. Meek recorded in his diary (in a passage not here reproduced) that Captain William Chisolm of Montgomery was elected colonel of the Regiment of Alabama Volunteers made up of eight companies from here and there in the State. The fact that Chisolm had been a captain during the War of 1812 perhaps accounts for his election. Not much appears on him in volumes on Alabama, but he is listed in Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army to March 2, 1903* (2 vols., Wash., D. C., 1903), I, 299.

The only other officer whom Meek mentions as having been elected was Thornton Taliaferro to be major.

west lay the hospital a beautiful brick edifice with several fine Ionic columns in front. . . . At the distance of about 1 mile & a half lay at anchor three U.S. vessels of war, -one of them the frigate *Constellation*, Com. Dallas." <sup>11</sup> They are all fine and handsome vessels and appeared, as Washington Irving, "like guardian giants prowling around the coast."

After remaining at anchor for about an hour we sailed up to the other side of the bay and landed at *Fort Pickens* on the little island of *Santa Rosa*. <sup>12</sup> This is one of the most beautiful spots I ever saw, and one of the finest and most impregnable fortifications. . . . It is built of the best brick and granite, and is 1100 yards in circumference and would contain 10,000 men. . . . The island is entirely destitute of vegetation except a few small cypress bushes; the shore is perfectly regular, and the beach covered with shining snow-white sand, beautifully bespangled with glittering and multiformed shells. So brilliant indeed was the beach that it was hard to convince many of the volunteers until they had touched it, that it was not snow! One of them went so far as to assert that he had noticed it falling the previous night.

[The Alabama Volunteers entered Tampa Bay on March 5, but did not disembark until the next day. By that date the following crucial events had occurred in what had become known as the "Florida War." The Indians, resisting removal from Florida, had, early in November, 1835, murdered one of their own influential leaders, Charley Amathla, because he urged emigration. Then, on December 28, they had killed Indian Agent Wiley Thompson and some of his associates. The very same day that ambushade known as Dade's Massacre took place with a loss of 104 killed. In retaliation, Brevet Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch, USA, then in military command in the Territory, had gathered a force of Regulars and Volunteers and engaged a large band of Seminoles at a ford of the Withlacoochie

11. Alexander J. Dallas was commander of that portion of the U. S. Navy known as the "West Indies Squadron." The title, Commodore, applied to squadron commanders was honorary. Dallas' rank, the highest in the Navy at the time, was Captain.

12. Ft. Pickens had been started in 1829 and completed in 1834. It was never under fire except during the Civil War. It was one of three forts along the Confederate coast which remained in Union hands throughout the war; Dorothy Dodd, "Ft. Pickens," *Florida Highways* (Oct., 1950).

River on the last day of 1835. At a cost of four killed and sixty-four wounded he had inflicted about one hundred casualties upon the savages. Meanwhile, the Indians had struck outlying plantations and settlements and wrought much death and destruction.<sup>13</sup>

[Hearing of the trouble at his post in Louisiana, Brevet Major General Edmund P. Gaines, USA, had raised a force of Regulars and Volunteers, transported them to Florida by water, and landed them at Tampa Bay on February 10, 1836. Not knowing that the War Department on January 21 had designated Brevet Major General Winfield Scott, his bitter personal rival, to take command in Florida, Gaines advanced inland and engaged his 1000 men against about 1500 Indians and Negroes near the ford of the Withlacoochie where Clinch had fought them two months earlier. From February 27 until Clinch arrived with reinforcements on March 6, 1836, Gaines' force was virtually besieged in a log and earthworks-protected camp.<sup>14</sup> Five days before Gaines' battle commenced, Scott had arrived in the Territory. He was incensed when he found what his arch enemy had done because he said it disrupted his own careful plans.<sup>15</sup>]

*Sunday March 6* We landed at Fort Brooke on Hillsborough Bay.<sup>16</sup> It is a picket fort with two block houses, and is no doubt impregnable to any assault the Indians could make. It is surrounded except at the entrances, by wide, deep holes-about 8

13. There are many accounts of Dade's Massacre, but the most concise and accessible is Mark F. Boyd, *Florida Aflame . . .* reprinted as a booklet from *Fla. His. Q.*, XXX (July, 1951).

For data on General Clinch see Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 310.  
For the action on the Withlacoochie see Boyd, *op. cit.*

14. There are several accounts of Gaines' fight of which the most concise, if not most accessible, is By a Late Staff Officer [Woodburne Potter], *The War in Florida . . .* (Baltimore, 1836). The documents concerning the action are printed in, "Proceedings of the Military Court of Inquiry in the Case of Major General Scott and Major General Gaines," *Sen. Doc. 224*, 24 Cong., 2 sess.; also in *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, Vol. VII (Wash., D. C., 1861), 125-465.

15. Scott and Gaines had risen high during the War of 1812; both had been brevetted major general. In the years after that war they developed a bitter personal hostility which colored Army affairs for two decades at least. For data and bibliography on both see, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

16. Ft. Brooke had been established in 1821 at the head of Tampa Bay, abandoned early in the 1830's and then reoccupied; J. W. Covington, "The Establishment of Ft. Brooke," *Fla. His. Q.*, XXXI (1952), 273-278; Boyd, *op. cit.*, 44.

feet deep and three wide, with a long sharp stake in the center reaching to within 2 feet of the surface and covered over with straw so as to conceal them. . . . Fort Brooke, or as it is habitually called "Tampa Bay," is situated immediately on the water's edge in the corner of one of the most beautiful and regular groves I ever saw. The grove is of live-oak and orange trees and resembles more an ornamental college green than the encampment ground of a large army. . . . I have neglected to mention that nearly all the troops were during their passage on the steamboat afflicted with sea sickness. Not more than a dozen of the 400 aboard, had ever been to sea before. . . .

*March 7 Monday* According to the camp orders issued on yesterday evening, we arose this morning an hour before day, and remained under arms until daylight. The greater part of this day was spent in drilling and manoeuvring the troops. An officers drill was held at 5 PM and we were drilled by Lieut. Mead; another portion . . . by Lieut Casey, both of the U.S. service. . . .<sup>17</sup>

There are in confinement at this fort, two hostile Seminole warriors who were captured some weeks since by "Yellow Hair" a warrior of the friendly Seminoles. There is connected with this event much of romantic novelty and interest. Yellow Hair . . . is possessed of great personal strength and beauty. He is 6 feet 4 inches high, finely and perfectly formed-with all the muscular vigor and strength of a Hercules, and all the symmetry and activity of an Apollo. By birth he [was] of obscure and poor parentage . . . early in life however he distinguished himself for his great courage, shrewdness, energy, & strength. . . . He however became devotedly attached to the daughter of Black Dirt the head chief of the friendly Seminoles.<sup>18</sup> . . . Mutual affection took

17. George Gordon Meade who later commanded the Army of the Potomac at the Battle of Gettysburg; *Dictionary of American Biography*; George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy* (3 vols., Boston, 1891), I, 601. John C. Casey, also a graduate of the Military Academy. He died at Ft. Brooke in 1856; Cullum, *op. cit.*, I, 426, 427.

18. Yellow Hair's Indian name was Emathlochee. He does not seem to have left any especial impress on history. Black Dirt's name was Fucta Lusta Hajo; he is principally noted for friendliness to the white people. He signed the Treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832 agreeing to migrate west of the Mississippi, and thereafter championed emigration among his people; Potter, *op. cit.*, 10, 30, 82; Boyd, *op. cit.* 55.

place between them . . . and Yellow Hair solicited her hand in marriage. Black Dirt, however, anxious to have his daughter wedded to a great chief . . . refused compliance . . . until Yellow Hair should distinguish himself above his fellow warriors. . . In a short while he travelled 60 miles in one day, on foot, to carry a dispatch from Gen Gaines. . . . The fond desires of the youthful couple was thus happily crowned; and Bravery and Beauty wedded in that companionship they always deserve. . . .

*Tuesday March 8 1836* . . . The water at this place is horribly bad,-being deeply impregnated with Sulphate of Iron-making it so nauseating that I cannot drink it without pain. To supply the want I use Claret wine, and sometimes water with molasses in it. I have likewise eat several oranges I bought on the SB. The Sutlers store at this place has many things . . . but at a most enormous & extortionary price.

Many of the men are today quite unwell-being troubled with diarrhoea produced no doubt by the bad water and the great and unusual exposure. They have likewise bad colds and coughs. . . . I am somewhat dissatisfied at present as our commanding officer Col. Lindsay<sup>19</sup> seems not to know what to do, and has us here with but 4 rounds of cartridges. . . . This has created great dissatisfaction among the officers and men-being almost a mutiny with the latter. What reason Col. Lindsay can have for not issuing more ammunition, no one can imagine, as there is sufficient in the fort and on the vessells in harbor. . . . If we were now attacked we should be almost defenseless, and could do nothing after 5 fires except with the bayonet. Col. Lindsay has rendered himself entirely detestable to the whole Regt.

*Thursday March 10* . . . About 3 o'clock AM an alarm was produced by one of the sentinels firing his gun. I immediately paraded the camp guard. The whole encampment sprang to arms and formed in battle array. . . . All the sentinels except the one fired and two others ran in. From them we learned the position of the sentinel who had fired and after a little while proceeded with the Guard to the post. . . . He stated that he fired at a body of men who had passed out of the encampment

19. William Lindsay had entered the Regular service during the War of 1812, and had risen to be colonel of the 2d U.S. Artillery Regiment in 1832. He died in 1838 while the Seminole War was still in progress; Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 634.

about a hundred in number. He had hailed them, and they made no reply nor halted. He, in pursuance of orders fired on them. They then stated that they were a scouting party from Major Reed's Battalion of Florida Volunteers. . . .<sup>20</sup> Fortunately no one was hit. Every one applauded Garner's conduct. He did not leave his post when he fired, but reloaded and stood like a man.

*Friday March 11* Today one of the Volunteers . . . died in the encampment from Dysentery, Pleurisy etc acquired from the exposures to which we have been subjected. . . . I have written the following stanzas suggested by his death

Far,-far away from his home & his friends  
The youthful warrior died  
Above his grave the palmetto bends  
The wildflower by its side

*Monday March 14* This morning ammunition was issued. . . . At 12 o'clock orders were given to prepare to march to the interior. . . . About 5 PM we struck tents and marched only a few hundred yards and camped. Considerable excitement took place as we were not furnished with means of transportation for our baggage or provisions. We were however after much quarrelling furnished.

*Tuesday 15 March* . . . Our force consists of 1200 men and upwards. We march in 2 columns-the baggage waggons & pack horses in the center with advanced, rear, & flank guards. . . .

[Meek's outfit was part of that third of his army which General Scott referred to as the "Center." Composed of the Alabama Regiment of eight companies, three companies of Louisiana Volunteers, some Florida Volunteers, and two companies of U.S. Artillery-1250 men in all commanded by Colonel William Lindsay, USA-it was directed to advance from Ft. Brooke to

20. This battalion was commanded by Leigh Read who came from Tennessee to Florida in 1831 or 1832. Read was in Governor R.K. Call's law firm as associate when Call went to war; so Read went with him. He was wounded at Withlacoochie, but recovered to raise the battalion mentioned here. On May 25, 1836, command of all military forces in Florida passed from General Scott to Governor Call, whereupon Read became major general of Florida militia. He had an active career, but is most notorious for a duel on March 12, 1839, in which he killed Augustus Alston with a duelling rifle. Two years later this victory cost him his own life, for Alston's brother Willis haunted him until in the spring of 1841 he shot Read in the back; *Weekly Floridian* (Tallahassee), Jan. 22, 1878; *Florida Becomes a State* (Tallahassee, 1945), 19.

the Indian village of Chicuchatty by March 25.<sup>21</sup> Scott's plan was an extremely complicated one for the terrain and the nature of the troops engaged. The Left Wing commanded by Brigadier General Abram Eustis, USA,<sup>22</sup> and made up of South Carolina Volunteers and four companies of Regular artillery, about 1400 in the whole command, was supposed to move from Volusia to its starting point near Pilaklakaha to arrive at about the same time.<sup>23</sup> The Right Wing, consisting of Volunteers from Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana, and of some Regulars was to advance from Ft. Drane to a starting point at Camp Izard.<sup>24</sup> This, the largest wing, of 2000 plus, was commanded by General Clinch and accompanied by none other than Scott himself. When the three wings reached their starting points they were to communicate with each other by firing cannon, and were then all to converge upon a common center, the Cove of the Withlacoochie River. In this dense tangle of swamp and stream, where white men had seldom penetrated, it was supposed they would corner the main fighting force of the hostile Indians—who had presumably remained in the vicinity where they had fought General Gaines' force—and would wipe them out.<sup>25]</sup>

*Thursday March 17* Passed this morning a small creek over which we had to construct a bridge as the one formerly over it had been burned by the Indians. . . .

*Friday March 18* We commenced building today at this post (on the Hillsborough River) a picket fort, as a Depot for provisions and ammunition, and as one of the chain of fortifications which it is said it is intended to establish between Fort

21. Chicuchatty, was an old Indian village located in what is now the southeast  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Section 26, Township 22 South, Range 19 East. It lies to the southeast of Brooksville in Hernando County; Boyd, *op. cit.*, 13n; J. Clarence Simpson, *Florida Place Names of Indian Derivation* . . . (Tallahassee, 1956), 40.
22. Eustis entered the army through the light artillery in 1808 and rose to brigadier general by 1834. He barely survived the Second Seminole War, dying in 1843; Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 408.
23. Pilaklakaha was the principal settlement of Micanopy, head chief of the Seminoles. The Left Wing burned it. It was situated in what is now Township 21 South, Range 23 East in Lake County; Boyd, *op. cit.*, 12n; Simpson, *op. cit.*, 92.
24. Camp Izard was the name General Gaines had given to the fortified camp where his army had been besieged from Feb. 27 to Mar. 6, 1836; named thus in honor of Lt. Izard, USA, who had been killed there. It was in the vicinity where Gaiter, Florida, is now.
25. For Scott's plan see Scott to Lindsay, Mar. 13, 1836, and *id.* to Eustis, Mar. 14, 1836, in *Sen. Doc. 224*, 24 Cong., 2 sess., 284, 286.



Brooke & Ft. King, and thus to form a safe line of communications from one side of the cape to the other.<sup>26</sup>

[Florida Volunteers were left in charge of the new fort, Ft. Alabama, and the rest of Colonel Lindsay's command marched back to Ft. Brooke.]

*Monday March 21st* . . . At twelve o'clock I eat a very hearty dinner . . . and soon after took a sound sleep for about an hour. I was then awoke by a considerable noise in the encampment, and on running out of the tent, found that many of the men were engaged in a squabble with some Regulars. I went up to the place, found that they had had a fuss with Major Sands<sup>27</sup> of the Regulars, and he had ordered the guns of the fort to be pointed on them. . . . This greatly excited me and I made some severe remarks against it, and whilst doing so Col. Lindsay, who was near, stepped quickly forward, and demanded in a loud, angry, and authoritative tone "Who are you sir," Never having been accustomed to such language or tones I sternly [not sure of this word] replied, "Who are you sir." He very angrily told me to consider myself under arrest. I told him when I was taken I would. He then left me. The crowd were greatly excited and all applauded my conduct. Col Chisolm & Col Crabb, who were present, both said I acted very proper.<sup>28</sup>

*Tuesday March 22d* About 11 AM struck the line of march on our return to Fort Alabama. The men carried in their haversacks 6 days provisions. This with their knapsacks was a heavy load; but as the QM of the US had neglected to furnish more than 8 or 10 waggons and about 50 poor horses, we had no other means. . . .

26. This temporary post was given the name Ft. Alabama. It was situated about two miles west of Crystal Springs and eight miles north of Tampa on the Hillsboro River; from typed booklet in P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Univ. of Fla., prepared by the WPA Writers Project and entitled, *Military Posts and Forts Established Prior to 1860*.

27. Richard Martin Sands had entered the service in 1813 and had risen to brevet major by 1829. He barely survived this campaign, dying in September, 1836; Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 859.

28. Colonel William Chisolm; see note 10.  
George W. Crabbe was lieut. col. of the Alabama Regiment. Born in Virginia in 1802, he migrated to Alabama where he read law and was admitted to the bar in Tuscaloosa. Upon his return from the Seminole Campaign he was elected major general of Alabama militia. From 1838 to 1841 he was a Whig member of Congress. He died in 1846; Owen, *op. cit.*, III, 411.

. . . came across a fine drove of cattle at which the men in violation of orders commenced firing. Near 100 guns were fired and about 8 or 10 of the cattle killed. . . . In a short time information was received that the waggon guard had been fired on by a body of Indians, and one man killed. . . . He strayed off to a spring. . . .

*Wednesday 23d March* . . . I proceeded on very rapidly over the road we had followed on our return from Ft. Ala. without any unusual occurrence until about 3 PM when we came upon a large drove of deer. . . . The men on all sides commenced a general and indiscriminate firing to the great endangerment of their own lives. Many of the deer were killed, and a man belonging to Col Dents<sup>29</sup> company was wounded in the right shoulder, tho not dangerously. It was believed by many that the man had been shot by a friendly Indian as he was struck with a rifle ball. Col. Crabb under that impression ordered them to be taken under guard. Col Lindsay countermanded with great passion, the order, and threatened to arrest Col Crabb. Much strong language occurred and great excitement took place. Col Lindsay cried out that it was a mob. . . .

[Narrated thus far are occurrences typical of nearly all volunteer and militia operations, whatever their time and place. For example, in the entry for March 8 we read of a complaint by Meek and his fellow citizen soldiers that the Colonel had not issued ammunition; yet in the entries of March 22 and March 23 he reveals, without recognizing it, why the Regular officer did not want to. Whenever meat on the hoof was in sight, the citizen soldiers blazed away quantities of shot, heedless alike of orders not to do so, and of danger to, the lives of friends. On March 11 we learned of the guard's firing on a body of men who did not heed his orders to stand and be recognized, only to find that they were a body of Volunteers who did not consider it necessary to observe the rules of military security. Finally, we are told of frequent clashes between Regulars and the citizen soldiers. Although Meek clearly considered the professionals ungentlemanly martinets, without proper feelings, the reader can hardly help

29. Dennis Dent was born in 1797 and was thus older than most of his fellow citizen soldiers. He had come to Tuscaloosa in 1820. He raised a company and commanded it during the Seminole Campaign. It is not known why Meek called him colonel; he was captain; Dent died in 1860; *ibid.*, 480.

sympathizing with Colonel Lindsay's agonized lament that he was trying to command not an army but a mob.

[Of interest is the hint concerning weapons in the entry of March 23. "It was believed by many that the man had been shot by a friendly Indian as he was struck with a rifle ball." The interesting implication is that the Indians had rifles, the Regulars and Volunteers only muskets. There is no way of being certain what weapons were carried; beyond question there was a great variety. But it is reasonably sure that most of the Indians had English trade muskets; most of the soldiers U.S. Model 1816 muskets.<sup>30</sup> Both weapons, plus any rifles in use, were mainly flintlocks, although limited numbers of percussion type were also on hand.]

*Thursday 24th March* Left Ft. Ala. about 1 PM on our march to the point designated by despatches received from Gen. Scott, about 40 miles off, as a place of rendezvous on the 25th for the three armies now in Florida.

[He continued to tell of the march during the next several days; including heavy rain, Indians firing on them from cover without ever being seen, and one or two men killed. As ordered, they fired cannon by day and rockets by night to establish contact with the other two wings of the army, but received no return signals.]

*Sunday March 27* Just as we resumed our line of march, the Indians again fired on us from a swamp on our left, with more vigor than before. They fired near 60 or 70 rifles without effect as they were 200 yards off. . . . During the fight a ball passed between Col. Crabb and myself who were both on horseback and skinned a tree near us. . . .

*Tuesday 29 March* Today marched about 8 miles to the borders of the most beautiful and symmetrical lake I have yet seen in Florida and camped to await the arrival of Scott and Eustis, having come to the spot appointed for rendezvous [They were four days behind the time set in Scott's plan, March 25, but the other wings were tardier yet.] . . . The friendly Indians killed & scalped a subchief named Charly [Fixico] who was

30. Carl P. Russell, *Guns on the Early Frontiers* (Univ. of Calif., 1957), 55, 182, 183.

31. The sub-chief's surname is not intelligible in the MS; I have taken it from Potter, *op. cit.*, 178.

known to many of the Florida Vol & commanded about 80 men.<sup>31</sup> He had a pony, 70 bullets, a pound of powder and an old rifle. . . . The cattle were killed this evening & divided to the companies, who had to jerk it as we had no salt, and were getting out of provisions.

*Wednesday March 30* Last night our sentinels were fired on by two Indians. They returned the fire. Neither did any damage. Sent up rockets & fired cannon without reply. Our provisions are drawing very short. Live principally on jerked beef.

*Thursday 31* Great dissatisfaction prevails as it is said it is intended to march us to Camp King in pursuance of Maj Reeds wishes; and as we are almost entirely without provisions having nothing but jerked beef. The officers of our Regt have determined to march no where but back to Ft. Brooke or Ft. Alabama and that immediately.

[It would appear that the Volunteer officers had their way, for, although there are no entries in Meek's diary for two weeks after March 31, other records indicate that Colonel Lindsay's Center of the Army of Florida returned to Ft. Brooke on April 4. A day later, the Right Wing reached that post, and soon thereafter, the Left Wing.<sup>32</sup> None of the three wings had arrived at their starting points at the designated time; none had established contact with the others; and so Scott's elaborate encirclement had gone unexecuted. Unable to put the General's plan into operation, the three wings had headed instead for Ft. Brooke.

[In a short time, Lindsay's command was ordered back to the Cove of the Withlacoochie. There the Alabama Regiment bivouacked in a spot which it designated Camp Crabb after its lieutenant colonel. Next it was ordered on April 14 to scour the Cove and then to move back to Ft. Alabama, close it out, and return to Ft. Brooke. Colonel Lindsay, upon reaching Ft. Alabama, determined to vary from these orders because he had so many sick and wounded that he could not possibly transport them and at the same time bring away the supplies from the to-be-abandoned fort. Accordingly, he marched his command to Ft. Brooke and then, being ill himself, sent Colonel Chisolm's Alabamans plus a battalion of the 4th U.S. Infantry and twenty

32. *Ibid.*, 178.

members of the 2d U.S. Artillery back to Ft. Alabama to close it and bring off the supplies and equipment.<sup>33</sup>

[Colonel Chisolm's men accomplished this mission without incident in one day, and accomplished it with a flourish. They rigged the door so that when it was forced open the fort would be blown up. They had not left the place two miles to their rear when the expected detonation shook the forest.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the Alabama Regiment destroyed a fort which they had previously built and named. While still relishing their trick (which we would now call a booby trap) they were struck by fire from a body of Indians—the reports say it was rifle fire—while they were crossing a creek. (The official reports called the creek Thlonotosassa; Meek spelled it Clonotosassa and identified it as Flint Creek. He said the fight on it was fifteen miles northeast of Tampa Bay.) Then ensued for an hour the hardest fight which any portion of Scott's Army of Florida endured. It was necessary for the artillerymen to use their one cannon, and for the Regular infantry to charge with fixed bayonets into the scrub before the action could be concluded. The date was April 27, 1836. Both Major William S. Foster, who commanded the Regulars present,<sup>35</sup> and Colonel Lindsay praised the conduct of Colonel Chisolm, who was in command, and of his Alabama citizen soldiers in their official reports. Sweeter than their praise, to the Alabamans was the honor of engaging the largest body of Indians to be flushed out by the whole of Scott's army, an estimated two or three hundred. Total loss to the white force was three killed, twenty-five wounded—one of the three and twenty-two of the twenty-five being men of the Alabama Regiment.

[The balance of Meek's journal, printed below, is concerned with the events outlined above from the time the Regiment undertook to scour the Cove until the action on April 27. Included in the manuscript, but not here reproduced, is a list of the men of the "State Guards" of Tuscaloosa who were engaged

33. Lindsay to Scott, May 7, 1836, *Sen. Doc. 224*, 24 Cong., 2 sess., 347-349.

34. The printed official reports make no mention of this early booby trap, but it is mentioned in Potter, *op. cit.*, 183; also in Cohen, *op. cit.*, 194.

35. William Sewell Foster entered the service in 1812 and attained the grade of brevet major by the time the War of 1812 ended. Early in June, 1836, he was promoted Lt. colonel, but like many of the other officers whom we have noticed, he did not survive the war. He died in 1839.

at Clonotosassa, and another of the field and company officers of the Alabama Regiment.]

*Thursday April 14* . . . we struck tents and left our encampment, (Camp Crabb) leaving behind us several sick. . . . Marched as far as the Limestone Spring (two miles) and encamped. We have with us a company of Horse from Wilkes Co. Ga who will march with us till we unite with Gen. Clinch and about 90 Regulars, making with our Regt., (now greatly reduced in number, on account of sickness & fatigue) about 700 men.

*Sunday April 17* Today is just 8 weeks since we left Tuscaloosa.-Last night had a great excitement and alarm in Camp. About 9 o'clock one of the sentinels . . . was fired on by three Indians and wounded slightly by each one-in the arm-thigh and left nipple. Several of the sentinels fired their guns, & all ran in. We paraded, and lay down in front of our tents, as we had no breastwork. . . . We then rolled up several logs & made a small breastwork. In a few minutes a general firing commenced on our left, and was continued till near 200 guns were fired. It then ceased, and we learned that the line had fired on the Guard going round to repost sentinels.

Left Ft. Alabama with 10 days provisions, for the Interior, on Gaines Road. Our company flanked thro the Hillsboro Hammock. Marched 2 miles to the finest spring I have yet seen in Florida & camp'd. . . .

*Tuesday 19 April* Gen Scott and Gen Clinch both arrived at the camp with their separate forces. . . .

Remained at Ft. Ala until Tuesday about 9 oclock when we commenced our return to Ft. Broke. At about 2 oclock we arrived at "Camp Shelton" or Brandy Creek-called by the Indians Clonotosassa or Flint Creek where we had a hard fought battle for about 1 hour and 20 minutes with about 600 or 800 Indians.

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This battle ended the participation of the Alabama Regiment in the Second Seminole War. Soon after it the unit returned to Ft. Brooke, was promptly mustered out of Federal service and forthwith shipped back to Alabama. For the Volunteers from Tuscaloosa it was almost exactly three months from departure to return to their home town.

Just two months short of being twenty-two, Alexander B. Meek came back to Tuscaloosa from the only military service he was ever to undertake. In other walks, however, he had before him a life of considerable distinction.<sup>36</sup> Hardly was he home than the Governor appointed him Attorney General for the State. Other appointments followed this one. More than once during his time he served as judge of the probate court; but the high point of his career in appointive offices came when President Polk selected him to serve in an advisory capacity in the United States Treasury Department. After two years in Washington, he returned to Alabama as United States Attorney for the southern district of his State. Then on the very eve of the Civil War he held high elective office, being from 1859 to 1861 speaker of the Alabama House of Representatives.

His greatest distinction, however, came not in politics but in letters. He edited a newspaper, *The Flag of the Union*, in Tuscaloosa from 1835 to 1839; then for three years thereafter edited a literary magazine called the *Southron*. There followed nine years during which, for bread and butter, he was judge, treasury official and District Attorney; but in 1851 he returned to his first love, letters, as associate editor of the *Mobile Daily Register*. He published several works, the best known of which are *Red Eagle*, an epic poem suggested by the life of William Weatherford, a great Indian warrior, and *Romantic Passages in South-western History*. He began an ambitious history of Alabama, but never completed it. Even more eloquent with the spoken than the written word, he was in constant demand to lecture on history and literature. Recognizing the scholar in him the University of Georgia awarded him an honorary degree in 1844. He remained associated with learning and with schools. It was he who introduced the bill which finally became law and gave Alabama a public school system. And during the Civil War he was a trustee of his own alma mater.

With the coming of the terrible War between the States, Meek's life was approaching its end. Notwithstanding that he was a deep dyed southron, he saw no service in that struggle because he was then in his upper forties. During 1864 he married a widow who had extensive holdings in Mississippi (she was his second wife) and moved to her state. There, at Columbus on November 30, 1865, he died, aged fifty-one.

36. For the sources for data on Meek's life see note 2.

## DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE GEORGIA-FLORIDA FRONTIER, 1791-1793

edited by RICHARD K. MURDOCH

**D**URING THE PERIOD FROM 1784 to 1821, one of the major causes of friction along the St. Marys River, the dividing line between the United States and East Florida, was the frequent disappearance of Negro slaves, usually fleeing from the American bank of the river into the sparsely populated Spanish colony where they hoped to find a refuge with the Indian population or among the freed Negroes and mulattoes in St. Augustine. Frequent arrangements were made by the authorities on both sides to return the runaways as soon as possible to their legitimate owners to avoid unnecessary diplomatic wrangling.<sup>1</sup>

Many fugitive criminals likewise seeking a haven on foreign soil turned up on both sides of the river. Less effort was made to round up and return these persons to the proper civil authority. Many of them were English-speaking frontiersmen who had formerly migrated from the United States in search of free land in East Florida as subjects of the king of Spain, and who after violent disagreements with the Spanish authorities over religion, land-holding and payment of taxes, decided it to be the better part of valor to return northward across the river, usually without payment of their legitimate debts.<sup>2</sup> Some of the more notorious of these people, members of the well-known McGirt family and the ever-present William Augustus Bowles, were regarded as dangerous enemies by both sides and either government would have been glad to lay hands on them.<sup>3</sup>

1. For a detailed account of some of the negotiations for the return of runaway Negro slaves, see Richard K. Murdoch, "The Seagrove-White Stolen Property Agreement of 1797," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XLII (September, 1958), 258-276.
2. A Royal Order of 1790 ordered the governor of East Florida to throw open the border to all English-speaking settlers professing the Roman Catholic faith who were to be allowed to enter the province with all their personal possessions including slaves, on which they would not be required to pay the normal taxes. A fairly large number of discontented settlers from the more southerly states accepted this offer. Most of them did not really qualify as Catholics, however, and this was to lead to much trouble in the future.
3. The stories of the frontier activities of Daniel McGirt and the attempts of William Augustus Bowles to organize a Creek monarchy under his personal control, have been told many times although never in complete detail.



Perhaps the most difficult problem to handle, however, and luckily one that did not occur very often, was what to do about military personnel deserting their posts on both banks of the river. As no official agreements existed between the United States and Spain covering this sort of crime, it remained for the frontier commanders to reach some acceptable basis for action. As long as the spotlight of international diplomacy was not turned on these "frontier agreements," they served remarkably well in keeping the number of "wanted" soldiers to a minimum.

An episode in the attempt to settle the problem of deserters on the local level is told in the following selection of documents, and the story is so clear, that no further explanation is deemed necessary. The documents were picked from the extensive official correspondence of Josef de Jaudenes and Josef Ignacio de Viar, the two Spanish diplomatic agents accredited to the United States from about 1790 to 1796.<sup>4</sup> These men were merely agents without any powers to act on their own and therefore could do not more than report to the home government.

The originals of these documents still repose in Madrid in the Archivo Historico Nacional, but for the purpose of this publication photostatic copies now in the Library of Congress were utilized. The photographic copying of the Spanish originals was carried out in Paris in 1929 with the kind assistance of the government of the former king of Spain, Alphonso XIII. As far as is known, none of the documents have ever been published before. The basic document is a summary copy of a dispatch from the Governor and Captain-General of Cuba, Luis de Las Casas, to the Secretary of War in Madrid with lengthy annexes and enclosures in the form of copied documents.<sup>5</sup> Among these are Spanish translations of several letters that passed between Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State, and Jaudenes and Viar

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4. Josef de Jaudenes and Josef Ignacio de Viar carried on the basic diplomatic functions for Spain in the United States from the departure of Diego de Gardoqui to the arrival of Marquis Casa Yrujo in 1796.

5. The Governor and Captain-General of Cuba, Luis de Las Casas y Aroggori, was a most capable administrator who held his command from 1790 to 1796. For a brief biographical sketch, see *Diccionario Enciclopedico Hispano-Americano de Literatura, Ciencias y Artes* (Barcelona, 1888-1889), IV, 863-864.

in Philadelphia and it appears that this is the first time that several of these Jefferson letters have ever appeared in print.<sup>6</sup> Where these dispatches from the Secretary of State have already appeared in English in printed form in the various Jefferson collections or the *American State Papers: Foreign Affairs*, they have been omitted but a notation has been included as to where they can be found in printed form. In general the meaning of the Spanish originals has been retained although in some instances sentence structure has been altered to make the English translation more readable.

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DOCUMENT 1<sup>7</sup>

No 137

Most Excellent Sir

By the attached copy of a letter from the Governor of San Agustin de la Florida, and from the documents that accompany it Your Excellency may be informed that the Commander of the American post on the St. Marys River has sent three deserters from the garrison of that presidio [San Agustin] to the Spanish official who commanded the post of San Vicente Ferrer on the St. Johns River.

The singularity of the case prevented that Governor [of East Florida] from taking any further proceedings against the offenders until after my decision.

In these circumstances I answered him that holding these individuals under our laws for capital punishment would be very reparable because of the mistaken concept of the one who delivered them up, and that in accord with the good faith with which the aforementioned American commander conducted himself in returning them, I observed to him [Governor] that the mutual agreement upon which he [American] presupposed the return was not clear to me and that if the states [United States]

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6. These Jefferson letters have been brought to the attention of Professor Julian P. Boyd and they may appear in subsequent volumes of the monumental collection of Jefferson's correspondence now in process of preparation at the Princeton University Press.

7. The original of the basic document is to be found in the Archivo Historico Nacional, Estado, *legajo* (bundle) 3898.

deemed it necessary, they could inquire through their minister at our court. I hope that this foresight may [receive] the approval of His Majesty and that he may deign to resolve this particular [case] in the manner that may in the future be to his royal approval.

May God protect Your Excellency for many years. Havana, January 2, 1792.

Most Excellent Sir

Most Excellent Sir

Luis de Las Casas

Conde del Campo de Alange <sup>8</sup>

Most Excellent Sir:

Under the date of the 22nd of last month the Captain of the 3rd Batallion of Cuba, Don Sebastian Creagh, <sup>9</sup> detached at the post of San Vicente Ferrer on the St. Johns River, informed me that there had been conducted there and were being kept as prisoners three deserters who had fled some days before (two of them from this Plaza and the other from that post where the first two joined with him) in a canoe belonging to that same detachment, traveling in it by a channel between the aforementioned river and the St. Marys to the American post situated on the Georgia side of the latter where the American Captain in command, Don Henry Burbeck, <sup>10</sup> arrested them, delivering them later to the master of His Majesty's gunboat, the *San Tomas*, anchored in the port of St. Marys. [He did this] on the conditions set forth in the translations of the two letters which the referred to Commander sent to the aforementioned Don Sebastian which I send to Your Excellency as No. 1.

There is no record of any sort in this office of the agreement

8. Manuel Maria de Negrette y de la Torre, Conde de Campo-Alange, was appointed by Charles IV in 1790 as Secretary of the Universal Department of War for Spain and Indies (equivalent to Minister of War). For a brief biographical sketch, see *Diccionario Enciclopedico. . . . op. cit.*, XIV, 863.
9. Sebastian Creagh, a captain in the Third Cuban Battalion, was one of the numerous Irishmen in the service of the king of Spain during the last few years of the eighteenth century. He was commander of the post of San Vicente Ferrer on the St. Johns River from 1790 to 1792.
10. Henry Burbeck was born in Boston, Massachusetts, and after an eventful career in the Third Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, he was sent to the southern frontier to command a small detachment of federal dragoons garrisoned at the fort at St. Tammany, not far from St. Marys.

for reciprocal restitution of deserters that the cited American Commander understood was agreed to by previous officials detached at San Vicente Ferrer and the indicated master of the gunboat. All the notice that there is in this secretariat about this particular point is a copy of a letter written to my predecessor by the Commissioner on the St. Mary's River, Don Richard Lang,<sup>11</sup> and in addition the answer that I gave him, a copy of which I send to Your Excellency as No. 2. Since then I have had nothing to do about it but it is true that Don James Seagrove (about whose coming here I gave notice to Your Excellency in a separate letter) and I treated on the same [matter] in conversation a few days before I responded to him that there was nothing inherent in my powers in the meaning of his proposition to investigate the earlier events that might have occurred on this particular point.<sup>12</sup> Until now I have not found anything between the officers of that batallion except that it is clear that the aforementioned officials were guarding the post of San Vicente Ferrer before the arrival of the American troops at the St. Marys River; and in respect to the Commander of the armed gunboat who it is said also knew of the aforementioned convention, he was actually absent on the well known expedition against the adventurer Bowles.<sup>13</sup> In truth it appeared to me that the case of the unconditional return of the three deserters was so very extraordinary and delicate that I have abstained from going back to anything in the past lest I cause some trouble for the named Commander or also for the American government, until I know completely Your Excellency's decision on such [a case]. I warned the aforesaid Don Sebastian to answer the American Commander with the proper care in the terms that I send to Your Excellency in No. 3.

11. Richard Lang was one of the numerous Americans who took advantage of the terms of the Royal Order of 1790 to move to East Florida where he soon gained the confidence of the governor and was appointed justice of the peace for the English-speaking settlers living between the St. Marys and St. Johns Rivers. Later he became involved in the so-called "plot" of the French to seize the province in 1794-1795 and was declared a traitor by the Spanish authorities.
12. James Seagrove, an Irishman, came to New York before the Revolutionary War, and eventually settled in St. Marys, Georgia, about 1788. He held several positions in both the federal and state governments and was recognized for years as the leading settler and law authority along the St. Marys River. He was sent at least four times to East Florida to act as agent for either the federal or the state governments.
13. William Augustus Bowles was very active in East Florida in the years 1790-1792 and kept the local authorities in a constant turmoil.

I do not doubt that the actions of the American Captain although it is believable [that he was] well intentioned, were thoughtless and certainly hasty. I think [that he was] ignorant entirely that desertion to a foreign country, in peacetime as well as in war, is a capital offense in Spain. [He] took as a probability the understanding that a similar desertion does not incur the penalty of life in his country in the time of peace. Added to that it is not likely that he had the power to conclude such an agreement about reciprocal restitution of deserters especially with individual officers of the Spanish army without the approval or participation of their superiors upon whom they are dependent. That the aforesaid American Commander acted without superior authority on his part in the remission of the deserters, influenced solely by the arrival of the cited Don James Seagrove, I inferred from the letter that he sent me about the same point, [the letter which I] enclose with my answer as No. 4 so that Your Excellency will not be lacking any of the circumstances of the case which has been brought to my notice.

All these considerations have convinced me to suspend holding trial for the three deserters who are without [benefit of] the Church until they know the final decision of Your Excellency whose approval I hope for with anxiety for the immediate temporary suspension and for my foresight. From the information I have, the establishment of mutual reciprocal restitution will not be inconvenient for us in this Province, [and] I have been assured besides [that there] was an example of such reciprocity on the island of Santo Domingo between the troops of His Majesty and [those of] France.<sup>14</sup>

May God protect you for many years. San Agustin de la Florida. September 2, 1791. Most Excellent Sir. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada.<sup>15</sup> Most Excellent Sir, Luis de Las Casas.

#### No. 1

Copy. Translation of two letters from the Captain of the troop of American Artillery, Henry Burbeck, Commanding Officer of

14. There were several cases in which the French on the western end of the island of Haiti returned Spanish deserters to the eastern end in the years between 1755 and 1783.

15. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada was governor of East Florida from 1790 to 1796.

the troop of the same nation that guards the Georgia bank of the St. Marys River.

Ft. St. Tammany on the St. Marys Bank. <sup>16</sup> My dear Sir: On this day there disembarked here from a canoe three men and by the information given me by Don James Seagrove who was recently in that post on the St. Johns, one of them was your servant and he [Seagrove] thinks that they might [all] be deserters from Spanish posts. When an interrogation was held they confessed to deserting, the two from St. Augustine admitting the other to be your servant. In consequence of the mutual agreement between former officers commanding the post on the St. Johns and the recently relieved Commander of the armed gunboat and myself, to hold all deserters from the Spanish or American services who might be apprehended in close confinement and then to turn them over, I ordered the three persons who arrived as indicated to be put in close confinement with the intention of sending them as prisoners to Amelia Island. By mischance your servant escaped last night from the guard. With all possible assistance I hope that he will be seized. I have several armed parties on foot with positive orders to observe the most careful diligence in securing him. I have sent the other two persons in charge of a sergeant and a party of my company with orders to take them to the officer of the armed gunboat at Amelia. If any of the American troops present themselves in any of the Spanish posts within the territory of your government in Florida, without a passport from the commanding officer of this post, I request that you seize them and send them to this garrison as soon as possible. I am, Sir, with great respect your obedient humble servant. Henry Burbeck, Captain Commanding at St. Marys. To Captain Don Sebastian Creagh, Commander at St. Johns, Florida.

The other. Ft. St. Tammany, August 22, 1791. My dear Sir: This morning your servant who escaped from prison just as I mentioned in my letter of yesterday, was apprehended some twenty miles from here by two soldiers from my company who I had sent out to do [just] that. I have sent him in charge of a

16. Fort St. Tammany was a small fortification a few miles from the newly founded town of St. Marys and was the headquarters for the federal garrison in southern Georgia.

sergeant and a part of my company to Amelia with an order to hand him over to the officer commanding the armed gunboat in that port. I am, Sir, with great respect your humble servant. Henry Burbeck, Captain of the Troop of American Artillery. To Captain Sebastian Creagh, Commander at St. Johns, Florida.

This is a copy of the original that remains in this Secretariat in my care. San Agustin de la Florida. September 6, 1791. Carlos Howard.<sup>17</sup>

No. 2

Copy. Copy of the summary of the letter from the Commissioner of the St. Marys River, Don Richard Lang, to the Governor of St. Augustine, Florida. June 16, 1790. Honorable Sir: As there is an American company detached at the St. Marys River, if any soldiers should desert from it and come to this province, I desire Your Excellency's views on this particular case since Captain Burbeck who is the Commander of the American post has had two desert, and it has been agreed that if they appear from that direction I will take them and send them back there. In the understanding of this [business] if we should have any Spanish soldiers deserting from this province, he will apprehend them and send them to the post on Amelia Island, and [it is for] this reason that I desire your decision on this point.

Answer to the previous: San Agustin de la Florida, June 28, 1791. Whenever Captain Burbeck, Commander of the alluded to American troop, desires to send a representative to this government by the most direct road to explain the same thing that he has proposed to you relative to the reciprocal return of deserters on both sides, I shall send his proposal with especial satisfaction to Havana to the Captain General of the Island of Cuba and these Provinces, so that in his turn he may decide that which may be convenient, which decision I will share with the aforementioned Captain Burbeck as soon as it shall arrive here.

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17. Carlos (Charles) Howard, an Irish officer in the Spanish army, often acted as the governor's secretary because of his extensive knowledge of the English language.

This is a copy of the originals which remain in this Secretariat in my care. San Agustin de la Florida. September 6, 1791. Carlos Howard.

No. 3

Copy. Copy of the letter from the Governor of Florida to the officer detached at the post of San Vicente Ferrer.

You ought to answer the letter of the American Commander (of which you sent me the original keeping a copy) acknowledging in particular with due attention the kindness of his conduct about which you have given me suitable information, but telling him that you are [in receipt of] the intelligence that there are no American deserters (in truth, I believe this) in this country. Tomorrow two dragoons will leave from here to take over the indicated deserters and to conduct them here. May God protect you for many years. San Agustin de la Florida. August 24, 1791. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada. Sebastian Creagh.

This is a copy of the original that remains in this Secretariat in my care. San Agustin de la Florida. September 6, 1791. Carlos Howard.

No. 4

Copy. Translation of the letter from the Commissioner of the United States, Don James Seagrove, to the Governor of St. Augustine, Florida. St. Patricks on the St. Marys, August 16, 1791.<sup>18</sup>

My dear Sir: I have the satisfaction to inform Your Excellency that last Sunday I arrived safely at home after an arduous trip. I send this letter to inform Your Excellency that today three deserters from the garrison at St. Augustine presented themselves at this post and that, at my insistence, the commanding officer of the American troops detached here at once put them under arrest and just now has sent them under guard to the Spanish post on Amelia Island. The vessel that they took was also returned punc-

18. The present town of St Marys is located on the site of what was once called St. Patricks.



tually with all its equipment. I do not doubt that the person who commands the Spanish post will take care to secure them until he receives instructions from Your Excellency. We here all desire to disapprove [of the actions] of such rogues as these and to apprehend [them] and to give proof of our intention to maintain friendship and good neighborliness with the government of His Catholic Majesty in East Florida. We have no news here that merits Your Excellency's consideration. I have the honor to remain with all possible respect Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant. James Seagrove. His Excellency Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of East Florida.

Reply to the former. My dear Sir: The news that you are pleased to send me in your small favor of the 16th of the current [month] of your safe return to your house where I wish you every sort of happiness is very pleasant to me. With regard to the return of the three deserters which the commanding officer of the American troops in that post was pleased to order at your solicitation, I offer you my most sincere thanks [to be given] to him for it and I take particular pleasure in performing as my obligation the representation of such generous conduct in vivid colors to the Most Excellent Captain General, taking care to give you the result [of my letter]. I take this occasion to confirm in a loud voice those assurances that I gave you here to concur cheerfully in what my subordinate capacity permits me to do to maintain or further friendship and good neighborliness between the vassals of His Majesty and the citizens of the United States. May God protect you for many years. San Agustin de la Florida. August 24, 1791. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada. Don James Seagrove.

This is a copy of the original that remains in the Secretariat in my care. San Agustin de la Florida. September 6, 1791. Carlos Howard.

Most Excellent Sir

I am sending Your Excellency the annexed letter, number 137 of January 2 last, and the documents that accompany it from

the Captain General of Louisiana and the Floridas so that in view of its contents it may please Your Excellency to inform me either if there is any convention concerning the mutual return of deserters with the American States or what the rules are that hereafter the aforementioned official [Las Casas] should follow in dealing with similar cases. May God protect Your Excellency for many years. Aranjuez. February 21, 1792.

Conde Del Campo de Alange  
(Conde de Floridablanca)<sup>19</sup>

#### DESERTERS

(Answered on  
March 1, 1792  
according to  
the verbal  
order of His  
Excellency)

Havana, January 2, 1792 Most Excellent Sir  
The Captain General of Louisiana and the Floridas gives an account with documents of [the fact that] the Commander of the American Post on the St. Marys River sent three deserters from the garrison of that Presidio to the Spanish officer who commanded the post of San Vicente Ferrer on the St. Johns River.

Because of the peculiarity of the case the aforementioned Governor avoided all proceedings against the deserters and gave an account [of it] to the Captain General that he might inform [us] about it.

This I answered him: that holding these mentioned subjects under our laws, it would be very reprehensible to impose capital punishment on them because of the erroneous concept of the one who delivered them, and that in accord with the good faith with which the aforementioned American Commander acted, they

19. Jose Monino, Conde de Floridablanca, was First Secretary of State for both Charles III and Charles IV and was suddenly relieved of his position by the latter in 1792. For a brief biographical sketch, see *Diccionario Enciclopedico . . . . .*, *op. cit.*, XIV, 427-428.

should not be returned again, observing that our agreement that he supposed [existed] in returning them was not clear, and that if the states [United States] judged it necessary they could protest by means of their minister in our court.

The American Commander said that he returned these deserters in consequence of our agreement between the former commanding officers of the post on the St. Johns River and the recently relieved commander of the armed gunboat and himself, to keep all deserters from the Spanish and the American services who might be apprehended under close confinement and to return [them].

The Conde de Campo de Alange to whom this extracted letter was directed passes it to Your Excellency hoping that it will please you to report if there is any convention with the American States about the mutual exchange of deserters or [if not] the rule which henceforth ought to be observed in cases similar to the aforementioned.

Aranjuez, March 1, 1792

Most Excellent Sir

To the Conde de Campo de Alange

There has not been up to now any convention between our Court and the United States of America, and consequently the Captain General of Louisiana did right in approving the circum-spection of the Governor who refrained from all proceedings against the three deserters which the Commander of the American post on the St. Marys River returned to the officer who commanded our post of San Vicente Ferrer on the St. Johns River. But in respect to there having been a convention as the American Commander says, it should be carried on considering it as an accord between frontier governors with such mutual obligations as may be helpful, fully understanding in the meantime that since this convention has not the King's sanction with the usual formality, the deserters delivered [under it] should not be penalized with capital punishment but they should be kept under close arrest and an account given with instructions about events and peculiarities in order that in his verdict His Majesty can decide in regard to the penalty. This is all that I can tell Your Excellency in reference to the dispatch of the 21st of the last month directed to the Conde de Floridablanca and requesting a Royal Order.

Document 2 <sup>20</sup>

#106

Most Excellent Sir

Our very dear Sir: Having received dispatches a few days ago from the Governor of San Agustin sending us various papers relative to the theft of five slaves belonging to a vassal of the King in that province that was committed by several inhabitants of Georgia, we resolved to pass to the Minister of State the dispatch a copy of which we enclose for Your Excellency as appended together with his reply in English and our translation, [all] added as Number 1.

Under the same opportunity that Governor sent us various copies of the correspondence that he carried on with the Commander of the American fort at St. Tammany caused by several deserters from the service of the United States having passed to that Province [East Florida]. In one of the letters the American Commander called the Governor of San Agustin, *harbored of deserters*, by which indecorous expression the latter was deeply insulted and he asks us to seek some satisfaction in the manner we find most convenient. It did not seem prudent [to us] to attempt to attain [this end] in such a friendly manner before proceeding to seek it in person and we went to see the aforementioned Minister of State who after we acquainted him [of what had] happened assured us that he would take [up] the subject with firmness and he told us this in terms as flattering as possible.

Actually he wrote us a letter in a very short time, a copy of which in English we send Your Excellency as Number 3, [in addition to] a translation and our reply to it and to his earlier letters.

Very recently the aforementioned Minister has written us another letter of which we send Your Excellency a copy in English as Number 3 with a translation and our answer.

It appeared [proper] to us to reply to him in the terms that Your Excellency may observe holding to the view of this sort which he insinuated that the Governor of New Orleans likewise held by pointing out that the King was determined that the demarcation of the limits between these United States and

20. The original document is to be found in the Archivo Historico Nacional, Estado, *legajo* (bundle) 3894 *bis*.

the Creeks should not be accomplished as it seemed to be considered [that it] was evidently prejudicial to Spain and to the same Creeks.

We hope that the measures that we have taken in these matters may merit the approbation of His Majesty and the consent of Your Excellency with whom we request that it be pleasing to tell us what orders may be approved by the King with the shortest possible [time] so that we can satisfy this government [United States] especially on the last point. We reiterate [our] obedience to Your Excellency asking God to protect Your Excellency's life for many years. Philadelphia. 18 July 1792.

Most Excellent Sir

Your most abject and obedient servants

Josef de Jaudenes

Josef Ignacio de Viar

(enclosed)

Copy of the letter of Viar and Jaudenes to Mr. Jefferson.

Philadelphia, June 26, 1792

Our very dear Sir:

By the copies of the memorial presented to the Governor of San Agustin de la Florida, [and] a letter concerning this [point] that this one [Governor of East Florida] wrote to that one [governor] of Georgia and his reply, that we have the honor to pass to Your Lordship's hands with the present [one], Your Lordship may be informed of the theft of five slaves belonging to John Blackwood (Spanish vassal in that Province) that was committed by Thomas Harrison, David Rees and William Erwin, residents of the state of Georgia and of the assiduous [care] observed by the Governor of San Agustin.<sup>21</sup>

[Because of] the delay that has been experienced in the restitution of the aforementioned slaves and [since] there have passed more than six months without the receipt of any information by that government at San Agustin in spite of what the Governor of Georgia promised at the same time with the [ ? ] lack that the slaves caused to the

21. John Blackwood was one of the Americans who settled in East Florida after the Royal Order of 1790 was made public. There is no evidence presently available to identify the three men involved in the theft of the five slaves except that they were all settlers in the St. Marys area in Camden County.

memorialized owner of them, we are induced to inform Your Lordship so that with your customary activity and well known good disposition, you may be pleased to take those steps that Your Lordship may judge conducive to produce the desired restitution, prudent repayment of the damages caused and the punishment that the laws prescribe to these delinquent [ones]. We do not doubt that all this can be effectuated by [appropriate] means, not only to prevent similar offenses in the future but also to consolidate the better harmony and good correspondence of the two nations that it is likewise our purpose to preserve.

May God protect Your Excellency as many years as you may desire. We kiss your hand. Your most obedient and constant servants. Josef Ignacio de Viar. Josef de Jaudenes. Senor Don Thomas Jefferson, etc.

A copy.	Jaudenes	Viar
(enclosed)		

Philadelphia, July 3, 1792

Gentlemen: I have laid before the President your letter of June 26 with the papers accompanying it on the subject of the robbery supposed to have been committed within the territory of Florida by three Citizens of the State of Georgia, and I have in charge to assure you that due inquiry shall be immediately made into the transaction, and that everything shall be done on the part of this Government, which right shall require, and the laws authorise. I have written to the Governor of Georgia on this subject, and shall not fail to communicate to you the result of our inquiries, and proceedings on this business. I regret the delay which the circumstances of distance may occasion; but this is unavoidable. I have the honor to be with great respect and esteem-Gentlemen-Your most obedient and most humble servant-Thomas Jefferson-Messrs. de Viar and de Jaudenes.

A copy.	Jaudenes	Viar
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Philadelphia, June 30, 1792

Gentlemen: I have laid before the President of the United States the letter of May 10th of Captain Henry Burbeck, Commandant of the Fort of St. Tammany, to his Excellency the Governor of East Florida, with the other letters relating thereto,

which you were pleased to put into my hands, and I have the honor to inform you, that the President having entirely disapproved of the expressions, which Captain Burbeck has permitted himself to use in the said letter to Governor Quesada; the Secretary of War, has by his instructions written to Captain Burbeck the letter whereof I inclose you a copy, and Captain Burbeck being no longer in the same Command, a copy will be sent to his Successor, as an admonition that no conduct of this kind will be countenanced by the Government of the United States. I hope that you will see, Gentlemen, in these proceedings a proof of the respect entertained of the person, and character of his Excellency Governor Quesada, and of the desire, that the most friendly understanding should be kept up between the United States, and the neighboring Government of Spain - I have the honor to be, with sentiments of perfect esteem, and respect, Gentlemen-Your most obedient, and most humble servant-Signed, Thomas Jefferson-Don Joseph de Viar. Don Joseph de Jaudenes-Commissioners of his Catholic Majesty.

A copy.

Jaudenes

Viar

Translation of a letter written to the Honorable Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, from H. Knox, Secretary of War.

War Department, June 29, 1792.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit you herewith a copy of my letter to Major Burbeck, late Commanding Officer at St. Mary's in Georgia, in consequence of a letter written by him to his Excellency the Governor of East Florida, dated the 1st of May last, I am Sir, with great respect and esteem-Your very humble servant-Signed, H. Knox-Secretary of War-The Honorable Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State.

A copy

Jaudenes

Viar

War Department, June 28th, 1792.

Sir: His Excellency the Governor of East Florida has transmitted to his Catholic Majesty's ministers, in this city an extract of a letter written by you on the 10th of May 1792, to the said Governor, relative to certain deserters. This extract has been submitted to the President of the United States, who has commanded me to inform you, that your intimation in the said letter of

deserters being protected by his Excellency, was highly indicrous [*sic*], and improper, and ought not to have been uttered.

The laws of Nations by no means oblige the return of deserters, unless an express, reciprocal stipulation, should be made for that purpose.

A formal agreement between you, and the Commanding Officer of the Spanish Post contiguous [*sic*] to yours, was not binding upon the respective countries.

It is conceived, from your general character, that no insult was intended upon your part to the Governor-but your conduct was entirely erroneous, for, if any representation was necessary, upon the denial of your request, it ought to have been made to the President of the United States, and not by you, to a Governor of a Province belonging to a foreign Nation, holding a delegate authority from his Sovereign. I am Sir, your most obedient servant-Signed-H. Knox, Secretary of War-Major Henry Burbeck-The foregoing letter from the Secretary of War to Major Henry Burbeck is a true copy-Signed Jn. Stagg, Junr-Chf. Clk. War Department.

A copy

Jaudenes

Viar

Copy of the letter from Viar and Jaudenes in reply to the two from Mr. Jefferson of June 30 and July 3, 1792.

Our very dear Sir: We have received with great appreciation the two documents of June 30 last and of the 3rd of the current [month]. From the context of the first and of the copies that Your Lordship was pleased to enclose, we find ourselves thoroughly persuaded of the justice and friendly disposition expressed by the resolution taken by the President of the United States in view of the papers that we begged Your Lordship to present to him, and as a consequence we beg Your Lordship in addition to offer him our most respectful acknowledgement.

We are immeasurably pleased with Your Lordship for the information that the already cited second letter contains and we are thoroughly convinced that Your Lordship has taken and will continue to take all those measures that may be consistent and may be judged sufficient to contribute to bringing about the proposed object in the quickest and most satisfactory manner.



We have the honor to sign with the deepest views of respect and estimation. The most obedient and humble servants. We kiss the hand of Your Lordship. Josef Ignacio de Viar. Josef de Jaudenes. Don Thomas Jefferson.

Philadelphia. July 5, 1792.

A copy

Jaudenes

Viar

No. 3

Translation of the letter from Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, to Jaudenes and Viar. Philadelphia, July 9, 1792.

(This letter is omitted as it is to found in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Memorial Edition, 1903, VIII, 388-389.)

Copy of the reply of Viar and Jaudenes to the letter of Mr. Jefferson of July 9, 1792.

Philadelphia, July 11, 1792.

Our very dear Sir: We have received with due gratitude Your Lordship's favor of the 9th of the current [month]. We have reasons so powerful as to persuade us of the good harmony that the King, our Master, desires to exist between Spain and the United States, and of the justifiable conduct of the Government of East Florida, that without admitting doubt as to the things that Your Lordship refers to us in your cited letter, we are inclined to believe that perhaps the two Commissioners of the United States demarking the limits with the Creek Nation, were attempting to establish it in a place where it was recognized clearly to be prejudicial to Spain and opposed to the interests of the same Creek Nation, and if this were true, it should appear that whatever measures that they followed with prudence contributing to the protection of the advantage of Spain and of the Creek Nation ought not to be judged inconsistent with the good disposition of His Majesty toward the United States.

We will gladly take advantage of the first opportunity to inform His Majesty about this point and we flatter ourselves that the royal disposition that may be communicated to us, may be of such a nature that we can provide the satisfaction to reiterate to Your Excellency the same proofs of friendship and correspondence to the United States that actually govern us for our part.

We have de honor to sign with the views of perfect good will and greatest respect, Sir, the most obedient and most humble servants. Josef Ignacio de Viar. Josef de Jaudenes. Don Thomas Jefferson.

A copy

Jaudenes

Viar

Document 3 <sup>22</sup>

#170

Most Excellent Sir

Our Very Dear Sir: Having seen in the newspapers of this place the decrees of the King pardonning deserters from the Royal Army and Navy as well as smugglers, and being persuaded that there ought not to be any of these [deserters and smugglers] left scattered in these states [United States], we decided it was prudent to have the enclosed published (a copy of which we have the honor to include in translation for Your Excellency) with the purpose that they [deserters and smugglers] might avail themselves of the pardon that the kindness of His Majesty offers them, and at the same time with the desire to draw them from this country where persons of this sort cannot add to the honor of [our] Nation and possibly [can cause] much prejudice.

We have sent the same information to various capitals of the United States in order that it be printed in the public newspapers.

We hope that His Majesty may deign to approve this determination that was dictated to us by humanity for the good of the errant Spaniards who might be found in this country and by the zeal to keep the honor of the Nation as blameless as possible.

We reiterate our obedience to Your Excellency asking God that [He protect] the life of Your Excellency for many years. Philadelphia. July 14, 1793.

Most Excellent Sir

We kiss the hand of Your Excellency. Your most grateful and obedient servants, Josef de Jaudenes. Josef Ignacio de Viar Most Excellent Duke of Alcudia, etc. <sup>23</sup>

22. The original document is to be found in the Archivo Historico Nacional, Estado, *legajo* (bundle) 3894 *bis*.

23. The Duke of Alcudia was Manuel de Godoy, the favorite of the Queen of Spain who rose to be the First Minister in 1792.

(Enclosed)

Translation of the information appearing in the newspapers of the United States. Dn. Josef Ignacio de Viar and Dn. Josef de Jaudenes, Commissioners of His Catholic Majesty near the United States of America.

As much as the King our Sovereign has deigned to concede by two decrees of February 16 and 23 of the present year a complete pardon to all soldiers, sailors and smugglers who are his vassals, and who have deserted from his regiments and ships of war and from military posts in his native land, and [who are now] living hidden within his domains or [who] have fled to foreign countries: and as much as this grant applies to various [persons] of this sort dispersed throughout the United States:

Therefore it has seemed opportune to us to give them the present news so that they may profit from the pardon of His Majesty in order to return to their native land and to their families.

The persons concerned may inform themselves more fully of the generous terms of the pardon that the King has been pleased to concede either by corresponding directly with us by letter or by appearing here personally.

The above mentioned pardon extends even to those who have incurred punishment for crime for the third time.

Given in Philadelphia under our hand and sealed with our arms on the 2nd of June, 1793. Signed————Josef de Jaudenes. Josef de Viar.

Place for

Seal

A copy  
Jaudenes Viar

## LETTERS OF A TEENAGE CONFEDERATE

edited by HENRY EUGENE STERKK  
AND BROOKS THOMPSON

THE HISTORY of the Civil War is replete with many young men who patriotically went off to war hoping to make great contributions to their side. Some did not get a chance to prove themselves in battle. Many spent all of their time in camp where some became victims of disease rather than the enemy's bullets. Thus it was with Langdon Leslie Rumph.

Langdon Leslie Rumph was born December 6, 1844. He died August 16, 1861, at Warrington Navy Yard, Florida.<sup>1</sup> However, he left a record of his career in the "Perote Guards." This unit, composed mostly from students of the Perote Institute, became a part of the First Regiment Alabama Volunteers in February, 1861, at Fort Barrancas, Florida.<sup>2</sup> Langdon Leslie Rumph wrote home to his father, Dr. James David Rumph. Some of these letters have been preserved and are in the possession of the Misses Maybelle and Effel Rumph. The letters convey the hopes, attitudes and frustrations of a teenage boy during the Civil War, as well as a picture of conditions in northwest Florida.

Langdon L. Rumph to Dr. James David Rumph, Barrancas Barracks, Warrenton, Florida, March 10, 1861.

My dear Father,

Yours of the 5th Came safely to hand yesterday & I was glad to learn that all things at home, were getting along smooth & well. I also recd a letter from Aunt Em R by the mail dated the 2nd, all but grandmother she says, are well. We are all faring much better than at first. We get more & better food, which is about all Soldiers care for. I took a sail to day on a little skiff went near the U S Steamer Wyandotte in about 150 yds of Pickens & then out in the Gulf about 5 miles to where the other US Ships were at anchor, viz. the Brooklin, St Louis & Sabine, all are much larger [than] the Wyandotte & she carries 6. 64 pounds. When [we] were coming back, the wind began to rise & the green waves to roll. The boat came near dipping water 2 or 3 times. I be-

1. Louise F. Hays, typewritten appendix sent out to be attached to her book, *The Rumph and Frederick Families*, p. 4.
2. Edward Young McMorries, *History of the First Regiment, Alabama Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A.* (Montgomery, Ala., 1904), p. 13.

gan to feel kinded squally. No fight is apprehended now & all seem to be well pleased. However we have to work on our Sand batteries daily (Sundays not excepted). The Perote Battery is nearly completed, but the misfortune is we have to make defences & help move cannon, for other companies. A fine show this evening at drill all the companies were present, 640 men in a body. Numbered men we seen on the walls of Pickins looking at us. I must cut short this epistle as my candle is low. I hope this will find you all in good health.

Yours affectionately  
L L Rumph

L. L. Rumph to Dr. James David Rumph, Perote Battery,  
May 12, 1861.

Dear Father,

It is with the greatest pleasure that [I] undertake to reply to your kind favor, received some few days since. Times are pretty lively down here. A few days ago we came near having a fight. Two Steam Boats, The Louis & Keys laden with supplies for our troops were brought to by the Powhattan & Sabine. The Keys on attempting [to] get away from them was fired into by the Sabine. One ball across her bow and another across her stern. All this happened just beyond the reach of Ft McRee, had they been [nearer they] would certainly have been fired into & thus the battle commenced! had this been the case we were prepared to give them a warm salute. Whilst the scene above discribed [*sic*] was transpiring there was one man in our Company Dakes the gunner of my squad who was one of Walkers men in the Nicaraguan Expedition. He seemed almost frantic with delight. His countenance was lit up with savage joy. He seemed fairly rejoiced at the prospects for a fight & when the guns fired [it] would have done you good [to] have seen him run to his perilous post shouting with all his might. Gov A.B. Moore arrived here this morning at 8 am, Gen G P Beauregard is also reported to be here, and also that he advises Bragg to commence immediately upon a Floating Battery-after the fashion of the one at Charleston. You wished to know something about the Sand Batteries. They are 13 in number 10 completed 3 that [have] guns mounted but the protection for the relief is not done. We have plenty Mortars planted along the beach. The one that did the work at Sumpter [*sic*] is mounted & ready for action. As there is not more of importance I will close-I remain

Yours son  
Langdon L. Rumph

I had the Feaver since I wrote to you but I have missed it 2 days now. If I am again attacked I will try and get a furlough for 20 days-Every one that stays in camp is required to do guard duty in the night-this you know will bring them on again. It would not be prudent for me to go to the hospital as they have the Measles there.

Langdon L. Rumph to Dr. James David Rumph, Perote Battery, May 25, 1861.

Not receiving a reply to my last I conclude, that by some mismanagement, it has never reached you. Times with us are very dull-the prospect for a battle being exceedingly poor, in fact but few of our officers, are of the opinion that there will be a battle. Col Clayton thinks that our regiment will be removed to some other point soon. The grounds taken for not anticipating a fight are that Bragg wont attack them as they have so strengthened the Fort with Sand Batteries in front that [it] would be an act of desperation to attack. Storming it would be folly as they have pivot guns on the island for 4 miles down-so as to rake down a storming parties by companies at a fire. And providing we did take it there would trible its value of government property destroyed, besides the immense loss of human beings-far more important than all the rest. Whilst on the other hand Brown knowing that he could never retake the Forts will not be so simple as to make the attempt. We have had good deal of sickness in our camp for the last few weeks. Dr. Billy Crossley has been very sick with chill & feaver nearly every man in the company that had any predisposition to them has had them. The Measles has surrounded our camp. We are looking for some of the younger boys to take them daily. If we should get them we will have a hard time with them, having no conveniences & exposed to all kinds of weather. Our tents not having covers form but poor protection to shelter us from rain. When you reply I want you to tell me what course to pursue should I take them. There was a report reached us today concerning a fight at Harpers Ferry Via, tis said that our side is again victorious, but that 1700 men were killed on both sides. I wish if you could find any one coming down here you would send me 2 pr. drawers 2 shirts & a pair or 2 of pants all as course as you can find. As my space is nearly out I must close

Your affectionate son  
L L Rumph

Direct your next letters thus,  
This is done that there  
should not be so much confusion  
about two Captains of the  
Same names.

L L Rumph  
 Company G 1st Regt Ala  
 Vol  
 Warrenton Fla

Langdon L. Rumph to Dr. James David Rumph, Perote Battery, June 16, 1861

Dear Father,

I was truly grateful at receiving your last letters a day or two ago. One of which dated May 25 had been delayed & this was how I concluded you had not answered my last letter. From your last I was glad to hear of such fine prospects for a crop & I do hope the seasons will continue for there is a short corn crop. I can but fear twill bring many a one to the grave by starvation. We will be moved tomorrow about 200 yards nearer Fort Barrancas so that all the Companies in the 1st regiment may occupy the same position they do in dress parade-the whole 1st Regiment encampment will embrace only about 15 or 20 acres. The day before yesterday was quite interesting one. Pickens fired a salute to a dead man (a Brig Genl I suppose as 11 cannon were fired off) & Gen Walker notwithstanding the long interval between fire and the flag flying at half mast thought they had opened fire upon us. A flying horseman was dispatched to our Camp & we were all commanded to be ready to return fire at any moment & the wildest excitement prevailed. I had obtained a short furlough & had rambled out into the country. I got plenty of Buttermilk & whortleberry tarts out there. This was you may be sure was very acceptable & eaten without ceremony as it is a very rare thing to have "extras" in camps. I anticipate another rich time tonight. I caught a gopher & we are going to have a *turtle* soup for supper. You said you had sent Brother C & myself some shirts & drawers -these we have never received you must send them either by some private hands or by express. I Padgett is now in Perote & we would like that you would send us some *pants* shirts & drawers by him also \$10 as it seems that we will never make another draw & I am about out of money. If we do draw shortly I will send the \$10 back to you. You advised that we should get a room if possible. We were & are now sleeping in the upstairs of the house near the batters but we will now have to leave it as Clayton is going to convert it into his office for he too will come with the rest of the regiment to this place. S H Dent adjutant says Clayton is trying to influence Genl Bragg to allow the 1st Regiment to go nearer home where it will not be so sickly as all agree we won't fight here.

One  $\frac{1}{2}$  of our company are down with Diarhea & other diseases & the well ones come on guard 1 day on & 2 off. This with the drilling & other duty is apt to make them sick. I hope though Clayton will get us away for if we are not healthier we will have more conveniences & [not] pay so high for anything you buy-Chickens sell for 65 or 75 cents, hams 22 c pr lb. and everything else in proportion. I must now close. Brother C is well he received your favor yesterday. Tell Jimmy & Hohy howdy for me & that I wish I could see them.

Your son  
Langdon Rumph

Langdon L. Rumph to Dr. James David Rumph, Camp Alabama, July 25, 1861

Dear Father,

Some two weeks ago I received your kind favor but being stretched out with measles I could not answer it. Brother CWR is just taking them. There are over 100 with them at the hospital. In all my life I never saw such a sickly time. Over 300 patients in the hospital, out of 90 men we never get out on parade more than 35 men,-so many sick in Camp & more will not go to hospital. A J Goens is very low now typhoid fever but little hope remains of his recovery. I got a letter from Aunt Em R today all well but Aunty who is suffering with a mental disorder. Intelligence of Beauregards great achievements reached us yesterday. Pres. Davis telegraphed to Bragg to release all the prisoners-give all the soldiers holiday & fire a salute of 11 guns in honor of the day. All hands are becoming monstrously tired of this hot climate, fleas flies & mosquitos. There has been an effort made by Bullock Clayton, Baker & other influential acquaintances of the Secretary of War to get this Regt off to Virginia. H. D. Clayton is very sick at present some doubt of his recovery. I am afraid I will relapse with Measles. Dawson wanted me to do duty before they were gone in on me good. Several have relapsed & only one as I know of has recovered. Those *provisions* & clothes from home came safe (with the exception of the ham, which the Regulars stole from us) but Dawson gave them to whom *he* pleased. I like to forgot-you asked whether the money & newspapers came to hand-the money did but the paper has not-for want of space I must close

Your aff son  
L L Rumph

M. B. Locke to Dr. James David Rumph, Camp Alabama, Warrington Fla., Aug. 14, 1861.



Dr. J. D. Rumph:

My Dear Sir,

It is with deep regret that I am compelled to inform you of the death of your son, Langdon, together with two other members of our Company, which occurred at the hospital. The first named, yesterday morning at about six o'clock, and the others, Buchan & Lawrence, the former night before last and the latter last night; and while we, their fellow soldiers, bow in humble submission to the will of an all wise Providence. We deeply mourn the loss of three such men—among the best soldiers of our little band—and deeply sympathise with their friends and relatives in their sad misfortune.

It is unnecessary for me to mention the many good qualities Langdon possessed, for in private life you know him, and know that a warmer heart never beat, and as a soldier no one was braver or more willing to meet in deadly conflict the vandal foes of the North. I was with him all night previous to his death, and saw him during his last moments, and have the gratification to say that he died a brave boy, and although his life was not given up in the tempest of battle, yet, he & his other deceased comrades truly deserve as much glory as those brave Southerners who fell on the bloody field of Manassas. They died in the service of their Country and had an opportunity been afforded them, none would have borne themselves more gallantly. I am truly sorry you was not with him during his illness, for although he had every attention that could be given him here under the circumstances. Yet the presence of a kind parent is a great consolation to a sick soldier, it inspires them with confidence in their recovery, which you know has much to do with sick persons, and besides you would have known that he did not suffer for the proper attention, and would have become more reconciled to his death. I should have written you myself concerning his illness had I not known others had. I regret exceedingly that we could not send his remains home for interment: we had made every arrangement to do so, had obtained a Furlough of fifteen days for Christian to accompany his body, and had procured a Zinc Coffin and sealed it up in it, but this morning when we went to the hospital to remove him to the boat we found decomposition had taken place to such an extent that it would have been useless to have attempted to carry him home, and it was the same case with one of the others (Buchan). Consequently we thought it best to bury them all here. Knowing it would be no gratification for their friends to see them in the condition they would be in by that time, besides I think they would have been so offensive that they

would have been compelled to burry them on the road. In fact Buchan had decayed so much that it was utterly impossible for any one to recognize him and Langdon was fast undergoing the same. After they were sealed up last night they began to decay immediately, and I never saw decomposition proceed as rapidly in my life. The coffins were not sufficiently air tight to prevent them from receiving some air and just enough so as to cause the quantity of air they did receive & soon became very impure. I have no idea they would have decayed so fast had they been exposed to the open air. Those zinc coffins I learn today has proven a failure in nearly (every) instance. All who have tried them with whom I have conversed report unfavorably of them, so it will be useless to attempt to send any more home (should we loose any more) unless we can get the genuine metallic coffin. A gentleman from our County (Mr. Newberry) lost a son in Capt Owens company and started home with his body today and I learn after getting to Pensacola had to burry him. We have marked the spot where Langdon was burried, so it will be no trouble to find the grave should you desire to remove his remains at any time. Langdon, as I presume you are aware, has been in feeble health for four or five weeks, and had just gotten over a spell of Measles, when he was attacked, as his physician said with Typhoid Fever, but I think it was a relapse from Measles, and died in five or six days. Christian is in quite feeble health now and I think a trip home would be of material benefit to him, and as Gen Bragg refused to let him go home after we decided not to send the corpse home I shall make an effort to get him a Furlough for thirty days to go home & recouperate on. I will make the application for him tomorrow through Capt Dawson and think he will succeed in getting it. It is a sad thing to think that we have lost five of our company in so short a time, three of whom were burried today, and I can scarcely realize that such is the fact. It has cast a deep gloom over us, and the number still sick renders it very discouraging to us. We have nine very sick yet, besides a good many others who are not at all well-some having just recovered from measles. The quantity of sickness in our regiment has been attributed to the heavy guard duties we have to perform, but that has been decreased a good deal, and would be comparatively light now, were it not so many are sick. I have always thought that the prime causes were not only on account of the guard & fatigue duty, but the manner in which we are so crowded at this particular camp. All the companies moved here with a great deal of reluctance, fearing the evil consequences, but it had to be done to satisfy the foolish whims of some of our

superiors. We expect to petition Gen Bragg to let our company move out from the regimental encampment. I entertain a hope that he will grant us permission. Have some doubts about it however, not on his (Braggs) account, but others. We will know in a few days at any rate. I should like to hear from you occasionally Dr.

**Very truly, your friend  
M. B. Locke**

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Volume XXIII *The Territory of Florida, 1824-1828* and Volume XXIV *The Territory of Florida, 1828-1834*. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1958, 1959. Vol. XXIII, 1191 pp. Maps and index. \$6.50; Vol. XXIV, 1143 pp. Maps and index. \$8.00.)

THE PLAN AND SCOPE of the Florida volumes of *The Territorial Papers* were indicated in the review of the first Florida volume (Volume XXII of the series), published in the October, 1957, issue (pp. 166-169) of this *Quarterly*. That volume concluded with a document dated June 25, 1824, during the first administration of Governor DuVal. The volumes noticed here cover the period from July 1, 1824, to the close of DuVal's fourth and last administration in April, 1834.

Papers relating to public lands and to Indian affairs comprise a substantial portion of the documents. Treatment of the latter topic is particularly full in Volume XXIII; document pertaining to the former-especially to the adjudication of private land topic is particularly full in Volume XXIII; documents pertaining is devoted throughout to mails, roads, and other internal improvements, as well as to matters of local interest at Pensacola, Apalachicola, Key West, St. Augustine, and Tallahassee. The record of appointments and elections of territorial and county officers is as complete as possible.

The survey of public lands began immediately after the arrival of the surveyor general in Tallahassee in November, 1824. The basic parallel had been run by the end of the following February and the land office for West Florida established at Tallahassee. The first sale of public lands was held in May, 1825, when twenty-four townships near Tallahassee were offered for sale. Since the policy of the Government was "to bring into market, the lands in Florida, which are entirely exempt from private claim, & which may be most in demand for the accommodation of actual settlers" (XXIII, 299), land sales during the period

under consideration were confined almost entirely to Middle and West Florida.

The land office for East Florida was established at St. Augustine in July, 1826, but no sale was held there until May, 1828. Then only one-eighth of a section was sold, although nineteen townships were offered. A second sale was held in 1831, but only twelve parcels of land aggregating 1,255 acres had been sold in East Florida by October, 1833. Total receipts were \$1568.55, as contrasted with receipts of \$3330.68 for a single quarter of 1833 at the Tallahassee land office.

The duties of the commissioners for the settlement of private land claims in West and East Florida were transferred to the land offices at Tallahassee and St. Augustine, respectively, in 1825 and 1827. Surveys of the relatively few West Florida grants, most of which were in the city of Pensacola, were completed in March, 1828. The survey of East Florida grants did not begin until 1830. Even then, adjudication of almost a hundred large claims aggregating nearly two million acres was pending in the superior court at St. Augustine.

The survey and sale of public lands were also retarded by the uncertainty of the northern boundary of the Territory and by the decision to extend the Indian reservation northward. Nothing was done to locate definitely the Alabama-Florida boundary during the period under consideration. Daniel F. McNeil ran the Georgia-Florida boundary in 1825, but his survey was not acceptable to the state of Georgia. In 1827, a surveying party headed by Thomas M. Randolph and Thomas Spalding, commissioners on the part of the United States and of Georgia, broke up before running the line.

Even before they removed to their reservation early in 1825, the Indians had expressed dissatisfaction with the lands assigned to them. In February, 1825, the President authorized extension of the northern boundary to include the better lands in the Big Hammock, but the survey was delayed in the hope that the Indians could be persuaded to go west. It was not until April, 1827, that the northern Indian line was re-run by Joshua A. Coffee.

As early as October, 1825, Acting Governor George Walton reported that the Indians, dissatisfied with the lands assigned to

them and the rations issued under the Treaty of Camp Moultrie, were drifting back to their old settlements. Walton recommended holding a treaty to, effect their removal to the country west of the Mississippi. Although Governor DuVal reported in April, 1826, that the Indians could not be induced to remove, Joseph M. White, then Florida's delegate in Congress, was commissioned in February, 1827, to sound out the Indians on removal. White, in his turn, reported failure, but repeated a suggestion he had previously made, that a deputation of chiefs be sent west to examine the country. This suggestion was later implemented by the treaty negotiated by James Gadsden in 1832.

In the meantime, there were constant difficulties between Indians and whites. Citizens of Alachua County complained in 1825 that the Indians were permitted "to be strolling and hunting through this County in large parties Contrary To the Treaty . . . and are daily Committing depredations on the Stock of Cattle and hogs, and robbing the plantations of the undersigned and . . . in very Many instances they are extremely imprudent [*sic*] to the Citizens of this County . . ." (XXIII, 406). Governor DuVal pointed out, however, that the Indians were robbed of their own slaves by whites although they were required to surrender runaway slaves to the former owners. "I have taken the most unweariid pains to have justice done to all parties," he reported, "but I confess-the Indian under the laws of the united states at present have but little, shear in its advantages" (XXIII, 484).

An Indian alarm in 1826 caused the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Suwannee River. In January, 1827, the defense of the frontier was entrusted to Colonel Duncan L. Clinch, who abandoned the Suwannee post in favor of one on the Aucilla River and decided to locate a post (Cantonment King) near the Seminole agency. The post on the Aucilla was abandoned in June, 1827, and apparently troops were withdrawn from Cantonment King in 1829, although it was garrisoned again in 1832.

Administration of the affairs of the new Territory was still hampered in 1824 by the lack of mail facilities. Governor DuVal writing from Tallahassee on October 26, commented on the "difficulty of communiting with any post office, for the nearest to this point is 150 miles" (XXIII, 91). A bi-weekly mail was es-

tablished between Tallahassee and Early Courthouse, Georgia, in the spring of 1825, and between Tallahassee and Pensacola and Tallahassee and St. Augustine in January, 1826.

The Government was understandably reluctant to extend mail services in Florida, since the cost far exceeded the proceeds. According to the Postmaster General, the best bid for a weekly mail between Tallahassee and St. Augustine in 1827 was \$3,375, "whereas the entire nett product arising from postages Collected in Florida, falls short of \$1600 pr an." (XXIII, 734). However, weekly service was instituted on the Pensacola-Tallahassee-St. Augustine routes in 1827, and routes were added from Jefferson, Georgia, by way of Jacksonville, to St. Augustine and from Burnt Corn, Alabama, to Pensacola.

The road started in 1824 from Pensacola to St. Augustine was completed after a fashion in August, 1826. There was widespread dissatisfaction over the way it had been built and by the following December it was said to be "in a condition so incomplete as to be impassable" (XXIII, 702). There seems to have been considerable basis for the criticism, and Congress appropriated funds for its repair in 1830. On the other hand, Joseph M. White remarked, "If the whole Treasury were given you would never satisfy that people-If every cowpath & hog trail were made a Turn pike we should still have complaints-" (XXIV, 333).

It was also intended to open roads from St. Augustine to Cape Florida and from Coleraine on the St. Marys River, by way of Tampa Bay, to Cape Sable. James Gadsden was appointed to survey and mark the former route, which he did in the fall of 1824 as far as the St. Lucie River. Illness in his party stopped him there, but he thought the St. Lucie was "unquestionably beyond the ultimate limit of population on the Atlantic border of Florida . . ." (XXIII, 126). In January, 1825, Captain Isaac Clark marked a road from Tampa Bay to Charlotte Harbor but could go no farther south.

A road was duly opened by sections north from Tampa Bay to the St. Marys. By January, 1826, it was in use to Wanton's in the Alachua country, and by the end of that year, from Wanton's to Black Creek and from Black Creek to Coleraine. Late in 1827, the Old Kings Road was opened and repaired from Cole-

rairie to Tomoka. In 1830 the road was extended to New Smyrna.

On the political scene, there were the usual charges and counter charges of absenteeism, incompetency, and dishonesty. Some of the charges were well founded. William F. Steele, district attorney for West Florida, absconded, "leaving his Securities in a prison Bounds Bond, liable for the Judgments on which he was imprisoned-" (XXIII, 68). Gad Humphreys, the Indian agent, and his successor, John Phagan, were both removed for cause-the former for improper dealings with the Indians under his charge, the latter for altering vouchers.

A number of removals without cause followed the accession of Jackson to the presidency. Richard K. Call and James Gadsden, personal friends of the President, apparently were influential in patronage matters, but Joseph M. White, who succeeded Call as delegate in Congress in 1825, emerges as the dominant political figure. Although White was not a Jackson man, his ability and attention to the interests of his constituents assured his continued success in the biennial elections for delegate.

The Territory attained some degree of political maturity when members of the Legislative Council, theretofore appointed by the President, became elective officials in 1826. There was also a growing resentment at the appointment of non-residents to territorial offices. By 1834, the Legislative Council was urging that the governor and secretary of the Territory be elected and that a Senate be established.

The policy of including all memorials to Congress in full, with the names of all signers, makes the excellent indexes almost rosters of the important and not-so-important residents of the Territory. Their value to the local historian and to the genealogical researcher, interested in ascertaining who was where and when, is incalculable.

DOROTHY DODD

*Florida State Library*

*Historic Sites in and Around the Jim Woodruff Reservoir Area, Florida-Georgia.* By Mark F. Boyd. River Basin Surveys Papers, No. 13. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin*



169. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1958. pp. 195-314. Plates, Bibliography.)

READERS OF the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will need no introduction to the carefully researched and scholarly written works of Dr. Mark F. Boyd which have appeared in this publication for many years; he has turned his avocation into the production of historical writings that have been the joy and envy of students of the history of Florida. The item of this review is no exception to the foregoing, but amply serves to underscore the introductory remarks.

The Jim Woodruff Dam was constructed several years ago on the Apalachicola River some 1,000 feet below the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers. The waters of the two rivers held back by the Woodruff dam have created a lake or reservoir that will cover 37,500 acres and form a lake of some 240 miles in circumference. While most of this lake will cover the lands of Georgia along the two rivers mentioned, part of the lake will cover the lands of Florida that lie on the west bank of the Chattahoochee River from the Alabama-Florida line southward to the Dam.

Regardless of the comparatively small amount of Florida lands within the reservoir, the area covered by Dr. Boyd's study has been of great historical significance in the development of Florida since earliest exploration. In prehistoric times the area was occupied by numerous groups of the Lower Creek Indians and evidence of these occupations remains at sites marked by ancient shell middens and other materials. During the Spanish and British periods of Florida history the rivers and footpaths along their banks afforded the main arteries of communication in this section of the Southeast. Following American acquisition of Florida and the removal of the Creeks from Georgia the three rivers bore an ever-increasing steamboat trade until displaced by railroads and motor transport.

In his study, Dr. Boyd has discussed fourteen of the historic sites of the area, four of which will be submerged by the waters behind the Woodruff Dam. Each site is sketched according to its location, identification, condition, authentication, and most important for the student of history, its interpretation. Rather

than footnote his sketches, the author has included the references to his sources within the text, a most pleasing practice to this reviewer.

Sections on recommendations, acknowledgements, and an extensive bibliography and a cartography conclude the publication. Ten plates, two text figures, and a map provide valuable and interesting illustrations for the text.

This contribution to published Floridiana brings together a mass of information on a small but important section of the Southeast. We can only hope that Dr. Boyd will continue his research and writing and that his works will be an inspiration to other students to undertake similar projects for other sections and areas of Florida.

Members of the Florida Historical Society may justly take pride in the Society's part in the publication of this survey. While Mr. John Blocker was its president, the Society was invited by the National Parks Service to sponsor the survey and the Society, in turn, requested Dr. Boyd to take the assignment.

J. E. DOVELL

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*Pioneer Florida.* Edited by D. B. McKay. With a foreword by Charles F. Benson. (Tampa, The Southern Publishing Company, 1959. 3 vols. Illustrations, general index, biographical index. \$65.00.)

THE INTRODUCTORY NOTE to these handsomely mounted and bound volumes records that "PIONEER FLORIDA is a compilation of newspaper columns appearing over a period of more than twelve years. In that time, many contributors and persons named have died. In general, it has been thought the greater respect to preserve their contributions in the present tense as they originally appeared in The [Tampa] Tribune."

"In like manner this book contains writings, and quotations from older writings, by many authors and dating over many years. It cannot claim the purity of style possible to one author and one period of authorship; in fact, in materials dating back more than fifty years an effort has been made to preserve variations in spelling as integral to the story."

From the publisher's point of view, Volumes I and II serve as the lead-in, and justification, for Volume III, a glazed-paper "Biographical Section," with photographs, which "gives others who have played a part in the history and development of Florida a chance to tell their own personal stories, which in many cases are fully as interesting or inspirational." No one of the selected biographees has neglected to take full opportunity to stress family and personal achievements, with all appropriate emphasis on civic-mindedness and selfless idealism. Miss Lillian White, who wrote the biographical sketches, has most skillfully achieved a distinctive uniformity in the organization of the materials supplied her by the biographees. Her astringent style meets the needs of such a volume admirably, and, if the sketches want somewhat of human warmth and any record of human peccadillos in the personalities of those whose achievements are recorded, they nevertheless serve as an intriguing record for the curious of the kinds of achievement which men consider important.

Volumes I and II are a treasure-house of historical memories which may serve well as germinal materials for future, more particularized investigations of fascinating pockets of Florida history. The people who tell the story, often in an idiom which has about it the smell of the marsh and the tidewater, decorate their narratives of pioneering with a wealth of local color, and a detailing of the minutiae of daily life-sounds, clothing, food, habits, animals, tools-which this reviewer found delightful. The wealth of personal anecdotes of early Florida living-human trivia, it is true, yet warm with the freshness of nostalgic recollection, and vigorous with the awkwardness of simple people unskilled in historical narration-succeeds most happily in fulfilling the promise of the title, *Pioneer Florida*.

The pen and ink illustrations of Norval E. Packwood are delicate and sensitive, and contribute handsomely to the illumination of the moods of the text.

No organized continuity of narrative, or chronological tidiness of the academic historian, could have been imposed on this pack rat collection of anecdotes, human-interest stories, biographies in little, character vignettes, and pointless, but hilarious, episodes of pioneer farming, hunting, cattle raising, mining and storekeeping in the days when Grape Hammock, Apopka, Venus,

Frostproof, Arcadia, Inverness, and Hesperides were fresh place names recording in themselves the highhearted hopes of the pioneer settlers.

Rascals, pirates, rustlers, no-good Indians, and moonshiners; mighty hunters of bear and alligator, fishermen of cunning and prowess, sturdy women, lacking elegance, perhaps, but fiery with ambition and courage, noble Seminoles, and sheriffs wise to the robust ways of backwoods life—all these are recorded in vivid anecdote and lush story through the 593 pages of these first two volumes.

The stuff of history is here, ranging from the almost academic formality and precision of historical accounting in Dr. James W. Covington's notes on the establishment of Fort Brook, at the mouth of Tampa Bay, "to demonstrate the military power of the white man and serve as a means of keeping the Seminoles within the reservation," to ribald accounts of alcoholic (and some tee-total) gun fights between the more uninhibited citizens of a hundred years ago.

D. B. McKay, the editor of his own week-by-week vignettes of Florida history, reveals himself in these volumes to be indeed a pioneer historian of pioneer folk, and the unquestioned dean of Florida anecdote in this compilation of great events and human trivia, still warm with the phrases of the men and women who "were there" long before the tourists and the real estate operators.

And a bluntly commercial enterprise, by anchoring itself on the solid foundation of McKay's *Tribune* columns, has made a worthy, and a rewarding, contribution to the growing shelves of Florida history.

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

*University of Tampa*

*The Florida Supreme Court: A Study in Judicial Selection.* By Emmett W. Bashful. *Studies in Government*, No. 24. (Tallahassee, Florida State University, 1958. 111 pp.)

PROFESSOR BASHFUL'S STUDY of the method of selection of justices of the Florida Supreme Court reveals that the debate which

occurs from time to time concerning the adoption by Florida of the Missouri plan of judicial selection involves primarily not a change in our governmental process but rather the recognition of actual practice by the words of the constitution. The opponents of the formal adoption of the Missouri plan are fighting to retain a system that does not exist in practice, the proponents to introduce a scheme already for the most part in effect.

The Missouri plan provides for the appointment of judges by the governor and for the continuation of such judges in office by vote of the people on a non-competitive ballot. After studying the twelve justices who sat on the state Supreme Court between 1943 and 1954, Professor Bashful reports that nine of them were appointed to the court to fill vacancies and that only three of them reached the court initially via the election route. In addition, Florida voters have tended to re-elect sitting judges usually without opposition; the twelve justices studied here were opposed in the primaries only eight times out of a possible thirty-three and in the general election only twice. The author also notes that in only one case since 1885 has a justice originally appointed by the governor been defeated for re-election; this event occurred in the unusual election of 1916 after the justice had served fourteen years.

Thus the only real improvement to be obtained from formal adoption of the Missouri plan would be the guidance to the governor in the appointment process. In Missouri the governor must select his appointee from a panel of three presented by a nonpartisan commission.

The analysis of the few election contests during this period falls short of an enlightening discussion. Although the author mentions such factors as sectionalism, gubernatorial support, backing of newspapers, labor and bar associations, he fails to examine the election returns on a county-by-county basis in an attempt to weigh the relative importance of these influences. Perhaps a closer analysis of the elections would reveal the factors leading to the overwhelming success of the incumbents.

Professor Bashful notes the failure of the Florida Bar and of most of the local bar associations to take formal roles in the selection of the justices. The state Bar has not been involved as such except at the request of the governor in 1952 on which

occasion the response was dishearteningly small. Perhaps the recent action of the Dade County Bar Association in evaluating the local judges is a sign of increased activity and responsibility on the part of the lawyers.

THOMAS J. WOOD

*University of Miami*

*Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida after the close of the Civil War.* By John Wallace. (Jacksonville, Da Costa Printing and Publishing House, 1888; republished by Continental Book Company, Kennesaw, Georgia, 1959. 444 pp. Appendixes. \$10.00.)

THE REPLICATION OF THIS WORK long out of print will be welcomed by students of Reconstruction. It is the only full account of the Reconstruction years in Florida. The authorship makes it doubly interesting and valuable. Wallace was a slave in North Carolina until 1862, and without formal education of any sort. He served two and one-half years in the United States army, much of it in Florida. He was discharged at Key West on January 1, 1866, and went to Tallahassee where he represented Leon County in the House of Representatives four years and in the Senate eight years.

The book is full of surprises. Wallace was a loyal Republican and he defends the Negro as one might expect, but this work is an unqualified indictment of carpetbag rule and everyone associated with it. Native southern whites come out very well-too well at times. For example, Wallace maintained that the constitutional convention in 1865 might have granted the vote to a limited number of Negroes if Provisional Governor William Marvin had not been so strongly opposed to it. He also defends, with more justification perhaps, the laws respecting freedmen passed by the Florida legislature in 1865. He maintains that anyone else in the same position would have acted in that manner. Further, that the laws were never meant to be enforced literally, but were designed merely to restrain the few Negroes who might seek revenge or abuse their freedom. But he agrees that these

"Black Codes" became a powerful weapon in the hands of Radical Republicans.

In truth, the most ardent southern white could hardly find fault with this version of Reconstruction. White Federal troops who replaced Negroes in the army of occupation in the interior counties when residents complained so bitterly, treated freedmen so badly that old masters had to intervene to protect them. The Freedman's Bureau was "the worst curse of the race, as under it he was misled, debased and betrayed. . . ." Not until the Negro was given the suffrage did he get better treatment. Unscrupulous land agents sold land certificates to the naive Negroes. Even the intelligent Negroes sometimes misled the ignorant. Finally, the victory of the Democrats in 1876 is called a blessing in disguise.

By far the greater portion of the book is given over to a blow by blow account of the struggle between rival Republican factions led by Carpetbaggers to control the state government for purposes of public plunder. Only Harrison Reed, the first Republican governor, is defended. Wallace felt that since Reed appointed two prominent native white Democrats to his cabinet, he should have been given fair trial by the citizens. Actually Reed was disowned by his own party and impeached after four tries without ever winning any Democratic support. The moral of this story is that southerners would have been just as hostile to an honest, efficient and progressive administration, for it represented an alien power in their midst.

There are numerous documents scattered throughout the book and in the appendixes taken from Federal, legislative, and judicial sources. There is a large amount of political gossip and reference to personalities that could have been written only by one intimately familiar with the political goings-on of the day, an insider, if you like. All of which raises the question: Who wrote the book? This shrewd and able Negro, had the information, but that he could have produced such a complete and sophisticated account seems unlikely. William D. Bloxham was a patron of Wallace and the author expresses great admiration for him, giving him credit for the organizing of the Democrats in 1870 that brought them back into control in the election of 1876. Bloxham told W. W. Davis, author of *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913, p. 746), that he had as-

sisted Wallace in the compilation of the volume. Davis uses the source repeatedly, but is aware of the bias in the viewpoint. The implication seems to be that Bloxham had more to do with the writing of the book than did the man whose name appears on the title page, and nowhere is any credit given to Bloxham. But it is still an indispensable volume.

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