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WILLIAM PANTON
By **MARIE TAYLOR GREENSLADE**

Much has been written of William Panton and his connection with the Floridas, but even so, in justice to him, too little; for, with few exceptions, most references and accounts of him have appeared in historical writings which are unsympathetic, if not antipathetic, toward the regime under which he lived and the interests he represented. There exists available material in the form of previously unpublished papers and letters of the trading house of Panton, Leslie & Company, which fills out the picture of Panton, enhances his stature, and helps to correct many inaccuracies in factual statement and estimation of character.

These data and family traditions that have both been handed down to the writer present a better rounded picture of a man who was eminent in the larger affairs of the wide region between the Everglades and the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers.* But his interests and fortune was related to those of the Indian occupants of that territory who were doomed to be swept away by the advancing tide of the American republic; consequently the judgments of history have a tendency to be balanced against him.

Early Life and Background. William Panton was born in North Britain, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, about 1745, the only son of John Panton and Barbara Wemyss. Notes on his early life are but fragmentary because of a disastrous fire which destroyed his old home in Pensacola (1849) with its portraits, many trunks of valuable documents, most of

*Following this biographical sketch there will appear in successive issues of the *Quarterly* numerous letters of and to Panton and his associates. Ed.

the furniture and a large library he had got together over a period of many years. There is a family tradition that the Pantons were descended from Robert Bruce. The signet ring Panton used in sealing his correspondence bore the crest of a dolphin haurient and there are several of these wax seals well-preserved despite the heat of many Florida summers. His silver was marked likewise. His genealogical background is mostly one of sturdy English stock, who had such a great appreciation of education that there is no doubt he had his quota before leaving England for the new world.

Records show that William Panton, John Leslie, and Thomas Forbes, British-born subjects who came to America together, resided in South Carolina and Savannah, Georgia; Panton owning land there as early as 1770. These young men, who were all related by ties of blood, were very much at home in the new land, where they mingled with the firmly established group of Scots who, exiled for participation in the Stuart uprising, had come out (1735) in the ship *Prince of Wales* and established New Inverness on the Altamaha.

Establishment in Trade. Of interest to them were James Spalding and Donald McKay, who had arrived at St. Simon's Island, Georgia, about 1760, and whose relatives were already known to these young men. The trading post established by Spalding and McKay subsequently became a branch of the great house of Panton, Leslie & Company, which brought cargoes directly from England and exchanged them with the Indian tribes that occupied the great area between and including Tennessee and Florida.

Panton, Leslie and Company engaged in trade at Charleston and Savannah some time before the

American Revolution. Their store houses extended from Sunbury, Georgia, to Volusia, Florida, and their canoes floated to and from Frederica, the central store house. The uncertainties and shifting allegiances of the American revolutionary period disrupted their business and resulted in confiscation of their property and banishment of their persons because of their attachment to the British government. They retired to St. Augustine in East Florida, then known as the Tory paradise, but it was not long before Panton went on to Pensacola.

A letter of Panton's (1799) states: "Our House consists of William Panton, and John Forbes who reside in this Province [West Florida]; John Leslie who is now in London but whose residence is at St. Augustine; and Thomas Forbes who resides at Nassau, and in his name the vessels we employ will be owned."

The firm formed an association with a London firm and agency composed of James Strachan, James MacKenzie, and Alexander Glennie. Disputes arose with the London house and while settlement was being effected in a court of arbitration Penman and Shaw became underwriters for Panton, Leslie and Company, about 1799.

John Forbes, a brother of Thomas, was admitted to the firm in 1792. Concerning this partnership, he wrote in 1805 to the Reverend Mr. Leslie :- "Mr. Panton and my brother, Thomas Forbes, never met since 1782 and during the same period your brother, John Leslie, only saw his two Partners once. These men had mutually such an exalted opinion of one another that a proposal of Articles of Partnership never was mentioned. When I was admitted to a participation of the business, the proposal was made

by Mr. Panton, and was simply acceded to by the other Partners, in course of correspondence."

After Panton's death and the closing of his estate, the firm name was changed to John Forbes and Company, constituted as follows:* "The House of John Forbes and Company, in West Florida, is composed of Thomas and John Forbes, James Innerarity and Wm. Simpson; in East Florida of Thomas and John Forbes and Philip Yonge."

"The Establishments are at Pensacola where Mr. Innerarity resides and directs, and at Mobile where Mr. Simpson presides; there is besides this a small establishment which the Government has tho't necessary we should fix at Appalachy, directed by an Agent."

"Mr. Yonge is Director of East Florida business and resides in St. Augustine."

"The two Florida establishments carry on the Indian trade, that is to say they supply the Aborigines bordering on those provinces with the goods they want and are under the protection of the Spanish Government."

"In this trade they have been supported since 1784 partly by their own Capital, but principally by the extensive Credit given them by their London correspondents which has at times exceeded \$80,000."

"The Junior partners in all the firms have no interest but in the particular Houses to which they belong."

"The interest of every deceased partner ceases with his death and to that period the Accounts are always made out and closed." (Letter of John Forbes to the Rev. Mr. Leslie, 1805).

*These statements are extracts from letters of the firm in my possession.

John Forrester was a partner for a short time; it is recorded that in 1803 he deferred his resignation until it was more convenient to the firm to replace his services. His plan was to settle a small plantation.

John Innerarity, having held a clerkship in the West Florida branch since 1802, was admitted to partnership in 1812.

The house at Pensacola was established under British rule during the administration of Governor Peter Chester, and Panton, Leslie and Company prospered during these years. The business was aided greatly by the influential connection which they formed with Alexander McGillivray, the chief of the Creek nation. Panton's interest in this alliance was stimulated by his acquaintance with Lacklan McGillivray, the Chief's father, and by his quick recognition of Alexander's ability. He states, "It so happened that we had an interest in serving each other."

The Creek nation was at peace during the British dominion, 1763-1783. Under the Spanish dominion (1783-1821) Pensacola, instead of being the capital of a province extending to the Mississippi, became the only town of a narrow strip of wilderness between the Perdido and the Apalachicola rivers.

Commercially it would have been practically extinguished had not the religious conditions imposed on foreigners been revoked in favor of Panton. The value of his house and his very presence was more necessary to the Spaniards and for the preservation of peace than a large military force, owing to his influence over Alexander McGillivray and that chief's control of the Creeks. He was required to take an oath of obedience but not allegiance to the Spanish king, and a treaty was entered into with

him, as a quasi-sovereign securing his firm in all its possessions and rights, and bestowing upon its houses at Pensacola, Mobile, and Appalachee a monopoly of the Indian trade. For these concessions the firm became the financial agent of the government at those points, and bound to wield its influence in promoting peace and good will between the Spaniards and the Indians. The stipulations on both sides were faithfully fulfilled. At one time Spain was indebted to the House for \$200,000 for advances, and the debt was afterward faithfully discharged.*

Private and Public Life. Panton erected his large warehouse in 1785 on the waterfront at Pensacola, the ruins of which are still in evidence. This and his residence were constructed of brick said to have been brought as ballast from England, though there was no lack of brickyards in Pensacola. The bricks were laid with a mortar known as coquina or tabby, a mixture of crushed oyster shells and cement.

Panton had adapted himself to American life at Charleston and St. Augustine. His mansion, as many early writers are pleased to call it, was of ample proportions in massive brick, three stories and cellar, built in the English style with adaptations for a Southern climate. A letter from James Innerarity, to his brother John, speaks of the house as the "old donjon" and urges him to leave it.

Once over Panton's threshold hospitality was dispensed on a lavish scale and the visitor was indeed a guest. No one of importance set foot in Pensacola without; being entertained there. A regular table was kept for the micos or chiefs of the tribes and their entourage, spoken of as "a heavy expense but not to be dispensed with." The runners on the path, messengers from the nations to the house, or

*Campbell, *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida*.

any stray Indian, were all fed and horses stabled if they had them.

Panton took the greatest interest in his garden, sending to England for seeds, having the orders triplicated, and showing a lively interest in shrubs and fruit. The house faced the bay, catching its breezes and a view of Santa Rosa island and its snow-like sand. A grove of orange trees led from the front of the house, flanked by flowering shrubs and many varieties of fruit trees in addition to the kitchen garden. Beyond were the kitchens and wash houses, a few paces further the great brick warehouse and adjacent thereto the tan yard. Pompey was his man, attending him on his travels, while Robert, another retainer, is remembered in his will.

One gleans something of Panton's personality from his letters, though they were usually on business and to the point; that he was a firm character and stood squarely on his feet is evidenced by them and those of his contemporaries. From the letters of others we gather that in addition to being a strong man with a tender heart, he was a most generous one. His aid to his relatives was regular and munificent. His business associates had the greatest respect for him and his ability. The Indians had the greatest confidence in his wisdom and justice and gave him the title of the "White King."

One bit of romance has been discovered in his correspondence. To John Forbes he writes, 1794:- "I opened Glennie's (Alexander) letter to you, and am now sorry for it as I see it contains a secret subject of an interesting nature to you and family. You see Jack I have lost my chance, but there is no help for it. Give my compliments to Her and desire Her to provide for me as good a Girl as herself or I will stay where I am. Let them both know that

I am in the secret and that I sincerely wish them all manner of happiness."

Trade with the Indians. To supply the traders and the Indians, Panton, Leslie and Company kept a stock of \$50,000. One letter speaks of fifteen clerks; another says that these young men were educated and then picked for the house by Panton's sister, Mrs. John Innerarity, Sr., who saw to it that their morals were above reproach.

Through Alexander McGillivray's influence the firm's business extended even beyond the Tennessee river. At Mobile the King's wharf accommodated the foreign commerce and this house controlled the bulk of it. This trade was carried on by small hardy pack ponies that traveled twenty-five miles per day carrying one hundred and eighty lbs., long lines of them going to and from the Indian country with supplies for the Indians, and returning with anything they had to barter principally skins, but also honey, beeswax, dried venison and even poultry.

A letter of Panton's to Lachlan McGillivray, discovered by Pickett in the records of the District Court of Louisiana and printed by him in his *History of Alabama* is reprinted here because of the light it throws on the relations of the two men.

Pensacola April 10, 1794

Your son, sir, was a man that I esteemed greatly. I was perfectly convinced that our regard for each other was mutual. It so happened that we had an interest in serving each other which first brought us together, and the longer we were acquainted the stronger was our friendship.

I found him deserted by the British without pay, without money, without friends and without property, saving a few negroes, and he and his nation threatened with destruction by the Georgians, un-

less they agreed to cede them the better part of their Country. I had the good fortune to point out a mode by which he could save them all, and it succeeded beyond expectation.

He died on the 17th February, 1793, of complicated disorders-of inflamed lungs and the gout on his stomach. He was taken ill on the Path coming from his cow-pen on Little river, where one of his wives, Joseph Cornell's daughter, resided, and died eight days after his arrival here.

No pains, no attention, no cost was spared to save the life of my friend. But fate would have it otherwise, and he breathed his last in my arms.

He died possessed of sixty negroes, three hundred head of cattle, with a large stock of horses. I advised, I supported, I pushed him on to be the great man. Spaniards and Americans felt his weight, and this enabled him to haul me after him, so as to establish this house with more solid privileges than, without him, I should have attained. This being the ease, if he had lived, I meant, besides what he was owing me, to have added considerably to his stock of Negroes.

What I intended to do for the father I will do for his children. This ought not to operate against your making that ample provision for your grandson and his two sisters which you have it in your power to make.

They have lately lost their Mother, so that they have no friends, poor things, but you and me. My heart bleeds for them, and what I can I will do. The boy, Aleck, is old enough to be sent to Scotland to School, which I intend to do next year, and then you will see him.

* * *

“General McGillivray was interred with Masonic honors in the splendid garden of William Panton,

in the city of Pensacola. He was a severe loss to that gentleman and the Spanish Government. His death everywhere produced deep sorrow and regret among the Indians. The Great Chieftain, who had so long been their pride, and who had elevated their Nation, and sustained it in its trials, now lay buried in the sands of the Seminoles. “*"

It appears there was an understanding that McGillivray's remains would be sent to Scotland to his father. However, it was the belief of Mrs. Emma Hulse Taylor (great great niece of Panton and grand-daughter of John Innerarity) that Mrs. Durant, the Chief's sister, removed his remains to Alabama. This would have been logical, considering tribal beliefs. about Indian burial.

Panton faithfully carried out his promise to educate Alexander McGillivray's son. Young Aleck McGillivray and David Tate, the Chief's nephew, were sent to Banff. John Innerarity, Sr., residing in London, was their guardian and dispensed funds for their education and board. The following letters will refute the charge that Panton neglected McGillivray's children.

London 24th Sept. 1798.

Wm. Panton Esq.

Dear Sir:

This I hope you will receive in Charleston, & along with it you will receive your charge David Tate concerning whom I enclose you the last letters from Mr. Robertson of Banff with whom he and Aleck [McGillivray] were boarded.

I have all along done everything in my power to fulfill your intentions towards him and to promote his best interest. . . . As to Aleck I have the most pleasing accounts of him from all my friends, & I

*Pickett, *History of Alabama*.

hope will one day prove himself worthy of all that is done for him-but now that David has left him, I don't mean to continue him with Mr. Robertson, if Mr. Cruikshank will take him into his own family, -and if not I will have him come up here, where I will find a proper school for him more immediately under my eye.

I send David to the care of your friends Messrs. Gairdner & Co., to whom Mr. Penman writes concerning him, but I hope you will meet him yourself.

John Innerarity [Sr.]

* * *

London 28 Sep. 1798.

Wm. Panton Esq.

Dear Sir:

. . .This I trust will be handed you by David Tate, concerning whom I refer you to my preceding letter of 24th Inst. which was wrote immediately on his coming here. He has now been with us a few days & I have interrogated him very closely concerning Mr. Robertson's disagreement and his, and I am now inclined to think that Robertson has used him ill, at least much more than he ought to have done, and no doubt David has given him but too much excuse-but after all I am inclined to think that with proper advice & management, he will yet do well, as I find him much more tractable, than I was taught to believe. In consequence of this impression on my mind I have given orders to our friend Mr. Craik to have Aleck taken from under his care and placed under that of Mr. Cruikshank, -and if he is not disposed to take the charge of him and to pay every attention to him to send him up here directly with my son [John Innerarity, Jr.].

Your affect.- Friend & Devoted Servt.

John Innerarity [Sr.]

London, 1798.

Wm. Panton Esq.

Dear Sir:

As for Aleck the accounts I have of him are of a pleasing nature and he bids fair to make a good scholar and what is better a good man, and as to Davids being taken away from him I don't think it will make any great difference to him.

In all this; I however must abide by what you shall dictate.

* * *

London - March 12, 1799.

Wm. Panton Esq.

Dear Sir:

I gave Mr. Leslie a letter to your Father, on whom he said he would call, & who I am sure will be happy to see him. I also gave him letters to your young friend Aleck McGillivray at Banff, & his Teacher, Mr. Cruickshank, likewise to Mr. Robertson with whom he is lodged still. Here I must inform you that agreeable to what I wrote you by David Tate, I gave orders for him to be removed into the House of Mr. Cruickshank, (to whom I wrote & who was very willing to take him)-but to my great surprise he absolutely refused, altho' every argument was used both by Mr. Cruickshank, & Mr. Craik who at my request went to Banff for this very purpose.

Mr. Leslie likewise will go as far as Dunmaglass, which is not far from Forres and see Lachlan McGillivray & thus complete your wishes, as expressed in your last.

* * *

John Leslie to John Forbes.

London, July 15 - 1802.

I had almost forgot to mention that poor Aleck McGillivray labours under a consumption for which

the gentleman he lived with at Banff sent him up a month or six weeks ago. I had Doctor Wells, a skillful Physician, to visit him, who recommended the Country air and he accordingly is now down among the Surrey Hills, and as its thought he cannot stand the winters here at any rate, I propose sending him out with Hyndman, or otherwise perhaps by the "Mary" to Nassau. The Doctor has little hopes of his surviving longer than about three months, tho' a change to a warm climate, and having youth on his side may give him some chance.

The firm lost money after Alexander McGillivray's death, but the Spanish governors, appreciating their great services, induced them to continue. There are several letters which speak of their determination to quit the country. Their memorials to the king on this subject will be published later.

Pensacola 3d Feby. 1794

My dear Forbes

You will see by the enclosed letters of His Excy the Baron & to Mr. Strachan that Wemyss is arrived but God knows when we may look for the Easdaile I suppose a fortnight hence.

The Marquess de Compo has thrown some difficulties in the way this year owing to a misconception of the late Royal orders I am sick to death of being continually kept in a state uncertainty & suspense and those Americans are advancing with such rapid strides in gaining over the Indians that I really wish we were fairly quit of these Provinces & their concerns-I have proposed as you will see to sell out to Government and most religiously do I wish that my proposition may be accepted of-something must be done or all will go wrong-Government must either buy us out or support us with two

three hundred thousand Dollars for it is impossible for us individuals to hold out any longer against the purse of the United States and foes on every quarter-We have lost fifteen thousand Dollars by last years remittance owing to the worms-This Year the charges are increased & so will be our loss -I have copys of The Invoice of Easdaile the charges on which comes to very near thirty pCent.

See and get a License for the Granada Packet to return as I shall send Her away without loss of time -Get Don Andrews also to send me a License for the Easdaile that no time may be lost in despatching Her when she arrives

"I am Dr. Sir Your most Obedt Servt
Wm. Panton

I keep no copy of this good night-12 o'clock.

Tell the Baron that I have no better tea than the pound I send him but he shall be supplied as soon as the Chest of Hyson Comes round from Mobbille.

* * *

The "dead capital" of the House by 1800 was estimated at about \$400,000 included the stocks at their various headquarters, salaries, expenses and claims against the Indians.

"The debts due the actual house" wrote a Spanish official of the time, "must amount to one hundred and twenty thousand dollars." A heavy expense, the fund for presents to the Indians, a matter of some \$18,000 annually, was a necessity, if the Indians' interest was to be retained.

Bowles. The Bowles episodes caused the greatest loss and resulted in a severe setback to the firm. At the instigation of Lord Dunmore, Governor of the Bahamas, unfriendly to Panton because he had been forced to return a seized vessel of that house, Bowles was used as a tool to establish a store on the

Chattahoochie to enter into competition with Panton in Pensacola.

Bowles operated practically as a pirate against Panton's vessels and plundered the stores at Appalachie. A quotation from a letter of John Forbes follows : -

Bowles is a perfect Vagabond, without the means of subsistence, except by Robbery, plunder, & imposture; wherein he has been too successfull by the delusion he practiced upon a parcell of credulous ignorant Savages. He was in no shape Authorized or Countenanc'd by this, or indeed any other Government; being equally obnoxious to that of the American States, as to the Spanish; on account of the disturbance and disorder he created among some of the Indians. As Mr. Panton knew that Bowles had a design upon his Trading House at Appalachie, which in fact he eventually carried into effect, and knowing also that he was in no degree countenanced by the British Government; but viewing him in the true light of a Robber, & disturber of the public peace in the Indian Country; it is not therefore surprising that he should wish success to any attempt of the Spanish Government to counteract the designs of such a Lawless depredator; or that he should even contribute in some measure thereto, as tending immediately, not only to the protection of his property but also to the preservation from Murder of his Storekeeper & other servants and dependants at Appalachie.

A journal of John Forbes (May, 1803) published in the *Quarterly*, the issue of April, 1931, describes the seizure of Bowles.

Losses, Claims and Grants. Other losses to the house were caused by Spain's war in alliance with the English against France (1793-95). This pre-

vented the firm from securing the indispensable supplies, goods and ammunition for the Indian trade. French depredations added to their losses by the seizure of their ships under the British flag.

The claims of the house against the Lower Creeks or Seminoles have been interestingly described by various members of the firm, and John Innerarity's diary of his trip to the Creek nation in the interest of collecting the large debt owed the house, and his effort to teach the Indian what interest means, was published also in the *Quarterly*, the issue of October, 1930.

These claims were finally settled by the ceding of lands at the mouth of the Appalachicola river as follows :-

In 1804 a first claim for \$66,533 of debts and for admitted robberies.

In 1811 a second claim for \$19,387 was satisfied; and a third later claim was terminated by cession of Forbes island.

Each cession was made by full council of all the chiefs and in the presence and approval of Spanish officials.

The total amount of land thus ceded was 1,200,000 acres, mostly pine barrens. Finally in 1818 Spain settled one and a half million arpens of adjoining lands to compensate for \$100,000 of losses of the house.

This land has been a subject of controversy through the years; it never benefited the members of the firm, who labored unceasingly to secure it, nor any of their heirs.

Certain document of Pontalba, heir of Governor Miro, (now in the possession of the Cruzat family of New Orleans) indicate the governor's high opinion of Panton and his recognition of Panton's, influence over McGillivray.

Panton rendered many services to Spain as indicated by his statement that he kept the province of Louisiana in peace during eleven years but "would have had to destroy the Indian nature to keep them from stealing and lying."

A letter to Carondelet is indicative of the close and intimate relationship between him and Panton and furnishes an insight into the difficulties encountered in the conduct of shipping operations:

Pensacola, June 1st. 1797.

My dear Sir

I was honoured with the receipt of your Excellency's letter dated the 16th Ult. & I thank you for your friendly confidence, which be satisfied I will never abuse.

I should have gone to the Indian Nation long ago altho' my bodily infirmity renders that journey more painful to me than it used to be, but for the embarrassments that I met with about the Expulsion of our Peltrie, which rendered it impossible for me to leave Pensacola untill that was effected - But I did what was nearly equal to it, I sent expresses to every part of the Nation, with letters to my friends using such language & reasoning as I knew would have most effect to dissuade the Indians from committing any further depredations on those Colonies, & I am happy to find that my arguments has had some effect-A part of the horses are already returned, & other Stolen property is on its way to Pensacola, I have had a visit from three of the Principal Chiefs in the Upper Townes, & the Mad Dog of the Tuckabatches is now in my house who shall not depart without receiving his lesson - And if I find that a journey is absolutely requisite in order to procure peace neither bodily infirmity nor the inclemency of the season shall prevent me from

undertaking it, and while I remain I will do all the good I can-

Last night the Schooner Shark returned from Charleston after a voyage of 31 days from thence- By her I have letters from my friends advising me of the Capture of the Schooner Mary of Norfolk, Capt. Hacket by a Privateer belonging to New Providence; he himself was taken on board the privateer & the Mary after receiving what was thought a sufficient number of privateers men on board was ordered for Nassau.-

The crew however rose on them & carried the Vessel to Augustine, & I have heard no more about her.

The disappointment is great to say nothing of the loss that must attend this misfortune, so that you see my good Sir the evils that people are subject to by this Cursed war-Hacket must have imprudently taken on board Gunpowder or other prohibited articles, or the Rover dared not interrupt him. It is now out of my power to Ship more skins even if the season permitted it-but by the month of November I shall certainly be ready, & I must depend on you to prevail on the Intendant*, to give up this unnecessary punctilio of keeping my vessels in port untill I first receive his permission to send them away which has already subjected me to delays most ruinous to the Interest of this House.

Sixty thousand pound weight of last years Skins are left behind-What we may receive in addition before the end of next March it is impossible For me to tell, but the quantity ought to be considerable as Your Excellency may readily observe by casting your Eye over the enclosed list of debts due to this house, at Pensacola & Appalachy the end of last

*Intendant-John Ventura Morales.

April, independent of What may be owing at Mobile
& Encores.

Wm. Panton

Panton's career was marked by extraordinary success and by great vicissitudes, but both health and wealth began to fail him at a fairly early age. He died February 26th, 1801, while enroute from Pensacola to Nassau in search of a helpful climate.

A letter attributed to Dr. Reeves Fowler who accompanied him on his last journey presumably to John Forbes describes his last hours :-

Nassau, March 21st, 1801.

My dear Friend:

When at Key West I wrote you a short note by a small sloop bound for Pensacola. I could not then write my opinion of Mr. Panton's state of health expecting he would read the note, but desired the Captain of the sloop, to inform you I had no hopes of his recovery-The Melancholy account of his death which took place on the 26th of Feby will not therefore much surprise you, and your mind will be prepared to hear of our loss, on which I sincerely condole with you, whom I believe have not yet suffered much by the death of friends; as I have experienced the greatest possible misfortune, I am become somewhat Callous, & do not consider death as an event much to be dreaded, yet as his desire to live was great, his death is necessarily much to be lamented by his legion of friends.

As I know you are much interested in all that Concerned our friend, a short account of our voyage will not be unacceptable-

We had only one days fair wind after our departure from Pensacola, but as the weather continued moderate for eight days and we imagined we were still getting nearer our Port Mr. Panton was in good

Spirits, his appetite increased so that he could eat well at breakfast, dinner, and supper, at the same time the swelling was considerably diminished, we now expected to make land, but were disappointed; it then began to blow hard adding to our Shagreen which increased day after day, when in vain we, looked for hand, after having run for two days to the Eastward with a strong N. W. wind we discovered land near the Collarado reef.

On the 14th during this Period Mr. Panton seemed rather to lose ground, but still the hope of a speedy arrival at the Havanna, where we should be relieved from our Confinement, and have everything necessary (upon which he now considered his life to depend) keep up his spirits, it was not however before the 17th we got into our long wished for Port, where all our difficulties were to terminate-

The proper officers came on board and took the passports and letter on shore. You may judge our astonishment when in the course of an hour he returned with a letter to the Commandant of Pensacola and ordered us instantly to depart with a verbal message that no Englishman could land on the Island.

The effect this had on Mr. Panton was great, he gave himself up for lost and his hopes of recovery totally fled-With much difficulty a note was sent to Poey, stating the dreadful condition in which Mr. Panton lay, and the absolute necessity he had to land Poey informed the Governor of Mr. Panton's situation of which he had been previously told by the officer who came on board-

The Governor said he was sorry it was not in his power to permit Mr. Panton, (of whom he had heard favourable reports) to come on shore, such was the law, a law superior to his authority; he

however permitted Poey to come on board tho' not without the public interpreter-We were also permitted to purchase from the Governor's Coxswain, and for which we paid an extravagant price some water, wood, & vegetables and were hurried off-

As the wind was violent and still contrary, we stood over for the Florida reef, and ran into Key West, as much motion was now become intolerable to Mr. Panton; here we found a Jamaica Privateer and a tender with Lieutenant belonging to the York Man of War, from the Lieutenant we met with such treatment as robbers generally give, he swore he would send us to Jamaica, a voyage of six weeks, and rather seemed pleased that he had it in his power to add to the afflictions already too heavy, under which Mr. Panton suffered: had he persisted, I was intending to land on Key West, and take our chance of some vessel to take us up, after having examined our trunks and the vessel very narrowly and keeping possession part of two days he was advised by the Captain of the Privateer that as the vessel would not pay the price of Condemnation, it would be to no purpose to send her in, thus were we saved from a tedious voyage to Jamaica; such a series of Misfortunes continued to add to Mr. Panton's Complaints-We again proceeded on our voyage but still with contrary and violent winds the motion now affected the stomach producing slight pain and vomiting, so that no food could be taken or retained, his strength dayly declined; on the morning of the 26th he felt easy but looked worse; after sitting up sometime he proposed going to bed; he fainted away without pain or Complaint and in a few minutes breathed his last-

The violence of the wind obliged us to put into Great Harbour in the Berry Island, where he was

buried, after having waited as long as possible for a fair wind.

* * *

From the Spanish Governor. Arthur O'Neill on Panton's death:

Havana 6th Sept 1801.

Dr. Sir, upon my arrival here last month, I received yours of the 30th May and had before the very disagreeable news of my good friend, Panton's death-I was not so happy as to be here timely to prevent his being dismissed in so distressed a manner, allowing to their not knowing the services he had don our Soverain-

I had no letter from thence these two years past, and have wrote often-the account you give me of Mr. Pantons been [being] suspected by the (Government of Tomaco is very surprising; his friendship to me should not be a motive to have his vecel condemned nor his Loyalty as a British subject any way suspected;

The Lord forgive his enemies and Reward my most Worthe decesed friend.

If I can be of any service to you at Madrid I expect to repare there soon, and be Persuaded dr Sir of the friendship of your afectiont and humble Servt
Arthur O'Neill

John Forbes, Esqr. * * *

*Notes from William Panton's will dated
6th June 1793*

Codicil 7th Jany. 1801

Negro Robert-his freedom	300 & 300	
together		367.10
To William Russell		100.....
To Wm. Alexander		300.....
To Sarah Johnstone		300.....

To Sarah Fish annuity of 40 say	700.....
To John Booth	100...
To Lewis Christen	100...
To Dr. Thos. Blair	100...
To John Forbes	300...
To W. H. Forbes	300...
To Henry White	300...
To John Panton (his father)	1000...
To the children of Christian Birnie a sister	1000...
To ditto Henrietta Innerarity (Panton's sister and Mother of James and John Innerarity)	1000.....
To ditto Katherine Lumsden (a sister)	1000.....
To ditto Magdalen Smith (a sister)	1000.....
To Robina Panton & her heirs (a sister)	1000.....
To Children of John Gordon	300.....
To Dr. Reeves Fowler	300.....
To James Innerarity (nephew)	100.....
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	£10,367.10